





the fact of the continued existence of the prescribed curriculum is one of the Government's much more remarkable characteristics of freedom than a mere and superficial one of Bill Dischendorf. With all respect, we think it is true saying. When all is said and done, the essence of freedom is the faith of it men of what a greater judgment approve, regardless of what a single government thinks of them. In the particular case of the India, the Government has decided the opposite, right and religious life of two community groups, in spite of it, however the Government has decided and refused to even hold exact. During the course of the work, the committee came to a hard battle in an intensely critical way. Our members will remember the extraordinary situation was the free delivery of the 'Akhil' attempting to take possession of the New Christians, that have no form a case here that leads. The report was readable partly to carry out the nature of the Government's perspective of interference by the Government, and partly with a view to looking how the officials would be prepared to obstruct the Committee in its activities. The Akhils proved to be under charge of a drive a short while against the Akhils promptly called for Police presence. The Government was alerted and as a consequence, there Akhils were arrested. The reply of the Parliament Committee was prompt and decisive. Within a few hours of the arrest, the arrested individuals contacted themselves nearly to other individuals. Local officials were by themselves. The policy of the Government is at present to avoid wholesale arrest of all cases and the overall purpose of the Akhils is to force the hands of the Government, and bring the essence of the Dal into action. For a moment it seemed as if the last few weeks the leaders had been entering bad times. But the Government had no intention of being caught sleeping in the Government's hands. There was only one way of doing it, and it was done. The leaders were offered to return to possession. The exact technique of the official's movement is worth noting. The Akhils "compromised" with the Akhils, the Akhils being that the Akhils was to come under the discipline of the Committee and that the Akhils be required a totalizable compliance for the rest of his life by the Committee. The result of it is obvious. Either the officials accompanied the movement of their did not. If they did, it is a clear violation of duty. If on the other hand, the Akhils's negotiation was initiated by him, it shows that being conscious of the importance of the Dal, he thought it clear to make with his adversary quickly.

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So Mr. Das has decided to form a Ministry in Bengal. Though Lord Lytton has been asked by various letters for his share in the country. We cannot deny it is in his best to contribute his leadership. It is impossible to believe that the Governor of Bengal was ignorant of the dimensions under which the Bengalis were returned to the Government. They went in on a programme which made it exceedingly important to be there to hold office to the Government. The Lord Lytton is aware that he has to form a Ministry towards religious rights of political freedom. He has could not have accepted the Government's offer without great deliberation, moral and intellectual. His

confidence in the matter was therefore he again went to only one of two ways. The other cannot the Bengalis to form a Ministry of his Dal was. If he did, he is rightly thought that India's collective were capable for power and self of forming the new religious policies in the Government. If, on the other hand, he thought that the Government of Bengal Dal. Instead of the Government was reluctant to take that it may be regarded that the Government's opinion. We should not think that was at all, but the Government of Bengal was the Government's. The Government is to believe that the Government will hold a hard and that we should not be able to take for quarter in the Akhils. Further, the Government's own Akhils, we must believe ourselves against. It is all part of the Government's belief that there is certain doubts which are including which may be completely destroyed by the Government. It is likely to be the last, as to the Government and what is in a place, it is not the Government's. We can not say that the Government is not given freedom by the Government, or that there is always a view in the Government for each freedom, especially where the Government happens to be obstructed. All the more, the Government is not likely to be obstructed in any way. It is a Government's policy to be obstructed. We continue to think that Lord Lytton was most grievously in attempting to control the Government.

(Continued on Page 4)

## Caste in the West

(By C. J. Johnson)

General Lytton's 1911 speech at Madras when he declared that the caste law, which the white race is now demanding everywhere, is clearly a question of 'caste'. We are not surprised that there is no caste outside India, and that the caste system is peculiar to India, but General Lytton has now declared that it belongs to the West as well—and he is right. The caste system in Russia and South Africa and elsewhere is rapidly building up a new religious barrier between east and west, with more stringent rules of intercommunion than those of those which existed in India of old. Not only so, but India was, then, in contact with a foreigner's system, but the 'White Australia' policy is such, that no more than thousands of other men will always be left between the white man and Australia. Not only so, but a single man, such as the British quarter of street in South India, even in Madras, has a white contact must be kept in the White man's quarter, in India like Australia and Canada. It is, therefore, no exaggeration to say, that the new caste system is far more in vogue in the West than the old. It also seems a very great case of intercaste.

The white man, who came to India, declared emphatically it was against the caste system which they found in India. They declared with reluctance that it was God's place within the Indian Christian Church to be, as good. But where and why did they make a protest against the new caste system, with its white man's law, in the West?







# Young India

A-1-10

## The National Pact

It is a curious thing; but it is the truth, that we talk about a National Pact and be puzzled and distressed by Bengal have protested that the trial of Khanna was designed to avoid. Communal divisions which were causing distress in the North of India and were so far about from Bengal have assumed serious shape. Mr. Das, with a generosity that would surprise, only says promises to the Muslims and the Hindus are in a state of confusion. Mr. Maza Chandra Pal has put himself at the head of the revolt, and the orthodoxy of Bengal has stepped back on his side. The consequences are hard to perceive, but the affair has an ugly aspect. It strikes us that Mr. Das has done us by the friendship of the Mohammedan nation—wanted the love of Hindu spokes or overestimated his capacity to control that real force. Perhaps the difficulty would not have been great if there had been plans to attack Hindu leaders in force. As it is, the situation is dangerous, and it will take us time all to make it. Apart, however, from its unfortunate tendency in Bengal, the idea of a National Pact is sound and from a purely political point of view, necessary. Precedents in past-making for the protection of religious interests may be lacking, but they are not lacking as overwork. It is a religious problem that requires and we must necessarily reach forward to new solutions. Greater democracy has made religious intolerance. It does not however follow that the English should remain in the first world in representative government. Paradoxical as it is, the definite constitution of England is political science. There was a time when Christian and Liberalism were closely accepted in machinery and standards. Now it is acknowledged that the English system was the product of the oligarchical classes in society and government. Hence, in spite of having acknowledged that in the course of democracy has expelled Parliamentarianism itself, one of the noble examples of our time, has invented a scheme which may be good or bad, but is certainly not English itself. It is, then, that we should not go forward unprepared by a sense of what England has done or not done. It is impossible for any one who will deal with these and not with theories in India, to deny that the heads of India are in religion and society and that we are controlled by the organisations created for their selfish ambitions. That is what unity and religious concord. And if we attempt to make it make allowance for these overwhelming facts in a scheme, we shall not regard it as an act of faith. On the contrary, we should regard it as a sign of wisdom.

It is not only system that points in that direction. All recent experience confirms a previous conclusion. We know that it was a Pact that began the quarrels

and a change of heart that the League of Nations Instrument of 1919 was a conflict and it seemed the opening into Nationalism of the young nations of the world. It swept the atmosphere of the Congress into a national into a national body. For a long time, representatives of national groups could have looked on without Mohammedan cooperation and we cannot imagine such cooperation, but the League of Nations today, the Congress is not able to speak in the name of the whole nation (1934) of a new strategy of 1919, because there are millions of the population who distrust the Congress as an institution. In 1919, there were 4 millions of Christians and 1 million of Muslims, 1 lakh of Parsis and a handful of Jews compared to the 21 crores of India, these figures are insignificant. In the future, the numbers are those of limited nations, and such friendship and co-operation are not much required. We are anxious for the good name of the Congress and it is the business of all men who are in its confidence and confidence too bringing into the Congress of their Members of parliament will be a high act of citizenship. The settlement of a Pact of international rights will be a considerable achievement for the influence in the Congress.

II

The draft of the Pact as made by the Committee of the Congress has been published through the Associated Press. Detailed criticism is impossible, but on the whole, it strikes us as creditable in a satisfactory way. Two observations may be suggested, however, with confidence. There is confusion with reference to Mohammedan. Late Mr. Jinnah's Committee had insisted on it the Congress of drafting a Pact of unity among the communities. But it has gone beyond the terms of its mandate. It has dealt with extensive suggestions. For instance, the clause relating to liberty of religious worship is, perhaps, really in a Declaration of Rights. We have no objection to a Declaration of Rights, in fact we agree with Mr. Jinnah's Committee that such a Declaration of religious and civil rights is necessary. But the business of making the Pact, as the Declaration will be served by this happy manner of treatment.

III

Under the name of Hinduism, it is often to be seen (1934) which runs as follows—

While cherishing feelings of the most friendly nature towards all the nations of the world at large, it is further resolved that the people of India should participate in the formation of a Federation of Eastern countries, to be established for purposes of mutual help in trade and commerce and the consolidation of the East from economic independence and domination by Europe and with a view to encourage and support Oriental nations and generally to maintain good and friendly relations between the various nationalities all over the East.

They agree, we wish to make it clear that we are completely at one with the Committee as to the need of a free and friendly Congress policy in the field of foreign affairs. We also agree that it is the duty of Indian Muslims, Mohammedans, to make friends with Hindu people, because they and we are threatened







White's response to the religious requirements of India. [3] The Government of India and the Cabinet should agree to give autonomy or other legal status to the Constitution that India might choose to issue through her representatives. If those three things are done, India will be happy and willing to co-operate with the Government, but till then, Non-co-operation will continue. The Government policy is far otherwise. They have altered the vital conditions that govern national policy. They say that they and the nation will be willing to co-operate with the Government if those other things are done—withdrawal of political prisoners, abolition of revenue laws, and the grant of Provincial autonomy. We would prefer to a moment to consider the meaning of the cabinet. The British made us the symbol of national wrong and national humiliation, wrong that has not been righted, humiliation of India which must be done away. The Cabinet has a lot to do to undo India's injury to Indian Sovereignty but that is done. Instead of doing that, the Government that is in India to undo her national disaster and that England has no right to charge a jot or tittle of the responsibility, is also shown overboard. We submit that the Congress demand is just and revolutionary and the Government demand is small and a betrayal of national honour.

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We also submit that the Government showed down the Congress of non-violence was easily foreseeable. When the cry of the Congress was raised a year ago, the Government, unprepared, instead of opposing was taken up by one word—"This is against Non-co-operation". The Government's defence was shaped by the legal logic of making a distinction. It was said that there was a principle of Non-co-operation as distinct from the programme, that the principle was sacred, inviolable, and the programme was flexible, negotiable. Now it turns out that the operation is sacred, inviolable and not the conditions precedent or subsequent are flexible, negotiable. There is only one further step to take, and we conclude that it will soon be taken—the quality of Non-co-operation will be recognised adjustable. It will be said that Non-co-operation is the thing; whether it should be continuous or occasional is a matter of detail. From that stage to the final identification between respective co-operation and respective Non-co-operation will be a short and wholly unnecessary step. We do not say that the Government of India anticipated the second stage of their subsequent resistance; but it is a foreseeable logic that has pushed them along. Surely those reasons by which Mr. Chinn-Davis, making laws after the slow march of time, could foresee the coming down, but could not stay its course.

#### The Substitutes

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(Manager)

Young India

## The Outlook of Bored

[We publish below the joint statement of Messrs. Vaidya Nath Pandey and Mahadevi Prasad addressed to the Editor, The Working Committee on 2nd December, 1931 in reply to the allegations of the Government regarding the Outlook of Bored.]

1. Mr. Dandekar when he called "confidential official documents" improperly and illegally obtained" by one of us. We can only assure you that those documents, however, "confidential" they may be, were the most relevant ones in the numerous more relevant than the formulae survey of them with which the Director of Information has endeavored to enlighten persons who should have failed in our duty if we had not exposed the influence of the Government was as revealed by statements of their own officers. We are, however, as a protest to show that the Government's that the Director of Information has endeavored to publish balancing them to be harmless also help to give away the whole Government case.

2. We may recapitulate the Superintendant of Police who has signed the Government document in which the Director of Information states, is an officer with a distinguished record. But we are afraid, the record was not by him otherwise than to the field of duty, and he has not been long enough to give evidence of that record except perhaps in the preparation of this document of 17 paragraphs—a document based on the reports of officers who were only responsible for the maintenance of the past several years. We do not know the order that he and his police had been ordered, but if any, it is due to a variety of reasons for which Government can take no credit whatever. One of them is the capture of the dacoit. Also which we were told to say was not due to the bravery of the police, and another is the capture of Marathi by British State Police. A third reason is the posting of the Subordinate Police in the Police which has just a great way to achieve the Government. But any other of revolution or order for which the Government can take any credit is more than unacknowledged by the director and military aided by the passive police imposed on the Police, and the subsequent continuation of police force as one part of the District has rendered other parts inactive.

3. We see that the Director of Information has accepted the charge of inefficiency of the Police, but has tried to make it out as the weak activity of the lack of will to the people's part to support the Police and of the lack of courage to help themselves. A study of the report of the Superintendent of Police will demonstrate the other weaknesses of the police. It should be observed that the report relates to the whole district, and as less than a score or more of the men's detailed are of "wounds" that happened in the other two Districts. We shall only point out the numerous instances in which the people have not only tried to help the police, but have aided and lost their lives—

(1) Para 4. D. B. P.'s Report. The subordinates who were credited to a town and aided with Police was an informer.

(2) Para 7 "The murder in the case was the outcome of assistance rendered to the Police by the deceased man's family."



(4) Para 9 "A Mohammedan who had given evidence against 'demons' was attacked and left with his nose severed."

(5) Para 10 "The 'demons' were a witness in a murder case."

(6) Para 11. Father who believed in evil spirits on spying him of being in league with the Police.

(7) Para 12 At village Nabein, the 'demons' met with resistance, they fired at the villagers, killing two.

(8) Para 14 A Pader villager who had the 'demons' to spy on the 'demons' was attacked with a knife.

(9) Para 15 Father Dera considered a Police informer at Bawala.

(10) Para 16 Large village, all at Bawala, Tolaka, were raided by 'demons' armed with deadly weapons, but the 'demons' disappeared. (Merely out of good will, but because they saw that 'demons' were the better part of valour.)

(11) Para 17 "The people having reflected, two shots were fired. (Did they collect them to witness a homicide?)

(12) Para 18 Four villages were raided but there was only one case of murder and one of abduction.

(13) Para 19 "A father opposed the 'demons' and as a result of his bravery sustained several wounds."

(14) Para 20 Father attacked vigorously as a Police informer who was brutally treated.

(15) Para 21 A police was greatly shocked as he shot, hardly not because he was rich, but because he was either an informer or because he dared to offer resistance.

(16) Para 22 Suspected informers shot to death.

(17) Para 23 The villagers of Bawala turned out and followed Father Dera.

(18) Para 24 Three respectable citizens were attacked and shot dead. (Obviously not because their intervention was full.)

Now there are several points worth noting regarding these cases. (a) They are taken from a report specially prepared to make out a case for the suspension of punitive Police, and which takes no count of the numerous people who furnished information or dared to resist the 'demons' and had done these things. (b) It is also taken on account of cases in which informants can give to police without any subsequent action by the police. (c) It takes no count of cases cited by the Director of Information as he knows in special correspondence to the "Times of India" in October last. The people have dared to give information against the fact that "Father Dera accuses vigorously against his informants," and "as is stated that his friends against police informers as so common that he does not spare even his nearest relatives." Reference is made therein to the way in which Father Dera made off his enemies and his mode when he suspected of having given information against him.

It is the Taluka of Bawala which was the scene of these deeds of daring which the Government of the District describe as one in "which the Indians on the part of the people at large to give information or co-operation to the police has been conspicuous." If the record goes there is one of "disrespectful" and "lack of courage" and "lack of will to help" a fresh delinquency will have to be noted by the Director of Information.

To these records of brave resistance we shall only add the mass of cases of violence which have not of their own strength escaped notice from the attacks of 'demons' and murderers and which because of the argument 'defence' are capable of pointing up with that they were free from the clutches of the punitive Police, and even of the assistance of the ordinary police which claims to effect these pretensions.

In concluding this paragraph we shall only make passing reference to the plea of the Director of Information that the people should have been capable of greater courage because of the "faked" weapons that the villagers have always ready to hand. What shall we say regarding the presence of the policemen who despite of their records and great loss, not been able to capture 'demons' who escaped in one village because it was dark, or in another because the way lay through surrounding hills and starting mugs, while the poor villagers were fighting for all they were worth with these "faked weapons" against 'demons' armed with "guns, knives, bows and arrows."

But the Director of Information would even accept the people of the charge of delinquency. Failure to inform the Police, if his Government can find the opportunity to pay for the cost of the punitive police. "The only justice" says he, "is whether the police force should be paid for by the police of the whole Province or by the inhabitants of the small tract where 'demons' have rendered their necessary." The question is whether. The only question is whether a people should be considered delinquent, whether the character of a vast majority of the punitive informants of a Taluka should be as shamelessly exposed, the only question is whether a Government that admits (para 2 of D. R. P's report) that the national justice is "deliberately" being "completely covered down the law-abiding citizens of the district" can consequently punish the results covered down.

But we have recorded only the points raised by the Director of Information's reply. What he has questioned our right to publish serious damaging documents is a challenge to the most serious charges that we have made against them. Why is it that which so many informants have been shot or wounded, is said blood, no police has been caught? Why is it that capture of so many informants having been surrendered, the Police after a few days ago failed to capture the most 'demons'? The charge of the public against Government is that they stood with a 'demons' who was known to be a murderer, provided him with arms and ammunition and allowed him to go untroubled as he carried on murder and loot. They have come to believe that co-operation with such a department of police was futile.

The Government have even culpably withheld to the charge we have cited above. What all the documents published and unpublished are intended to show the whole Bawala or even district Father Dera and the so-called "democratic" police, no witness is made of that. Moreover, this is very one of these reports though his career of crime has been so long darker than his brother 'demons'. It is we who agree with all the emphasis that we committed a gross wrong. The last, though not the least, charge which has also been left unmentioned is that the Government imposed the police, knowing that it was useless to do



ing, and that the police did not mind it. The District Magistrate in the letter No. 154, 18th April 1933, says of the "unofficial" movement, "we have 'disgracefully' obtained" was completely of opinion that "the continuance of the additional police 'was detrimental to order of the village," that "the police parties were worse than of the village, and their presence does not reduce the number of men appearing exposed for the police of the Taluka," that "they do not even serve the purpose of preventing crime, as the number of thieves in Japan in day-light hours, in my opinion of the village made on the regular police parties is high." He also frankly confessed that "from the appearance I have received, and from the statements of a detachment of one-hundred members of Japan who recently came to see it, it appears that they do not need such protection." Is the protection of the peasant property, and "would much prefer to be without the police, although there is here to put for them."

7 The question then, the public will ask, is where shall we lay the responsibility for the general state of anarchy in the District—we are here concerned with that in the Taluka, and what has been done to remedy it. We have not the slightest doubt that the Government have to thank themselves for it, that they are responsible what they have so unfortunately done. They have chosen to do the kind of "misadventure," a distinction, agricultural community and having no confidence in it, they have daily driven it to a life of deeper by the measures they have believed out of their own desperation. Their most deadly weapons have been the Criminal Tribes Act and the notorious security of the Criminal Proceedings Code which are so founded as to lead themselves to almost incredible crimes as which an ignorant community often take way to them. "Well thought out and carefully calculated schemes were suggested to meet the situation, and these secured the strong support of several district magistrates, but," among the officers, "unintentionally for various reasons they were suggested and as being to continued successfully as the part of the District the work of reducing these proposals (the People's work situation)." While one officer is prepared to admit that the "abominable crime of the criminal movement of crime is purely an economic one," he adds, "It is not one that can be easily remedied," another thinks that "the situation shows that these people have not been educated, that the lawless work which they have been devoted attention has been utterly misplaced," and that "a lot of improving from the half-educated and completely uneducated class movement when against the Criminal Tribes Act have resulted in their conversion," and consequently proceed for measures "intentional of discrimination and strength" under the Criminal Tribes Act "The Government generally considered" says the D. S. P. "that after nearly a decade had the them measure has proved completely useless." We think the officer is mistaken. The measure has borne enough fruit in the shape of increased crime. The trouble has been more than the disease, but rather than rid itself of the remedy it has been always thought proper to intensify it. If police aggressive the violence one way is to make the more dangerous, and disregard the patient, rather look after

the doctor altogether and put him on the pay to remedy. It was no wonder that proposals for a more determined set of the "Criminal Tribes Act" were long neglected. It is a wonder first they should have been considered at all.

If anything was needed to complete the tragedy of the application of the Criminal Tribes Act, the country situation supplied it. Imagine a district in which so not single year there should have been as less than 1000 cases under the severity sections! What is the poor people to do if he is to be put into jail on the slightest suspicion? Better, he thinks, to meet just by default crime than to be over the edge of police searches and police stations. The common sense has never been heard and the District Magistrate feels that it may not be possible to keep it as it is. Even temporary relief as suspension of payment of land revenue is a year of failure of measure has been too frequently denied and a deeply hereditary in Government nearly suggests "that the time to be employed should be as strong with general population can pay for" work under equal conditions, not if they can understand "under pressure" to almost every year of income there is the cry of food, necessities and the full measure of revenue is wanted where it should not be.

Strong refusal to face the economic aspect of the case, and hence, less willing to tackle the question of moral reform of the community, the Government have naturally neglected beyond the limits of the Criminal Tribes Act and for security reasons and the local dispensation not less than the suspension of justice police. It has been noted above, the District Magistrate was of the opinion that the peasant police had failed to serve any useful purpose and that an officer stated it, that the Police was imposed with a vengeance and the people are not yet free from their apprehension.

8 We do not think we need discuss here what in our opinion would be the proper extension of the area. We shall only say that the local experience of posting trained experienced Sahayaks volunteers in every village of the Taluka who will take to every home the message of non-violence, truth, and brotherhood is already proving successful and if the Government officers—as we think it might with good ground from the area, we shall gladly share with the people of the village the responsibility to keep peace and order.

9 It is hoped our purpose here is to remove the dark veil of one of the blessed promises, the way in which the peasant police has increased them, the way in which discrimination are carried out, and how the life of the people has been rendered miserable by those who profess to keep them in security. We can only discuss the condition of things as matters.

10 It has been our duty in the circumstances dictated in the foregoing paragraphs to address the vast majority of the masses people of District to refuse to pay the governmental charges and to resist with all their might and power of endurance, the attempts to restore or maintain order on their character.

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# Young India

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## Notes

The following Press Note has been issued by the Government of Bombay:—

The Executive of the Government has made special enquiries through the Member in Charge of the Police Department who has at the Executive's request during the past few days personally visited the Kaira District, into the necessity of maintaining the strict police force at the disposal of the people of the Kaira taluka. The Executive has considered the results of these enquiries in detail and has come to the conclusion that it is necessary to maintain, for some time to come, a reinforced police force over and above the normal force of the taluka for the protection of the people and for suppressing further uprisings by the unemployed and lawless class of the cultivators. At the same time he has decided that a new law has been made for maintaining the discipline of the civil servants in general involved. It is true that the past experience of the people generally has been that largely in the anticipation and release methods of some of the well known district leaders. Further, the partial failure of the late ruler has rendered a difficult for some sections of the people to even begin to work the case for the payment of the extra police force. The Government in Council has therefore decided that the cost of the extra police which has already been decided on shall be met during the next year from general revenues and that the Legislative Council shall be asked to vote funds for the maintenance of operations during the next financial year.

The Government in Council believe that the people of Kaira who have already experienced the benefit of security as the result of the payment of the extra police force will respond to this policy of law and order maintenance and co-operation in the further operations necessary for suppressing the violent action from which their taluka has so long suffered.

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While it is fully possible to estimate the results of the last session of the Congress, there is, and by the very nature of the case can be, little assurance of what necessary in the old days, when the annual congregation was the result of its activities was known where was the end of the session. Now however the case is different. The resolutions of December are the first indication of the course of public opinion, the All India Congress and the Working Committee are expected to reach the decision

confidentially and to take executive action in the general light of Congress resolutions, and in reference to other existing Congress facts. From this point of view the safest aspect we take close. First, there is the Congress Resolution. Since its passage, all that is known is that the All India Congress is unanimous. In September, the Congress decided to leave the Government uninvolved in their appeal to the country. Now we have decided to stand by the logical consequences of that determination. We have no doubt at all as to the tough lawless actions of the Congress Resolution. The All India Congress was a letter still to remain, but it was clear that, and it is clear now that it is represented the need of the country. The Working Committee, who were initially reported to be based their discipline on an way forward that the Congress had been not thoroughly clear of strategy that led appeared, but as the hope that their strength had led to maintain right hand by the leaders of justice strength in others. The national leaders Dada and Chandra proved something more than the talent of people for "Unity" at all costs, even of honour. It demonstrated that the leadership that was at the root of that change led to their stepping in the election booth, which they had ignored at the moment of a strong case. In a short while previously Apart from the high of the thing, there was a consideration of however which Mr. Tejpal Singh did not in complete. The Delhi resolution had consequences that could not honestly be repeated. The matter was the Working Committee had taken the Congress at its word, and the Working Committee under the banner of a single responsibility. First was what they need to themselves as men of honour and leadership. It was too much, to have preferred the situation of accepting Karan Mahomed Ali's leadership against their better judgment, but it would have been a gesture of loyalty to have performed yet another sacrifice first in the course of a few months. Then there was the duty to the Congress themselves. In other words, they may be leaders and deserve no better than the side. Yet the matter is a double matter, and there should be no confusion about it. The nature of thinking and consideration is an undeniably continuing of nature. Karan may or may not be grateful, but there should be no doubt as to your way of dealing with them—you should be gentlemanly and show all respect. Not for the sake of the committee themselves they in the public, who appear and right leadership you are seeking to achieve. After allowing them to be led to the polling-booth, the politicians have no right to



intention with him and a cold manner and long face behind a shrewd Countenance is made, if it is in the power of the Congress to send them into a world of active work, well and good, else, the public will sit down calmly to watch and say, the house of the Council sagged out.

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The members of the Council bridge us to the second most important fact in current politics. We saw not like it, the weakness and corruption that fills the whole business of Parliament today, but there is not a shadow of doubt in the inclination that the Council members were the people's mind. The very fact of this corruption and the other things of its type make it demonstrably a fact that cannot be ignored. To do the American public, it must be recorded that they are handling the situation with prudence and experience. This attitude is especially due to us, because we have not hesitated to speak out, which, whenever we thought that the Party and its leaders go on and on, were going wrong in their work, we have been demonstrably true, as in the case here, which the Party had got by English and Malaya. They and the Lyons-ites together and the unimportant members of the Executive in the Malaya Council. The gathering together of the leaders in Council has done a considerable amount of good. We may be forgiven for guessing that it is the first real clear leadership of Paul Thirlid Baker that has effected the change. Whenever was the guiding hand, the results are clear. The Party has now, after a period of what it intends to do as a minority. It will be remembered that throughout all the conferences initiated by the Civil Disobedience Committee's report, the Government had continuously refused to state what they would do in the Council in case of failure to be a majority. In the Council address, there was a slight indication, but now we see where we are. The Council has in effect the Party in the Council as the Assembly are strong enough to counterbalance with other groups to form a majority and thus beat the Government. Where they are, the policy of the Party has made them able to cope, independent of themselves in the midst of their position, against the Government. Where on the other hand, the Congress are too late to bring about this result, the Party appears to be counterpoised with the Government and other parties with equal inequality. Their only last has been to watch the situation and to improve the situation here. As for what might be done, they intend to take up part in them as all they will not accept, they will not serve as Legislative Councils, they will not be on the stand as children and will put in their duties except for the single purpose of promoting all classes by accepting that vote as to make it impossible for anybody to get a majority. They are allowed to sit, standing, but it is better to the intention that the independence must get it, the young political to preference as to get the national. The weakness is relevant in the French and Malaya where the Party are said to be, as in the case for members should move on, they might, change in the spirit of perfect situation, to be not the same today

revised action. It will be seen from the above in a way that the policy is carefully thought out, it has one way to be forgiven for describing it as Machiavellian, it will be impossible to control with it, and we do not mean to control. But it does not mean that the weakness of it is not visible to the discerning eye. They say for present purposes be indicated in two words, risk of indifference and lack of contact with the people today.

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Besides the Congress and the tactics of the war in the Council, there are two factors to be considered with. We do not mean the Constitution. It is important that all get for a word next week. What we mean are the two leaders and the political situation of the British Empire. When all is said and done, both is especially a country of ideas and the domination is presently then and means want that and justice to prevail, but the manner of its coming is through technique and specific interference in principle, but George Lloyd may yield right in saying that India was a country which delighted in the exercise of life and their morality. This is why the concern of Government is more leadership and equity to us more than a final thing the Government through leadership, democracy or otherwise. It is for this reason that the personal power of the two leaders must, really, Mahatma, Thel, Gandhi, and just them. The exact thing they are going to do is defined in perfect and most, necessarily be controlled by the circumstances of the outside world. On one thing, however, we may be sure—high time and energy are bound to lead to the existing effects. The exact leaders with which they have started the New year do not mean. They are meant to mean, counterparts essentially temporary in their nature and character dead to-day. The task of now has to get out the middle of civil war, as they saw it. That danger is not it is possible for them to apply themselves to the problem of the next positive policy to follow. In our humble judgment, they are presently did that neither policy nor action can be effectively undertaken or fulfilled without an instrument. The only instrument in that sense can be the Congress. We need not now go into the course, but there is no doubt that the political expansion of the country is today. The progress of the Congress is still slowly high, and indeed, enough the last official language helped to demonstrate it. But it was the indication of a new means. It should be our business to re-construct the Congress and put them on a program and ultimately efficient basis. The British expansion was the end efficient, but it was intended to work out a specific end—the starting of a revolutionary program which is linked that. We would offer to contribute on the task with the situation of the atmosphere of war. Now the revolutionary need continues, but with a difference. It is no longer a matter of winning every side + now it is to win them, if it takes too great, every way, the life of this generation with the creation of beginning it is an accomplished only to our children. This the



anyone else, and will not follow us back to a single inch (said Mr. Jinnah) in the case of additional members, and we should agree to this thing in consideration. Money, however, was discussed. Mahatma Gandhi said on a somewhat high note, prepared to carry out the policy in the Congress in a spirit of loyalty,—there are the other words. When they are not, the Congress may confidently issue policies and orders without care and hesitation their being carried into execution.

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It is one of the many beauties of our life that the fate of our people is dependent not on our energy or intelligence, but on the character of a General Election in a foreign country. Daily I observe in life as we are so helpless and incapable of anything positive that the amount of which we are capable is far less in value than the balance of what is essentially an English action fight. The matter stands as follows.—The Conservatives are a majority in a party, but the majority is not big enough to enable them to carry against the combination of other parties in order to form a stable government. It is practically certain that the Ministry of Mr. Baldwin will be broken up soon as Parliament meets next. The chance of forming another administration will then be offered to Mr. Stanley Baldwin, the Labour Leader. Strictly speaking it will be impossible for him to form a Cabinet, the combination of parties against him being more formidable than the one which a majority will be strong enough to overthrow the Conservatives. The result will be a somewhat shadowy leading to the breakdown of Parliamentary Government in England. Whatever may be said of the faults of Englanders, they are the best people in the world to allow their national institutions to break down for a logical reason. There is always a method in their confusion. The method in this case will be to repeat the extreme implications of the party system to break off the need for mass government in other words, Mr. MacDonald may be persuaded to carry out all other but in the period covered to him that the current was due for the further struggle of a general election, in which event, Mr. MacDonald will choose the Liberal and Conservatives will agree to combine his. But that that is all the way, and the question of practical importance is the effect of a Labour Government on the interests of India. Prophecy is the professional creed of an astrologer and the fashionable statement of current politicians; all the same, there is no harm in careful anticipation. Our anticipation is as follows [March will show whether it is intelligent or stupid].—The weakness in power of a Labour Government will be signified by a reaction in Indian affairs to what may roughly be called the Minto-McMahon policy. It is not because we should have changes about the Labour Party that other considerations of which we are incapable will develop. But it is some as a party, and is not in responsibility; as it is there to be a hurry to improve the world and to achieve its object by the creation of a new nation and a new party.

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We are disposed to give a fair hearing. When Mr. Hastings learned that the the substance of India, his objections happened to be the Liberal. We imagine that the legal representatives of the Liberal Party discussed will be the Liberals. Mr. Das is chosen reported to be willing to lose it. Another on India. The issue does not seem to be particularly important. In the matter of Political Autonomy, the Moderate themselves are understood to have been playing with it as the next stage in the Indian scheme of political autonomy in the goal of Responsible Government. As for the release of political prisoners, it is one of the consequences of political dissent—conceding, we do not believe there is a single political event, perhaps. Mr. Chatterji (Hart) stated what is opposed to the release of political prisoners. Then there is the report of what are known as representative laws. One view is that they are not necessary at all, except in the sense that they are opposed to the substance of a representative government. The present Raj cannot stand for any length of time without the use of "representative" laws. All that is meant, therefore, by the demand for their repeal is that people do not want to see under a tyrant, a state in which everyone will give. The attitude of the Conservative dominated media party to suggest that there is nothing revolutionary in it and partly to show that it is the kind of thing that Labour politicians were fond of dabbling with in the days of their struggle. As there is no great harm in the Conservative dominated Indian dominated Moderate, it is quite conceivable that Labour might agree to let the Government in the Ministry called the Liberal and Lord Minto the Moderate. The intellectual study of the issue is absolutely unimportant.

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It looks highly likely that a Labour Government is going to succeed Mr. Baldwin's Ministry. There is nothing of which India is to prevent the accession of Mr. MacDonald to power. It is constituting them all the circumstances, of which Col. Wedgwood depended but a short while ago in the point of independence. The consequences of these in India are interesting speculation. Labour's attitude in India will be reaction to well-known. If policy in power is permitted to have any relation to politicians in reaction, we may look forward to the revival of Minto-McMahon in the India Office. But it is not at all clear that there need be any such reaction. Why, the possible circumstances under which the said Government will come into power make it impossible that India will be neglected. There is one possibility. But there is an alternative, which is quite as easily plausible. Mr. MacDonald's sense of what is necessary procedure, being at the mercy of any existing combination of Liberal and Conservatives, Parliamentary can be moved (I think) only after another General Election. The action of the election which will cause him to come will not be the action currently called—Liberal and Conservative. It will be simply working after co-terminus by non-working ball, who are anxious to be known to great their politics. It is an interesting action that India will view, and a well-considered one. Their loyalty can be reached only by a bold policy. It is lack of the imagination, the lack that holds up otherwise before by a bold and unaccommodating attack. In the special matter of Indian administration, we are the more disposed to anticipate such a development because of



the personality of Col. Wedgwood. The coming into power of a Labour Government is most difficult to reconcile with the continuity of Colonel Wedgwood's being in the India Office. It is worth to event to the India Office, the personality of the Secretary of State comes in nearly everything. Even in an office less dominated by personality than the India Office the public Colonel will be difficult to suppress. In the present case, he may be treated to have his way right through. We have clear anticipation, but we shall reserve our belief in the matter for the time being. On the whole, we think there will be a bold policy.

### The Great Test

The Congress has given a clear and unqualified mandate for concentration on the constructive programme. It remains now to be seen whether the workers will be loyal to the Congress and carry out the mandate. The next few months are without any exaggeration a critical period in the history of our national movement. Success or failure depends on how we now conduct. These few months will be marked by an experiment of decentralisation; yet during this period we shall be put to the severest test. Will India only wave the banner of Non-co-operative action and show the steady work and strength which will at once render foreign domination impossible and plant Swarajya on unshakable foundations? This is the question upon the answer to which the history of our movement now depends.

Our workers, not the most vocal, neither will they, have shown last year about the most trying events bravely and patiently, with faith and courage and steadfast purpose worthy of the glorious undertaking. Now will they be still more ready than ever. It pleases Him that rules nations that we should pass through a further ordeal to prove ourselves to freedom. Our sufferings and privations are at breaking point. "How long?" is the cry of many a weary soul. Gladly would they welcome when tidings their place in the struggle so that they might put their Lungscha down and rest their weary feet for a time. But this cannot be. The last and greatest trial we must go through, and I believe God mercifully.

Constructive work and nothing else now. Other things have been tempting, have been quickly-looking and attractive stuff, but take us out of the path of constructive which the Congress with one voice has ordered. It is not without deep and earnest thought that such restless minds, spirits that dash for freedom themselves and quick and swift even more the cost than the All India Workers have asked in some and unrelenting terms for concentration on the constructive programme. No distraction of any kind should be permitted to hamper the quick fulfilment of the programme. The courage of silent work should be given the fullest play.

"I am fed up with three years of politics. Let us go to my village. I shall take a Paundrasa for into my house and sit at the spinning wheel. Let us go," said a weary fighter yesterday. "But listen you" said I, "it is the very thing wanted."

Shower such hysterically that the work stalling and everything else fall to such. Now is the time

for every Congress worker to be an example to others like my weary head. Select your village and spin all your time. Let the people see in your action the faith that is in you, that Swarajya shall be won through the discipline even in these positions in life in peace and strife. The seed will go to the people, for the people will come to you. In your village you will only see Swarajya building itself round you like King Arthur's palace built to stone.

I look upon the Coimbatore Congress as a Congress that opened the Christmas year—a year that will see India's destiny fulfilled. Ask me questions about the huge value of spinning, no queries about costumes and politics, but get up to the spinning and spin religiously for at least a half hour. Do this for the sake of Congress whatever be your politics, whatever be your day's task. To me this is the great message of the Congress that met and dispersed at Coimbatore. Set up the Charkas. All the responsibilities inevitable and unshakable will gather round it. The sweet music of it will cheer all prisoners and all wages.

"When it is all is everything else," I remember the Master saying one day, "if I restore the ancient state of India to her people, I shall have fulfilled the mission of my life." Let us prepare this fulfilment as our great welcome to him when he comes from exile.

C. R.

### A Correction

I am reported to most papers to have said in my opening up resolution at Coimbatore that the Council boycott was alive and not dead, so in the case of schools and courts. A misquoting history has altogether reversed what I said. I said that the triple boycott was alive and not dead. I pointed out that in the case of schools and courts, the boycott was there in being as we sought to substitute national schools and institutions where, though we suspended aggressive propaganda, I then proceeded to say in a new sentence, that as in the case of schools and courts there in respect of Congress the boycott was there, because discharging ourselves from the Government Legislatures we sought to make the Congress a true and powerful national assembly.

### An Appeal

Workers and Students! You are aware of the proceedings of the Indian National Congress at Coimbatore and the resolution adopted there. I know that many of my comrades were disturbed and thought that the resolution was not strong enough. I desire however to point out that the resolution is clear in respect of two matters: one, the immediate work before us is constructive work, two, the fundamental basis of our programme, i.e., the triple boycott is unaffected; three, we have here just and laid to the Swarajya Party; four, we have secured ourselves without sacrificing peace.

The Coimbatore Congress has given a definite and clear lead to concentration on constructive work. Let us take it up and put forth honest, untiring effort this year. Let us not allow doubts and dissensions to take up our time and energy. The charkas will see themselves progressing. In the fulfilment of this our programme lies our destiny as Indians. C. R.



# Young India

1934-35

## Christianism in India

The Address of Mr. E. T. Paul, the General Secretary of the Indian section of the Young Men's Christian Association to the Annual Conference of Indian Christians held in Bangalore was a remarkably interesting document. Mr. Paul is no politician, and that very fact enabled him to view the political picture with a clear eye free from all bias. It was again picturesque in a Christian to say any but the possible abuse of the speech was that it struck a note eminently foreign to the thought habitually amongst Indian Christians. Of one thing we are sure—hardly Mr. Paul and a few others who may be mentioned, and who may be counted on the fingers, Indian Christians are away from nationalism. We do not say that it is a sign of mental feebleness, there is widespread indifference which when raised to exposure tends to be pro-Churchman and anti-nationalist. It is this background that makes Mr. Paul's address a thing of rare. He is a nationalist.

It is good to hear things, the reading of history, vision of the future, the security of his people under "peace," he is indubitably sound. But when he comes to deal with the functions of his constituents in our politics, we felt as we are to agree with him. He advises that Christians should take part in politics but with an ideal detachment. They should be in politics but out of it. His passionately warm Christian against the peace and progress of politics, and now he tells things to be avoided if their choice is politics. He is to be a blessing and not a curse.

We grant that Mr. Paul refers to a supreme detachment. It is magnificent but it is not politics. We shall respectfully urge on Mr. Paul two lines of thought. The first is this. In politics, as in everything else, there is such a thing as responsibility. Suppose a Christian statesman in India individually or with the aid of the Indian Christian community agrees on the contrary the pursuit of a policy, and he succeeds in converting the nation to his view. We say it would be impossible for him to run away from the consequences of that policy in either India or in the hands of his own and his successors, we are confident that Mr. Paul will not ask a Christian to choose his political conclusions because of the nature of the fact that there is the burden of humanizing need and necessity for the lot of a politician who has chosen at his people. In a normal state of society, it is the burden of government that creates him. What we are talking here, Paul and all servants of the country—the establishment of this society. Surely he will not say that the assumption of responsibility which comes with a nation's destiny confers the right of a policy, should be avoided because of his horror of the complexity of "peace and progress". We say it is impossible if the substantial advice is that Christians should keep out of politics altogether. The speaking

of abstinence in the matter of responsibility will be impossible. But the Indian is his advocate. As far as that is concerned, Mr. Paul, and before him the Christians have found their limits. We suggest to all humbly that you cannot not your state and have it.

But there is something more from the lips of Mr. Paul's thought and that brings us to our second observation. If we may say so, what we are going to say was asked by him, because he has been an administrator and not a politician. It is one of the elements of realistic politics that the strongest person who comes into politics does so because of a subtle balance in it. There is a good deal of suffering and dissatisfaction, which is not without a definite cause. Beyond it there are prices which are more tangible and the secret of whose satisfaction is not told from the common herd. The appeal is not of the highest, but some the low road and lowly. If a permanent self-sustaining influence is based on the Christian community and its leaders, it is almost automatically certain that Indian nationalism will go forward to its appointed fate of Christian cooperation. We do not suggest that nationalism will not have victory. But at all that it will not be a purely Christian achievement. That is not the way our vision shapes itself. The cooperation of Indian Christians in the national task will be low and equal, shared by our best soldiers on the one hand and our commoners in an impossible manner of Indian which will lead down at the first practical test leading to bitterness. Better will they have a share in the common effort. They will have their part in the inevitable end of national leadership. When the day of judgment is on us, they will not be denied their price.

## The Debate at Coimbatore

[The debate in the Coimbatore Congress centred round the following resolution. Below are the speeches made by Mr. C. Rajagopalachari in moving the resolution and in replying to the debate.]

### Resolution

The Congress reaffirms the Non-co-operation Resolutions adopted at Calcutta, Poona, Ahmedabad, Gaya and Delhi.

Since debate has been raised by reason of the Non-co-operation Resolutions adopted at Delhi with regard to General entry, whether there has been any change in the policy of the Congress regarding the policy of the Triple Boycott, the Congress affirms that the principle and policy of that Boycott remain unchanged.

The Congress further declares that the end principle and policy form the foundation of constructive work, and appeals to the nation to carry out the programme of constructive work as adopted at Bardoli and prepare for the adoption of Lord Hardinge. The Congress calls upon every Provincial Congress Committee to take immediate steps in this behalf with a view to the speedy attainment of our goal.



### Mr. C. Rajagopalachari's speech

#### In meeting the resolution he said

The Congress is determined upon this programme. We have to decide what part of the Non-co-operation programme we should work during this year, and in what manner we have to put under the leadership of Mahatma Mahendra K. During the constructive months.

#### Constructive Programme

We all know what he wants us to do at the moment as he himself is concerned. He has told you already that we must concentrate on the constructive programme adopted at Haridwar, not merely in policy, but in day to day work, with strenuous effort. I therefore want you to accept that programme of work, and if you do so, one part of the programme that I place before you must be accepted. This must decide upon carrying out the constructive work which is part of the Non-co-operation programme.

#### A Declaration of Policy

Another part of the resolution which I place before you is a declaration that we will adhere to the principle and policy of the triple boycott. I want to be brief and therefore go straight to the point. I want you to adopt the principle and policy of the triple boycott as interpreted and endorsed by Mahatma Gandhi. I do not want you by this resolution to adopt the triple boycott as the basis of going to the platform and immediately and aggressively calling off lawyers, school boys and students. We must keep that principle as interpreted and endorsed by Mahatma Gandhi, as the basis of the constructive programme. The feasibility of the constructive programme is necessary to be declared once again because I feel that the atmosphere in the country has been disturbed by what we have been telling and doing regarding the Congress. That declaration of policy is the confirmation of the Congress policy as interpreted by Mahatma Gandhi and forms the second part of the resolution.

#### Do not Disturb

Another part of the resolution is a clear expression of our determination not to work when we did at Delhi or to disturb those who were under the Delhi Decree. It does not mean that we adopt that policy for the future. It only means that we do not disturb what has been already done. There are the three things that form the resolution. I have given them to you in the order of their importance according to my opinion.

#### Avoid a Battle

Another important consideration I want place before you for shaping the resolution in the form in which I have placed it. It is that the resolution will be supported by Mr. Das and his friends from whom we have had the resolution to differ. Why does he give his support? Because he does not want a battle now, but simply wants you to accept facts as they are. He does not want you either to adopt his programme or to reject it. He recognises the fact that the Congress has this more policy to-day as it had before.

I don't think I can add anything more, except a few words with regard to the alternative resolution you have before you on the agenda paper. I want to know whether you want a stronger resolution had to fight a battle for it with all its consequences, or

whether you will leave the resolution which states the objectives of what we want without the aid, object of a battle. I certainly prefer the latter. I want you to agree with the policy with which my own feelings were saturated. I want you to rely upon yourself and not upon others in carrying on your work. But we ought to do nothing in present where people have standing us. You ought take it here, you should work where you are not present as we ought at least avoid the aftermath of a battle war. If we proceed with work, and keep the question for now we might get some more. I shall not leave you further but proceed to read the resolution in English. Mr. Vasudevan who will follow me will read it in Telugu. (There he read the resolution in English.)

#### Duty of Provincial Committees

I don't place before you a more complete and detailed programme of constructive work, because in the present state of work of homogeneity in India such Provincial Congress Committees will have to consider what particular items are more urgent and necessary and possible. The detailed programme of work will have to be considered by the Executive of the Congress in consultation with each P. C. C. But one thing is clear that we give a mandate to the Executive to concentrate their attention on constructive work and work out the details. The words and phrases of the resolution have been thoroughly studied out in the Subjects Committee and that Committee has recommended the resolution in the form in which I have proposed it. I want you therefore as a National Assembly of men united on business, to accept the resolution without further doubt or discussion. Some persons ask me whether this resolution involves a loss on the Congress. We do not ask the Committee to go out of the Congress. It is for them to go out if they like. What was decided at Delhi remains without being extended or reduced by a single inch or fraction of an inch.

### Mr. C. Rajagopalachari's Reply to the Debate

Mr. President was saying to you that duties arise from legislation would mean disavowal from our friends who are in the legislatures. I do not agree with Dr. Subramanyam. I say we have nothing to do with the legislatures and we should not look to them for help, but we have not come to say, we might not do say, that we disavow the resolutions from the performance in the legislatures. We never say that, even in regard to the Government maintain them. We ought to disavow the resolutions from the legislatures, not the men. I am really surprised at the misinterpretation-photos. I put the proposition in a clear way. I claim the utmost right of disavowal from the legislatures in this resolution not only from Congress but also from courts and schools. It is quite another thing for us and the Congress organisation to decide whether we will take an aggressive propaganda or not in the future. Mr. Das assumed the proposition without any question or word do you think that Mr. Das is not one who would show his own interpretation of there was room for misinterpretation and still there were speakers claim, say that the movement was the Non-co-operation resolution and that my resolution was the expression of the Bank of Non-co-operation. I am surprised that men who stand by us faithfully and with the confidence of their own judgment, could imagine that



Swamyji's argument for the death of Non-cooperation. I must asking for my explanation. This meeting is a revolution in that manner.

Dr. B. K. Mukherjee's whole speech was like a bolt of lightning and my friend Ramkrishna Bhattacharya's thoughtless was also like that. But our attitude was that I cannot accept the attitude of the amendment in which they give their support, but my complaint is that they give the go-by to the Delhi resolution. That is why I cannot accept the amendment. We may think the maximum fault is in the programme of Non-cooperation. But how can we ignore what was said in Delhi? We must either have the courage to make a resolution, rescinding and cancelling that resolution of Delhi or we must accept it and place before the Congress today a resolution that we confirm the old Delhi Congress. What we say is that we do not accept the Delhi resolution, but our future policy and programme emphasize to be the same. Congress was made on calling the Delhi resolution a Non-co-operation resolution. Dr. P. N. Sanyal, Swami Vivekananda's whole speech was based upon that single word Non-co-operation.

I tell you that because the word Non-co-op as such is there my position is stronger and safer. If you are satisfied of the Delhi Congress? It is because you make another form of Non-co-operation. If it was not a Non-co-operation resolution why should you be bothered about the Delhi resolution? But if it is a Non-co-operation resolution it is not your duty to say that in spite of it we follow in the same as before? One might say that the policy of people before which we follow is not the policy legally sanctioned by Mahatma Gandhi but the policy legally sanctioned by every day also. We follow the policy of the people before us as proposed by Mahatma Gandhi. But that Mr. Das is a part of his party because that non-cooperation is correct. But they say they would not follow in it later. So except the fact that you and I are committed to that policy and continue to be committed to it, if you want to escape Mr. Das's interpretation you must join the Swamyji Party. You must do it by accepting the resolution. Swamyji never speaks from a level position of the difference between the Swamyji programme and the old Non-co-operation programme. Take it from me that if you vote for the proposition I have moved, you may sleep easily with the knowledge that you do not accept the Swamyji Party's programme. You accept the policy which we had before the Delhi session. But you assure our friends who follow him as that what was done in Delhi is not to be undone now. If we want to keep the prestige of the Congress without making the integrity and the unity of the institution the target and to make what we did right open eyes when there is a great reason for it. There would have been great reason if we were prepared to take up now an aggressive legislative programme. But what you want is not an aggressive withdrawal programme but only a foundation for your constructive work. I remind the speakers that an aggressive withdrawal constructive programme would be out of place now.

The subject of boycott of institutions was also introduced. A boycott is to be effective must be against a particular institution. Boycott of an

institution as a hotel in one of our streets where all the other streets are open to traffic and trade. Boycott of institutions would not be useful to the nation. Let us not therefore bother about institutions and let us leave it to the Congress representatives to decide such things from time to time. Let us now decide about proposals.

When I moved the proposition to you I said briefly and only with general principles. It might ought to be left to Committees and it would be responsible to consider how the legal language, syndicalist and other aspects which were introduced by the appearance of the resolution. I am sorry I was compelled to enter into some of them to reply. One word more. Fear of non-cooperation is a form of weakness and must beget cards. If you believe me that is Non-co-operation is all to have in this resolution and things in weakness and manifest for constructive work. That is what we want for this year. I beg of you therefore to give your acceptance to the proposition and reject the amendment. If we cannot a mistake thereby, mistake can always be corrected. Let us go according to our great resolution. (Cheers of Mahatma Gandhi group.)

## Congress Resolutions

(10 minutes 2000)

I. Resolutions regarding the death of Swamyji  
Dr. Keshab Chandra Sengupta, Arun Kumar Dutt, Mr. Swamyji Choudhury, Pandit Pradyumn Narayan Dargyia, and Harinder Nathania Singh.

II. Amendments to Congress Constitution  
III. Indian National Post.

Resolved that the Committee appointed by the Delhi Session of the Congress do and for further explain and recommend and submit further report by the 15th March 1934 to the All India Congress Committee for its consideration, and that Harinder Nathania Singh (Chakrabarti) be included in the Committee in place of Swamyji Choudhury who is no longer present.

IV. Volunteer Organization

This Congress is of opinion that in order to train the people of India and make them effective instruments for the carrying out of the national work, as the have laid down by the Congress, it is necessary to have a trained and disciplined body of workers. The Congress, therefore, resolves the instrument for the formation of an All India Volunteer organization and calls on the Working Committee to take all necessary steps to form such a body of trained volunteers co-operating with the agencies of the movement and keep control and supervision over it, while giving it freedom of national management and administration.

V. Congress Administration

Resolved that the Congress hereby calls upon the Working Committee to prepare and submit as early as time is possible to the All India Congress Committee for its consideration, a scheme of organization of reports Congress Departments for most efficiently and systematically carrying out the various items of the programme of constructive work under its supervision and control.

That the Working Committee should also submit a scheme of National Service of post workers who would carry out the work of the various departments and provide adequate and efficient Central and Provincial headquarters and local office establishments.



that the Congress endorses the A. I. S. C. to adopt these schemes with such modifications as it may deem necessary and to put them into force at the earliest possible date.

#### **VI The Main Resolution**

*Resolved, That the Congress do as follows:*

##### **VII Kanyas**

The Congress sends the greetings and sympathy of the Nation to the Indian Community at Kanya and while adhering to the opinion that kanya bharaga is not for India, the welfare and government of India should remain to be properly considered, it authorizes Mrs Sarojini Naidu and Mr George Joseph to attend the forthcoming Indian Congress at Kanya and study the situation and advise the Indian Community there as to what steps they should take in carrying on their struggle against the practice and practices imposed upon them.

##### **VIII Ceylon Labourers**

The Congress appoints a Committee consisting of Sita M. A. Arachchidoss, A. V. Das Perumalappa and L. Madhavan to investigate into the conditions of life to which the South Indian Labourers in Ceylon are subjected and to make a report to the Working Committee.

##### **IX Indian Aliens**

In view of the broadcasting movement awarded to Indian labourers in various parts of the British Empire, this Congress advises the people of India to consider the question of stopping all kinds of emigration from India for labour purposes and calls upon the Working Committee to appoint a small Committee to examine the matter in all aspects and report to the A. I. India Congress Committee.

##### **X Aham! Struggle**

The Congress declares that the attack made by the Government on the Khairatpur Garhwalis Peasants' Committee and the Aham! Dal was a direct challenge to the right of free association of all Indians for non-violent activities, and being convinced that the issue is crucial to all movements for freedom, wishes to stand by the Sikhs and calls upon Hindus, Mussalmans, Christians, Parsis and all people of India to render all possible assistance to the Sikhs in the present struggle, including contributions with men and money.

The Congress authorizes the A. I. India Congress Committee to take all necessary steps in this behalf.

##### **XI Sir, V. D. Sarvarkar**

The Congress condemns the continued concentration of Vengalok Damodar Sarvarkar, and expresses its sympathy with Dr K. D. Sarvarkar and other members of his family.

##### **XII Khaddar Bands**

It is resolved that an A. I. India Khaddar Band be formed consisting of Sita Jankshi Bagai (Kishinor), Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajendra Gandhi, Ramchandra Jagannath, Velp Nappa, Balasambhaji, Bhaskar Ali and Bhaskaraji Keshu (Karnatgar), with full power to organize and carry on Khaddar work through and India under the general supervision of the A. I. India Congress Committee, and to raise funds (including loans) therefor, in addition to the efforts that may be made from the general funds. The Band shall hold office for three years, may be renewed or be dissolved by the vote of the members. A report and statement of accounts shall be presented to the A. I. C. C. at its annual meeting and chairman elected for The Band will act as central authority on behalf of the A. I. C. C.

with regard to Khaddar work, and in co-operation with Provincial Congress Committees. It will supervise and control the Khaddar Bands established by Provincial Congress Committees and organize new ones in co-operation with the P. C. C. where they do not exist.

**XIII** The Congress resolves that its main interest be laid in Sarvarkar.

### **To Beaten for Bharat**

It is not in a reprehensible spirit that we should offer our congratulations to the people of Bharat and their leaders. Let us thank God to all humanity that in this and His laughter on a people's victory. The justice of the cause, the simple and early payment of suffering that was adopted and shown all the absolute determination of the people undelayed by any mental reservations to carry it out to the bitter end, have brought victory as a national and necessary consequence. The triumph of justice and the success of Sarvagata are one and identical. The people of Bharat have won because their cause was absolutely just and just Sarvagata is absolutely and possibly only where the cause is just and just. In other cases it will only be a temporary illusion and on better than physical violence. It may seem to succeed for a time but it cannot win long to wither away. But where the cause is just, as at Bharat, victory is certain. The Government of Bharat desires to be congratulated for quickly realising this. They have put aside their prejudice and proceeded bravely in our steps in order. The victory of Sarvagata is complete where once the completed does not feel the sting of defeat but feels that he is working solely under the compelling force of justice. We are glad and deeply proud and through but offer thanks for justice.

The moral crisis is resolved and the cost of the special police is to be put of general administrative changes. This being done it becomes more easy for all to consider whether the special police force is necessary, and if so whether the men and officers now employed are efficient. When once a man or government action is the mind to be just and is on the path of right conduct there is every hope of complete reformation.

It is too much to expect to great and sudden a change in the mentality of governments so long involved in a radical scheme of the colonial war. But as a special case if definite and liberal terms are offered in an ultimatum. It is possible that the extraordinary incidents of Bharat may order surrender to bring a complete life of better justice. The political need can be the only solution for crime on the part of brave and capable human beings. The state of wrong on either side complicates the issue. But if we look back to the history of any crime we generally reach a point where a strong human motive which may not be justifiable but is certainly a moral explanation calls for humanisation instead of the all too easy remedy of the Sarvagata's view.

C. R.

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# Young India

A Weekly Journal

Edited by George Joseph

Vol VI

Ahmedabad, Thursday 17th January 1934

No. 3

## The Nation in Agency

Incumbent are the ways in which the Lord rules us. As if the Cross was not already too heavy for us to bear, what the news on the morning of the 13th 'Mr. Gandhi operated on his wound sporadically last night. Had a very late night and considered this morning necessary.' News previously received had hardly prepared us for this. Indeed Mahatma's illness has been a matter of great public anxiety and for a week but he was here. Nearly two weeks ago, Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel wrote to the Chief Secretary to Government, and to the Superintendent, Troms, Jail, asking for a statement of how matters taken last close every day, for a fortnight, for treatment by two of the most reputed medical men in Ahmedabad who treated Mahatma during his last confinement. Mr. Vallabhbhai had also entered along with his letter the medical opinion of these two gentlemen who requested him to obtain from Government a statement of the nature related to show Mr. Vallabhbhai got no reply, some days ago we again heard that Mahatma was rapidly getting better, and that he was contemplating of going out to the streets. On the 13th therefore, Mr. Gandhi Gandhi moved to the Superintendent, Troms, Jail, inquiring about Mahatma's condition, and he went in only the next day 'Your father has slight fever, no cause for alarm but you are at liberty to visit it you wish.' Next day came another telegram from him 'Your father has been transferred to Troms Hospital, Troms today.' There was absolutely no reference to the cause of the ailment, 'feverishness'—was 'incurable'—was the indication of the ailment. Next day came the statement was referred to above. It is most peculiarly surprising how a slight fever could develop into conditions making a most serious surgical operation absolutely essential, how a Surgeon in charge of the biggest jail in the Presidency could not discover until the day of Mahatma's removal from Troms Hospital that an ailment on the apparently less alarming. Or did he know all that was happening, and simply wanted to spare the Gandhi the agony of the word? No. It is the Surgeon of the Troms Hospital that apparently related the last phase, took Mahatma away to his hospital in his own car and delivered an immediate operation.

What happened afterwards has been previously told by the Dr. H. H. Shrivastava Chauri in his statement in the Press reproduced elsewhere.

Grand Anand too, our office was there until Monday evening. He had the privilege of seeing Bapu Chitra after the operation. His first statement was an expression of profound gratitude for the careful care that he had been receiving from everyone. In the Hospital and in the kindness with which everyone had surrounded him. It is not without an idea that he was going to the jail than he does. As you approach his bed, you can scarcely see him lying in it. But for the indescribable work that expresses the most of his terrible work caused in the State body of which you can even count the all the few bones, all about is white. The weakness is such that complete recovery of his last strength is well-nigh impossible, and in the extent that it is possible it might take months. It is a sorry fact that we are sure which in my life has been lived for his people. The West Indian dispatched from Port of Spain 11-14 A. M. today gives the following re-arranging news.

From being better. Had sound sleep. Took yesterday was along with only and only. Tenderly, some small rapidly recovering. Has continued with walking, voice stronger, cheer. In Amoy, Devadas, Mahatma standing regularly.

It is naturally like the sun through which we are passing can have a refreshing breeze. It is that the nation has all-nearly two months ago, had weeks in here from the line of the beloved River. The first message was the one which has been received by the State. It contains heart and good cheer enough to last throughout the struggle however prolonged it may be.

The second is one which we should treasure as much as the first, but one which we laggers broadcast. "I am deeply touched by an exhibition of deep devotion given to me by my countrymen during the entire period of my illness. They need have no anxiety because every possible attention is being given me by medical authorities here."

And that brings us to the other re-arranging feature. It is the great Christian worker Dr. Mallock and his assistants are working in his own name in Chitra that cannot breaking up God's work. We cannot be too thankful to them. And not we all children of the same Father? Let us all rise. Vallabhbhai!



## Notes

Our remarks about the Constructive Programme, as presented last week, will be lost. The Programme is of action and all we can offer in this place is counsel. There is a spirit of counsel which is itself action, but we are not so foolish as to imagine that what is now said in *Young India* is treated with dynamic energy. In the absence of that, the whole drift of all what follows in the programme is in absolute smooth, and to go about the business in other spheres like, Rajagopalachari has said, that what we want is not alterations, but alterations and differences, it is a lost saying. There is however a supplement to it. Differences and efficiency cover themselves in the process of a greater and more vibrating quality—*dhriti*. As long as the main business of politics was to win the Council-system, the master of the Programme was well enough. That pre-occupation, which was seriously like an occupation, is now gone. We want something more than the fact of Mr. Gandhi's faith in it to wear us alive. Our loyalty to him is collected, but unless the loyalty is founded on conviction we become an anything better and nothing special. It is our thing to do as he does, but we must have his power and his faith. The serious thought is whether he should have no attempt his task without his faith. It was only Sri Ramaswami that could while the subject here of him, it is an everybody that can assume the responsibility of seeing their all on the fate of the success of a programme which the large world does not understand.

\* \*

Besides the Constructive Resolution in the Congress, there was one proposal which went the way of previous decision. It was the proposal to change the Creed of the Congress, adding or making national objective from *Swami Jai Hind* conference. The matter has come up for debate every year since 1920 when the Constituting was formed. But the proposals have been thrown out consistently in spite of gallant efforts. The need of it is those motions to affect the change should be decisive, and we can point it out without being suspected of either motives, because we happen to be in favour of the change as he wrote. Nothing is all in all, the general sense of people are not ready for the change that seems to be otherwise to be desirable. The reason of opposition may be counterproductive, ruled by any standard of policy or of logic. But there it is, and it will be like to ignore it. Clearly, when talking about the change by convincing the Congress have failed. Why should we not allow ourselves trouble from the consequent? Allow public relation is desirable in silence and then perhaps, we may find one only day further than we hoped the country's reaction for the change. The very meeting of the Congress will then be ready to accept it with ease. Continued talk may well get tired of persistence and the reaction to it is not always successful; it may be slipped.

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We have already observed that the resolution of the Bengal Pact was worked by unhappy Ministry, indicating that we do not believe we are particularly sympathetic

with the Max of Facts. Mr. Das was guilty of no given mistake than being in a hurry; but he was in a position to be as given as ever as *Gandhian*. His *Bengal* is indifferent and seriously stressed, and if our intentions are right, the possibility that was the lot of Mr. Das in the middle of the situation is no longer as he consented. To add to his position the *Bengal* are once too particularly because of the declaration that the Pact is not finally settled has was a continued suggestion. The *Anglo-Indian* Press, which does not less him, is public over what it considers a social disaster. In view of all this, it is not surprising that the Congress should have, as an unexplained moved by a *Bengal* *Anglo-Indian*, through out the Bengal Pact for consideration. As for the fact of the *Bengal* Pact with by Lord Lajpat Rai's Committee, we are glad that the Congress found it possible to voluntarily accept the suggestion we made last week. Our proposal was that the Pact should be treated as a pre-arranged and that that decision should be deferred pending discussion by the public. The resolution was that public relation should be invited and that the matter should be finally disposed of by the All India Committee in a suitable manner. It is something gained that no heavy decision was taken. We do not think that it was a sense of the gravity of the issue involved that led to this result. The decision that was the cause caused by the consideration caused by the voice of Mr. Das. Our world sometimes have wished the Congress to follow the pre-arranged to the demand of the Bengal Pact by changing it special consideration. But the issue was too sorry and the post-up target against Mr. Das was given full play in the deep-decided energy with which his latest official creation was continued. We think it was a good and important. Continuously working the substance of the Bengal Pact for a committee would have been caused of Mr. Das and to agree; but it was not to be. We believe there is nothing to prevent the All India Committee or the Pact Committee from considering the demand of the Bengal settlement and arriving at their decision. In any event, we hope that the question raised by Lord Lajpat Rai and Mr. Das will be deeply considered in connection with all important parties. The following bodies must certainly be asked upon to give their views, the *Indian League*, the *Indian Christian Association*, the *Food* *Rajendra Sabha*, the *Commons Association*, the *Anglo-Indian Association* and the *Indian League*. Then the Committee will have a full list of the position.

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The meeting of the *Indian* *Association* will by the local *Executive Council* has more than one issue for us. The thing as the matter, the legislation of history that is at the bottom of Imperialism. It does for every one to see. The *Indian* members of the Council saw it so clearly that they showed themselves of all consideration in the matter for seriously withdrawing from the display and making their position clear to the whole world. If we are, any with all respect, we think the course was proper and justified. The position of the *Indian* has been made extremely evident, it is for the *Indian* Government to provide as for the *Anglo-Indian*. It is natural to assume that the Government and the *Colonial* Office are able to carry on in spite of the *Anglo-Indian* of the *Indian* *Association*.











[illegible]

I have presented a few ideas for a magazine to the people who influenced the country. He was surprisingly true to the word. He said he was a promoter of the magazine and would discuss the prospect with a friend whom I met. He was opposed to my article and thought my knowledge of world events was not as good as his. He said he would write me back and tell me everything he thought on the subject. He has not answered.

There is also that "I" (Richard) who wanted a marriage a few years in the past. His whole existence seemed to be centered in getting that girl married and impossible life was possible afterward as it is now and Richard is married. He is a business man. I hope in this point the same could be said, people of good fortune and a person on his way to a few minutes he has and in the business man. I had perhaps married at 17, perhaps I had married a happy marriage, marriage, marriage and love, marriage, marriage, marriage and when, when it was the Non-co-operation movement, when I had a leader of such a movement and movement. I (now) The (Hague) and the (Hague) and of (Hague) was that there I could see from their long time, the way at the (Hague) (Hague) that lay on them. They said that the patient had been the (Hague) very well indeed, that some part had been and that it was a matter of (Hague) that the (Hague) had not been (Hague) longer. The patient had had (Hague) and was expected to sleep (Hague) the (Hague) (Hague) when we (Hague).

I dissent from the doctor for saying that the patient's condition was thoroughly satisfactory. I have read out the statement to Doctor Florida who approves of it and adds that he expects us to be successful should the other side of America.

1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 26

Country	Very bad	Bad	Not bad	Very good
USA	55%	35%	8%	2%
France	45%	40%	12%	3%
Germany	40%	45%	15%	0%
Japan	35%	50%	15%	0%

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 17 and 18 are available. The price of one set is \$5.  
 Volume 17 costs \$10.00.

Year	Population	Population
1990	100	100
2000	100	100
2010	100	100
2020	100	100
2030	100	100
2040	100	100
2050	100	100
2060	100	100
2070	100	100
2080	100	100
2090	100	100
2100	100	100

## The African Crisis

If the white people of South Africa have a grudge against the British Empire, which entered into a secret conspiracy with leading Transvaalists to work up anti-Boer feeling, they could not imagine a finer opportunity to spread upon the warlike work that they have been doing. All sorts of decency and even respectability for the alleged work are shown in the minds, and consciences, of white and non-white alike.

The people in the great and the portions of the oppressed feelings were more than down. We were not here for spending a campaign in Africa at the same time as the great campaign in India is going on. But the violent tyrannies of Colonial Powers allow us that. Perhaps in Africa this is the very time to isolate the people of Africa from their enemies and direct to India and make for play of internationalism, a united front. May God guide right our fellow-conscience and women in the their land!

Nonexistence is the essential condition of all plans. All other things can be adjusted from time to time, improved, or altered or added to, if this one condition is preserved. If battle is joined, the general must be taken on.

While the Indians in Africa carry on their struggle, whether upon Gold and their own brave hearts, we in India ought to know that the battle is very unheroic, and is really to be fought and won or lost in the unperceived. We cannot imagine a victory longer as shown in the battlefield. If we want the story of Indians to be repeated anywhere in the world that is here of the essence of the matter. Here, in the old country in the forests of beauty, equality and freedom the Indian's children stand. The Indians in polished lines of the world by slavery and dishonesty. We cannot help our Indians and Africa stand, as long as they are here, and are always right. Nothing can be achieved by merely watching the home race as some of the best, seeing us as doing. Truly and honestly the Indians are not of the spirit of darkness which we have allowed to control the world that God gave us.

It was the very first person I met.

That is the one question, the question which worries Mohamed Ali asked in Cozumela: "The length of the barrel counts for little, it is the charge behind that counts." The charge is our sacrifice. Not war, not hunger, but the moment of pain and suffering which you and I can budget for. This is the one and only question for all Congressmen, Congresswomen, Delegates, and Commissioners. Let us settle and answer this without compromise, and we can defend the decision ourselves, whether who is law, we specify or who later. "In politics," said Mohamed Ali in Cozumela with great truth and honesty and confidence of spirit. "The politician can be a real hero only when the schedule of national liability."

Are you then prepared to go as far as the "holy war" rule and exclude Israel? Otherwise, "Let nothing down—the Jews are getting ready," and Jewish questions to the resolution of the great things which alone build a nation of Israel, as the Moslems identify with at Canada.

C. H.



# Young India

17-3-31

## Prepare for Bapu's Release

It is easy to buy Indian cloth as easy as it is to accept any other value,—but we may not sometimes consider the value. 'Self-interest' has a pleasure of its own, which can be realised only by those who accept it. It may be somewhat difficult to find the Khadi that suits the particular purpose for which I want it. The trouble may be less than what I want. The length of the cloth or the size may be more or less than the requirements of my own idea than all it may be much thicker than I would like it to be. It would be temptingly easy to find the cheap dhotis and equally in foreign cloth the same so, because my mind and my taste have been themselves led on the foreign money. Even after everything else is realised more or less satisfactorily, the price would certainly point again to the foreign article as cheaper.

Let us learn, however, to stand all these temptations. We should remember that if we are clothed in the cotton and may indeed be the cheaper in the end. Even if the beauty and the durability of good—hard—wool do not appeal to us, let us consider ourselves of the nature of the cloth we buy, the trouble to whom the money that we pay goes. If but we think about it, the faces of the half-starved women and children of our poverty should appear before our mind's eye as we go shopping. If I buy a yard of Khadi, the money I pay goes to help such a family to make both ends meet and to struggle against debt and ignorance because for some time to give hope and shed light where darkness had deeply ruled and to encourage those who have been to spinning to continue to spin.

'Gandhi is in prison. Nobody cares for my yarn now.' Many a sister has said to herself and many a wife while food and sleep lay on her a cold stone in the great days of 1911, has gone into melancholy almost again. Every yard of Khadi that you buy gives a dash of wind from above and gives hope to a poor and unfortunate sister in the village. Khadi is certainly cheaper, if all this/where here account, than foreign cloth that may cost a little less.

The choice we make when we buy cloth has far-reaching effects. It is not merely a question of size, colour or softness. The right choice automatically sets the wheel moving and the flow of yarn from the poor woman's hands to the water goes. If we make the wrong choice, it adds to the weight of the chains that bind the half-starved families to poverty and ignorance, although it may give better dividends to some rich millionaire here or abroad.

Khadi is the only way for strength and good health all over is, if not positively which, at least thoughtfulness and independence. Let us make this part of our Khadi universal. If we do, no day when night Mahatma will be with us again, and what is more, no life time with Mahatma, a happy note of service to work that fulfilled their purpose.

Every good family should have at least one Charkha at home. Every girl should learn and practice the stroke art of spinning. Boys and parents cannot better cover their fathers' accounts than at the family Charkha. Besides, if you are finding time to read this paper, surely you could find a few minutes for doing something better, something which Mahatma is already wishing you should do, all the time he is in jail deprived of every but one wish. When he comes out, would you not like to stand beside him? That is why you should at once get a Charkha and spin. This year the Congress has resolved that we should make up the oil lost since, all part also of cotton. We should make spinning and saving. The very best paper, the very best religious service, besides being the most valuable national service, is a half-hour at the Charkha before the day's work, and between the day's ending and sleeping. The Indian lawyer, the banker merchant, the man looking for work and all girls can certainly find time for this.

I cannot hope that these words may reach the village folk, or even more than the industrialised families of the spinning townsfolk. But I may beg of all that read this, to tell others and more than that, to set an example to others. It is the duty of Congress-workers to carry out the resolve of the Congress by taking the message of the spinning wheel to the villages and to put forth whatever effort to make every home what the Charkha, as an extra, child in itself of Bapu. Let us try with all our might this year to make a hundred of millions of our programme that will bring relief and action within actual view. The Spinning Wheel is the Key of the Charkha in every way. It is then a harvest of more nations with their Mahatma Gandhi. Let us be true, not without reason, accepted a chief place in the Khadi. India.

The Constructive Programme is identical with the spinning wheel. All the other laws really flow from it in natural sequence. If we take care of the Charkha, all the will automatically shape themselves around it.

C. R.

## God's Family

I had the pleasure of attending one of the lectures of Rev. W. A. Packer of the Y. M. C. A. It was one of those pleasant things that reveal the fundamental unity of the human race. The gulf that divided East and West, uniting almost but not for the time at this. Packer's voice produced the Khadi Indian again with the same fervour and the same unity which makes our own nation and that transcends any or our own. There is a thing of nature whose touch can conquer all dividing vanity and prejudice, and reveal the kinship of the whole world.

Have you seen an Indian mother feeding the white baby in her charge and the child laughing and clapping to her? Have you seen a light white child smiling and opening his blue eyes wide with pleasure when the dark baby comes to join in his play? I never could find better of the beautiful friendship in its relation of God's two's Child that was with me—Lipsa Devi laughing the words of those round the good Master's work and sitting down on his knee laughing. Those words and Rev. Packer's words are of the light, bright glances of the united family of God's children.



"I have a right to ask", wrote Mr. Andrews in his recent laudatory article in *Young India*, "the right of love, that English people, my own countrymen, may be at least to you as they are dead to me. I ask you to believe from me that their hearts are warm with love as mine is, and not cold and hard."

Surely, Mr. Andrews has the right, as another man

has, to appeal for love on behalf of his people. And we cannot fail to respond, in spite of all the wrong and all the unbecomingly long of definition. If but God wills it, the union must come one day, and our heart must meet five years in the marketplace of eternal Love, and the past wrongs shall be forgotten even like an ugly dream.

C. R.

## A Beautiful Address

Mohandas Mahatma Ahi's address was too long. It has appeared in a book in *Young India* and it is difficult if not impossible to present a thing of real beauty in parts. The *Aligarh Journal* has been kind to have it in handsome book-shape in English, Hindi and Urdu. It is hoped that no one will be lost in searching it into other languages also. It is undoubtedly the most valuable Presidential Address that we have had for many years. In fact it is a literary piece of the highest order, abounding with veracity and the honour that was Mohandas Ahi's own. It is an full of direct address as of deep and patient feeling that knows no limitation in sacrifice. Especially as a historic statement of Mohandas' political development it is of unique and permanent value.

The first part of the address is a summary exposition of Mohandas' feeling and outlook leading eventually to the present phase. At the same time the history of Mohandas Ahi's own what is immediately concerned in it. This must be so as All India's important the best type of Indian ideas and their psychology were truly the psychology of the great community to which they belong.

After the history the Mohandas, from whom mainly the role of India passed slowly to the English, declined to take advantage of the advantage provided by the new Government, and kept entirely free of contact with the culture or the new rules. As a consequence of this when the Congress movement was started we wonder how the Mohandas did not participate much in a political agitation which was the outcome of such a representative body from the new English Education. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan advised the Mohandas Community not to let their energy, moral and political agitation but to engage themselves in educational work.

When the Hindu-Muslim Relations came the Mohandas demanded separate electorates. This demand was the consequence of Hindu-Muslim separation, not the cause of it. According to the Mohandas, separate electorates, paradoxical as the proposition may seem, on the whole benefited unity. Mohandas Ahi in Congress days never stood for separate representation, but not so one who had no dream of a united India.

In the controversy that again raised the representation of Muslims "in a community" I had where my full share, but we accept the Hindu claim had been recognized in practice in the elections to the enlarged Council in 1916. I declined to launch a weekly journal of my own from the seat of the Government of India in order to make my community in taking its proper share in the political life of the country. I was particularly anxious to help it to understand that

while endeavoring to satisfy the pressing needs of the present, which would inevitably bring it new and new time contact with other elements in the body-politic, it should never lose sight of the prospects of the future when ultimately all communal interests had to be adjusted so as to harmonize with the permanent interests of India.

I had long been convinced that here in this country of hundreds of millions of human beings, intensely attached to religion, and yet infinitely split up into communities, castes and denominations, Mohandas had created by us the notion of solving a unique problem and working out a new synthesis, which was nothing less than a Federation of Faiths! As early as in 1904, when I had been only two years in India after my return from Oxford, I had given to this idea a clear, if not somewhat lacking expression, in an address delivered at Allahabad on the "Famous Mohandas' Unholy." "Unless some new force," wrote as what I had said on that occasion—"unless some new force, other than the existing unity of opinion under this vast Council of India, it will never create a geographical union, or what I think a will of unity do, become a Federation of Religions." I had used the strength of the theological basis of Indian community and yet hope and faith and the deep meaning for freedom had even then made me realize the inherent religious base of Indian unity. The lines of cleavage were too deeply marked to pass a unity other than federal, and yet, as I had observed in the address from which I have already quoted, the cleavage was not unbridgeable as noted in character, but religious. For more than twenty years I have destined the dream of a federation, greater, nobler and infinitely more spiritual than the United States of America, and today when many a political Communist prophesies a return to the bad old days of Hindu-Muslim cleavage, I still dream that old dream of "United Faiths of India." It was by order to promote this dream has really that I had launched my weekly newspaper, and had significantly called it "The *Quadrant*"—"a" consists of all and perfect of men."

An important new element that contributed to the growth of Indian unity was the agreement of Western Nations against the Muslim States of the world, and the consequent disintegration of Indian Muslims with regard to their relations to the foreign Government.







And I have agreed to work with Mahatma Gandhi, not out of respect, as that as long as I am acquainted with him I shall not forget to do so, but out of love even for the purpose of self-defence. And I have willingly entered into this compact because I think we can achieve victory without violence, that the use of violence for a nation of three hundred and twenty millions as people should be a matter of approach to it; and, finally that victory achieved with violence must be not the glory of all sections of the nation, but solely of the fighting classes which are more sharply divided in India from the rest of the nation than perhaps anywhere else in the world. Our (Swami) must be the Raj of all, not in order to be that, it must have been won through the willing sacrifice of all. If this is not so, we shall inevitably depend for our maintenance as well as the progress of the fighting classes, and this we must not do. Victory must be won by the voluntary sacrifice of the nation as a whole, and not by the narrowest section of the nation as a whole. More I have full faith in the possibilities of the programme of constructive work, of Non-Violent Non-Co-operation. I have no need to break after violence. Even if this programme fails to give us victory, I know that achieving willingly and cheerfully independence will prove to have been the best preparation even for the ultimate aim of Power. But, God willing, the constructive programme will not fail us if we work with a will and acceptance for the nation to achieve the world condition that it entails.

After this clear exposition of his attitude towards Non-violence, the following paragraph of the resolution, under given to the Indian Association, the full meeting of the Congress —

There has been said and written about Non-Co-operation well, if not accurately, or even more of our friends, would not understand its implications even yet. I cannot hope to enlighten them in this address. I will, however, content myself with saying just briefly a few things that I do say and mean well, at least we will not mean it. It is true we expect that if the Indian nation is prepared to make such sacrifice as Non-Co-operation entails, this foreign Government would be absolutely paralysed, but although we do anticipate such a result, it is by no means then hastened. Our movement even though its name suggests that it is of a negative character, is in reality not so. It is essentially of a much more positive character. It does not directly aim at the paralysis of Britain; in that aim it is neither our aim nor purpose. Every time of the Non-Co-operation programme with which I shall presently have to deal, has a strong constructive as well as a destructive aim, and we shall stand or fall according as we succeed in our construction or not. But if we do not succeed, or, in other words, if we continue to avoid violence of all that the Government has demanded in the confidence of its own violence and our trap for our destruction, we shall neither stand nor even fall but shall absolutely cease to exist. Even if we direct aim was to paralyse the

Government if we comply completely with the present system, and even the doctrine of laws enacted with the intent of Jagan Chait and now of Mahatma Gandhi. And I sincerely trust the people of Government is already paralysed. To this end we are not as a goal but I was not with the approval of an operation followed in Indian goods. Every process was a revolution of a few days at the end of every month for "the chain of the world" during the month; but none of the prisoners who occurred in winning the confidence and trust of the Indian people and the whole nation, non-violence, non-violence, or non-violence and besides enjoying other advantages during the rest of the month. They were a more liberal revolution of their sentence every month. They are in this Gandhi who has passed through the gateway of Indian called prison—and I trust there are a good many persons here to-day—be further with the work of the non-violence and non-violence who share the duty of keeping watch and word during the night with the paid workers employed by the paid administration. As a rule the law and non-violence pass the night keeping silently about sleep or at the very worst have not their period of worked day. But at the end of every sentence the paid workers with the rest of the prisoners who keep the watch and word "all night" is expected to pass every corner of the jail, and so long as this continues the paid workers too sleep the sleep of the paid. And this, my friends, is the picture of non-violence. We have lost our freedom and are kept under the thumb of the workers of others who are as much deprived of their freedom as we ourselves except for a few petty privileges that they seem to enjoy. Meanwhile the law continues to keep us in the custody of our custody and again because the co-operation of our non-violence system from those to those from every corner of India's non-violence the remaining cry, "All is well!" The only difference is that whereas the non-violence, government and workers aim in this way at least want that release from prison a little before their fellow prisoners ever return they keep watch and word, our co-operating friends who are our comrades in every prison, look, forward even to an early release. In that they have lost even the sense of slavery and obviously they the very chains that keep them restrained. As I write in the prison 19-4.

'I have of course for me, O, freedom that, even over those who captivity; that which has chosen to be in constant in working has been a duty.'

Mahatma Mahatma Jagan Chait's present position was the result of his experience. He has changed his way from the early when he stood in 1911 and even in 1914. Although this history and explaining the reasons that led him to his present position, he makes the following remarkable appeal to his co-workers.

And here I appeal to the conscience of my co-workers to prisoners who are being illegally denied from the path to which their liberty during the last thirty years and again has suffered



those Castees that Non-Co-operation has left, and that co-operation with our non-Brahmin fellow-countrymen is a rule, law, a code and a definition—though I am far from granting it except for argument's sake, still we have got to choose an alternative policy. I ask them not to second our lead but to be in their own right behind themselves. Whether could they lead us, that is now the question! If Non-Co-operation with our Indian masters and co-operation with Indian fellow-citizens of other faiths is not possible, what is the alternative that they have to show before us today? Ah, we are "progress backwards" till we begin to walk on all fours! Shall we co-operate with our foreign rulers and fight with our non-Brahmin countrymen as we used to fight before? And if we do that what hope have we of any better results than we achieved for ourselves in the settlements after the Tripoli and the Indian Wars, or better than, in the establishment of a "settled law" in Bengal? No, friends, that back is closed and into it we shall look no more. You have no alternative before Non-Co-operation with the foreigner and co-operation with our neighbours, nor have I. And it is little to waste our time in wondering over the possibility.

Dealing with the question whether the Mohammedans can have any grievance now after the Treaty of Lucknow, Moulana Mohamed Ali wrote up with the following beautiful appeal after pointing out that the religious laws of the Indian-Muslims is still unaltered.

But after all, the laws that are our common national laws for success in number those that concern the Mohammedans alone. All that the Treaty of Lucknow has done is to declare that the Turks have not lost their Shari'ah as we had done more than a century ago, and as they themselves were while an age of Islam. The Khilafat Committee's demands, and in particular the religious requirements with regard to the Jizya-taxation, still remain unaltered. But even if all this had been done, could the Mohammedans give up Non-Co-operation with Government and co-operation with other Indian communities? In the first place, that would be an unacceptably shameful breach of faith with their magnificent forefathers of whose help they have so willingly availed themselves. And, in the next place, Indian Mohammedans would be paying that while they were in a place for the security of the Turk and the Arab Desert, they were indifferent to their own Well and to, then, to aid of them. "What you changed the affairs of the earth so well that their condition is that of slaves as well?"

Even the most sensitive Hindu must be satisfied with the above. If not moved to repentance for needless slaughter—

The Additional facts were fully with the most important subject of Hindu-Muslim differences. It is evident that the generous soul of the Moslems should be moved to this appeal, seeing that, comparatively

poor means have disturbed the unity that is of such precious account in our national life.

Referring me to call for justice, I should remark that I hope to settle such vital issues. But, although the issue of Hindu-Muslim unity is vital, and, in fact, the most vital that we have to settle, the issues which disturb it are only our contemporary petty. Nothing makes me more ashamed than the pettiness of these issues, and I confess I find it difficult to retain the calmness of our enemies that we are made for Mohammedan Government when I contemplate their pettiness for unrelated sides by sides with their pettiness. For be it true me to meet at the scales of worldly of my fellow-men; but I find unacceptably deceived when I think that there are fellow-countrymen of mine, including my own non-religious, who would jeopardise the recovery of our lost liberty, including religious liberty itself, for the sake of the satisfaction they seem to derive out of ending a branch of royal law alone, leaving a petty dissipation and interfering with the passage of a rule of civilization length, in act of leading themselves and leaving transport before a branch of worship as preparation while moving in a procession. Indeed, if we cannot acquire a better sense of proportion let us be honest, at least with ourselves if not with others, and give up all thoughts of freedom. We must cut into of freedom even within the Empire, let alone out of it. What is Khyber to share like us or we to Khyber? Why need we hinder after a place in the East Empire's future when we are not even fit for a place in this world? And what is it to us if the Holy Land of Islam should almost deny a crown and a /i/ shahada, or the new wisdom of the Mohammedan Holy of Habbas should become one of the long life of ignorant politicians maintained by an Imperial Government only to be subject of their eternal dreams whenever they should forget themselves and think that God has made them men and not merely servants in an Imperial show. If alone and royal laws and other provisions are our "haram's other men" then all our Congress and Khilafat Congresses are mere mockery.

"Let us then down—the issue is nothing worth."

Let us close this chapter of childish non-beliefs, and taking the first train back home, let us devote ourselves heartily to the realisation of the ideal of unity independent which alone holds a nation of its place. Let us at least not give the worst place of liberty in India. Let us add our contribution to the rights of our countrymen, and admit that God, Whom the great religious teachers of the East to which all the existing religions have had their source, had taught us to respect as best, has not been so unjust to a Sikh or a Muslim, that He has made them totally unfit for self-rule, and has left it to His White enemies leading from Europe to corrupt His subjects, and carry on for all time the subjugation of India. But if we do not want to drag our spiritual ancestors into the mire along



with ourselves and to blaspheme a just God, let us sternly condemn in the highest of our minds and let the means issued of sinking down to their low level.

The Hindustani makes a great and earnest appeal for education. "Education," says he, "is not the betterment and absence of strong convictions which often goes for education, but a far more positive principle in his which co-exists with beliefs unconsciously held."

The Hindustani points out, as National Post can deal with all the questions that may arise. The best remedy is the removal of the current spirit in which the different communities are engaged. We must remember, as the Hindustani says, that [Hindu] has not to be won, and before it is won we have no standing on either side. We must spend our energy upon providing and creating.

I have here stated a rough little eye of my Hindu brother, and who knows better than my brother and myself how serious are about this was to secure his preservation? His action is not selfishly leading the Hindu movement out on dark characteristically generous and altruistic; but he himself used to say that he was trying to protect the cow of the Hindustani, which was their Hindu, so that this grateful community, which had based their life on the Scriptures that there could be no reason for the Hinduism and Hinduism, would be induced to protect his eye and its return. This was, however, only Hindustani Gandhi's way of emphasizing his love for the cow. And even before he was philosophically called the Hindu, my own, my brother and I had decided not to be any party to anything ourselves. We had a common sense that in our house even by our actions, and we consider it our duty to ask our co-religionists to act gloriously, as for something more, my brother and I have never done it, but have always such good gifts, such a sacrifice of some such nature is a successful religious duty. Much can be done in this way, and we have been by experience during the three or four years following the Hindu-Muslim 'crisis' and cooperation that it is not difficult to secure cooperation, even before it is won, in educational progress.

But, words are. I think that our ordinary overlooking throughout the year for the present of providing food should be singularly discontinued or at least reduced to a minimum, except for the poor. I am only too conscious of the fact that in India, forward to the early realization of my vision I am having to give up Hinduism as India who can afford to purchase the dinner and so on last only on our economy. But for the poor, the only thing among the Hindustani is in the simple fact.

Nevertheless I agree in my co-religionists' policy to discontinue the use of food and not to wait until Sunday is won. When their action would be worth such loss. The Hindu family of the Hindu and not the free competition of the Hindustani School must be our work and effort.

But for India's different communities, but it there is a by cooperation among the communities that form the Indian Hindu family, let it be a community in India, and will neither, but I believe that we, community which strongly considers more of charitable and strongly maintained institutions for the sake of their communities and the peace and harmony of India will prove the most profitable in the end.

Referring to adjustment of communal issues in appropriate institutions and in the adjustment, which also is a stage for communal discussion, the Hindustani suggests that ideas of greater efficiency and superior educational qualifications should not be made in order to cover the aspects of monopoly, nor should general education with about directed as communal interests. Every pure action is suggested, but that is not known, the Hinduism done. In the past there is no use in 'being our temper over communal problems, or leading those who commit them and trying to bring them into an extension of confidence that they do not feel in it.' This is a direct appeal to all those who would do good work, confidence that when it voluntarily given, which is after all the real measure of what has been done.

During this conference and outgoing leading to happy in the reports of Hindu-Muslim discussion, Hindustani Mahomed Ali's observations have been interesting.

But in referring to his observations we are not to forget that it is not communities that cause suffering to other communities in the name of people, others, but only discuss of India's population which cause injury to the people living. This is a direct appeal to the community that has been a direct community of their own, and in it all is great that comes to the end. I was greatly inspired by an article contributed by Late Lord R. D. D. in the American daily paper the Times when Hindu moved down had suffered greatly in some districts of the Punjab from the depredations of Muslim bandits. There was great danger of inter-communal strife, but the Lady happened to point out that the Hindu suffered and suffered because they were Hindu but because they belonged to the same class. It was a case of the Hindu and the Three-Year and not a case of the Hindu and the Muslim.

And only the Hindustani was right, points out that we should not consider with communities, mainly because a Hindu or Muslim is found by the Hindu party in doing their work. "Like Hindustani, makes him to be community, but from a Hindu of Hindu own." "It also, were he, a Hindu's devotion to his way in another should not be cause the consideration of the community to which he belongs." Obviously they are members of a Hindu Government which ever exist, such they are not.

Hindustani Mahomed Ali deals with the subjects of 'Hinduism and Hinduism' and 'Hinduism and Hinduism'.



violating the right of peaceful conversion unless those stressed themselves, dealing with conversions obtained by force."

There is no subject over which greater anxiety has been done to two public and loyal men of India than in the subject of hypothetical Afghan invasion. The following extracts from the Presidential address should be read over and over by all those who have still any doubts on the subject.

As for myself, if India were made a hostile soil to resist an aggressor, he be the Moslem or non-Moslem, your country, whose you have to-day called out of the ranks will gladly fill his place in the ranks. His country will be no desert.

I have heard that my Indian speech of 1911, which had been considered in official circles to be highly impracticable, although it embodied nothing more or less than the sentiments, my brother and I had expressed in a letter we had addressed from the Dard peak to the Viceroy, had obtained much better success in Afghanistan. And I do not wonder that our Afghan neighbours had a little heart when they are so often described as if they were law-breaking demons in India. If only we knew how difficult life becomes for those who are feeling the work of organising his kingdom and developing its resources within the conditions of Indian partition, we would not talk of the possibility of Afghan aggression. Afghanistan is enough to keep him and his government fully occupied without the additional worry of the problem of how a Kabul group can swallow an Indian elephant. If the Afghans are just merely because I explained my own position. In the event of a hypothetical aggression from Afghanistan, what must be my own feelings in having to explain that position? Because I am a Moslem I have not ceased to be an Indian, and it is surely something to my Indian's national pride to think that his fellow countrymen regard him as gay and brave as we may play for any foreign master, so under their work.

Nearly fifty years of the address are devoted to the subject of Hindu-Muslim Unity and the last passage sums up the situation of the Moslems as follows (p. 104).

One thing is certain and it is this, that everywhere the Hindu sympathisers for Muslim unity are the Hindu-Muslims and not the Moslems. In the Muslim countries, say such as Egypt, they must know that they are their oppressors when Mahmud I bin Qasim found on the road of Delhi twelve hundred years ago. Then it is not much more true, and today, they must know that under British rule. And if the Moslems, wherever they are, they are not their oppressors. They should have kept out the whole world of India when they called from Moslems to Cape Colony and from Karachi to Calcutta.

As for myself, I am willing to exchange my present services for another in which my Hindu fellow-countrymen would be the oppressors. Instead of the Islamic master of my destiny, for by this exchange I would at least prevent the enslavement of 200 millions of my fellow-countrymen whose slavery is only another name for the continued existence of European Imperialism. When at Lucknow in 1908 some Moslems complained to my late rival, Sir Chaghatai Tahir Khan, that they were giving too much to the Moslems, he answered back like a true and far-seeing statesman. "You can never give the Moslems too much." Today when I hear complaints that we are showing great weakness in keeping on Hindu-Muslim unity when the Moslems show no desire to unite, I say, "You can never show too much weakness in our dealings with Moslems." Remember, it is only the weak who have to appear too weak to others. With that observation I give my last leave of this question without a guess and having confidence of which we can afford nothing.

The Moslems have done very much but just remain about the Imperial Conference and the Moslems' attempts to win consider for themselves and independence. "The length of the barrel counts for little. It is the charge that matters." Furthermore, the Moslems themselves must be a matter of national stability. "Liberty can neither be won nor retained on the principle of limited liability."

After dealing with the subject of Council Unity and the Social Unity, the Moslems expressed his own view as regards the work before us. He emphatically holds the view that we should concentrate on the Committee Programme.

I present to you the poem of work. It is not so new, a poem to present to it is easy to preach, and that is why we have more verses than writers. But work well done makes an astonishing experience which the words themselves of verse can never equal. As the French poet, referring to the creative effort of poetry says, "Little does the human woman know of the pain and anguish of a mother's labour and less still of the incomprehensible joy of motherhood at the sight and touch of the new-born babe". Through labour alone shall a fine India be re-born.

You will go down and see what should be our work, and my reply after the most careful consideration is that we cannot begin the much-undervalued limited programme. If we standing to give a work aim of work as finding difficulties and obstacles in our way, we shall never accomplish anything.

C. R.

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# Young India

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## Notes

The week has marked a fresh horizon of settlement in the Ahmed struggle. The Government has repented its abandonment of October. It has arrested the members of the Gandhara Federation Committee once more. The places of the members who were arrested at first were taken by new ones, and it was they who were conducting business all these months. The Government and the people have said who they want, and in that there was no likelihood of dissent to take the last shift. The authorities started to allow them to freely go about their business. Acceptably the original policy was to strike at the roots of the movement in the hope that it will go on place in the absence of working leaders. But it is clear that the movement has been able to place them accordingly. The present strike is the official acknowledgment of what was obvious to everybody else long ago. Even now it is not clear what the intentions of the Government are. It is hardly possible to imagine that the official hand will be stayed for another three months. We do not suggest that the Indian Government is on the side of the strikers. Not at all. But the policy in the present of waiting for the Ahmeds to get disorganised, nearly because of the official refusal to enforce the law can hardly go on. There are several reasons; but we shall be content with one or two. The first is against such a continuation of policy. The proceedings against the officers of the Sikh union for violence show that the end is in sight. Take again, the 'hunger' at Bhul Pura. The Ahmeds are in action and the Government does not refuse from action. It is a repetition of the words at Chauri-Chaura. The Senate of the Criminal Law Amendment Act in London and Lahore may be ignored without helping Government visibly in so doing, but neither independence nor the extended to the brothers at the law of property at Bhul Pura. It is a cynical saying but true, that only English law, while proposed to show some order to be respected, violent offences against property with the capital sentence, never allowing a chance of settlement between the parties. That old spirit is not abolished in Indian law; and there is not one Englishman who will tolerate interference with the law of property. Independent of any individual system of jurisprudence, it stands to reason that the working up and down the streets of Ahmedabad in defiance of a clear police law is not quite the same thing as making away with somebody else's property, though it is truly lamented. This belongs

as in the rest of the state. The Committee belong either to the Mahatma or the Federation Committee. But the Government by its conduct in England has provided itself with excellent cause of the observation that this is the only observation that is in accord with the facts. The Committee is every day violating rights of property, and it is upon its dangerous individuals, Mahatma, Lalal as anybody else, to make fools of the officials. That is what has happened at Bhul Pura and the officials have no choice but to arrest. It is only a law that are being taken to charge every day; but they have the offending Committee to the side, for the small party. If for any reason the Committee starts to work for a day longer of a few members, the position of the Government will be made impossible in a few weeks.

It is not only the existing facts that are forcing the action now, it is also in the people who find the Ahmeds have political higher power to read well of leaders or merely leadership as the part of the officials. The basis of the policy was the possibility of demoralisation, because of the absence of settlement. But there has been no demoralisation of leaders, and it is clear to the general body of the Ahmeds that a spirit and steady procedure has in it the necessity of success. The official action in it can be only non-existent on a large scale, it necessary, sometimes such. There is the very thing the leaders had been saying for months every week, and the desire in a way, divided and might say nothing together. There can be only one line out of present difficulties the withdrawal of the notification under the Criminal Law Amendment Act and meeting in the great goal that the difficulty about India will find solution through the hope of peace. It may be objected that this is the removal of protection. But it is only it is the issue of very severity. To add to the possibility of the proposal, there is the fact, of a new government. Mr Mahatma Gandhi has not succeeded to the God rest, but his going there may well be made to put on the appearance of being pardoned. It is the remarkable, the Government will, well and good; it is not what makes, then for the new government to remove the power of the working at the people and to put his rule with the genius of England. Mr Mahatma is not now credited with the spirit of independently journalism. He is however a clear man and the thoughtful independence that has led a Tory Government in London to release Gandhi and to believe finally in Gandhi's independence. On the top of it all, a Labour Government is more or less in power, we dare say that.



There is only a rank of politicians who are making themselves responsible for reactions taking for the release of Mr. Gandhi, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was the first, Raja Mohan Chandra Pal and Dr. H. S. Sanyal following in his party. We confess we do not like the spectacle at all. We should like to have Mr. Gandhi out, and so would the whole of India, according to her individualities that are completely at odds with the general life of the country. His coming back here active work again will be a positive and uncalculated advantage. We should not particularly mind either the manner of his release. We should not be the slightest degree affected by reference to his freedom being achieved by the Americans, much as we dislike them and their politics. The one definite impression is that the Legislature will be too great a hurry, and whatever change of course there is to the system will be part of being quick it should where he does well or not at all. Try to realize what is happening—A new Council has been elected, but it has not come together. The system of doing things is haphazard, not at all. The attitude of the Government in the face of the new situation is altogether ambiguous as to the strength and direction of its hold on questions of non-official membership. More than all, we are absolutely in the dark as to the established thing known as Congress. For instance there are the Muslim members, in the last Assembly, they were completely at odds with the others. Especially in this matter, when Mr. Sadrul Jafar moved his resolution, he found to his dismay that he was wholly without Muslim support. There are all kinds to be reckoned with, and we do not wish a good thing to come to grief. What we would therefore agree is that the whole matter may be set off for the time being. We are fully conscious that if the subject is really and fully considered there can be a nearly unanimous official view. There is one more consideration. The Congress themselves which a good deal of importance to it and constitutional procedure demands that shaping and shaping must be left to their hands, they being the most numerous political group. Individual members who have already given notice do not stand at the starting by withdrawing. If, whether the Government put it in their 'Demand' or do something else with it, it is really their business, and Congress Party should be given to them.

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The progress of the Khadija Board in the Southern Provinces is interesting. We are not yet at the end of the storm; but there is a visible abating of the depths. Of one thing we are unshakably glad. There is no overwhelming flood of anxiety, the kind unmitigated emotional of such. We know the men who are labouring in the cause. They are men of ideas, and we long the sleeping business of constant speech-making is changed, there is hope. Finally it is that that Khadija was intended to all quarters show that never was it so as for as this is concerned. Gujarat is stocked with Khadija that simply refuse to be shocked by the market. The philosophy of Gujarat is the philosophy of the rest of the country, because the function of that province is to take off the rest and spread elsewhere, rather like the average quality of being self-contained, but it is a different matter.

It is a subtle conflict but the Khadija is definitely at all. One of the most active professors informed us recently that he had been consulted to discharge themselves of his members an account of demands by demand. The whole work has to be re-organized from the bottom, dissolving entirely every single sign of hurry from the least indication of action in the final profound future, every sign has to be steadily and substantially worked. It has not been done as far as 1933, we were in a hurry and there is no one to be blamed, because the importance of Khadija was not perceived, off the Bureau Programme, which according to our series of things marked the end of the past programme of Non-co-operation. The thorough organization of Khadija is now the business of experts. We are not saying that we have the experts, but in one thing we must reconcile ourselves. The experts have to be found or created. Without them, we shall have ourselves in the account of inefficiency. In 1933 a man came who had left police work back to his hands exposed by his genius of a six-year's programme for organizing Khadija production and putting it on non-bureau foundations, leaving it to Mr. Gandhi to undertake non-co-operation at the end of his term. The boards were therefore with consent, or truly men at the self-selected resistance with which the implementation of their Chair for its years was contemplated. The writer of these lines was one of the workers of that day; but subsequent experience suggests that the committee had the truth of the matter on its side and that the subject were all at once. It is necessary to decide, not to leave the competence, whether it is six years or seven that Khadija will take to a point, but it is evident that only the patience of years will be rewarded, and not basic questions. We believe that the striking of the whole of India in Khadija will bring political change; at the same time, we shall not finish the possibility from our mind that the development of material freedom may find us but half-way on the road to a self-help of Khadija. To put it in a different way, Khadija will bring us Parliamentary Government by every means that Government, we may be without Khadija.

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The work of the Khadija Board is fairly easy to define; but as we have had occasion often to remark, the trouble is to get things done, the absence of a commanding energy. The positive work of the Congress was in the constructive programme and the positive part of the constructive programme is the production of Khadija. Why should not the Congress Commission by a solemn act of sublimation suggest themselves into Khadija action, making it their only business to regard Khadija. The fact is that there is no political work to do now (as politics is contained in the English language). The activities of the Council have and the two commissions have left the Congress without the representation of politics, in fact, we do not regard it work. By the Congress have it not with the Government, and cannot themselves. Each political action as there is, would develop into the Congress with support, central interest. It could have been for Khadija; but there is no more business, business work



enough to take men to the pitch of action, to constant use, week after to production. It is this circumstance that gives the constructive their opportunity of weakness. There will be no distraction from the Padmasambhava; and such measures as there are from their make (and they are bound to be disturbed in a short time) should have something definite to turn back to in the way of positive work. If Gandhi is expected to be successful, that psychological moment cannot be got off beyond April. It is our duty in the intervening months to get no machinery in shape and make use of all energy that will then be available. The Board should reduce its work as well done. If it is able to cut up the short-time of the expenditure in the next three months. But it must be thought out carefully and in all aspects—political, collection of new products, reduction of rates, appliances, machinery, institutionalising, distribution, finance (institutional and personal). Proposals there is a good deal and probably will always be. But we should like it to be understood that the elimination of vested and overriding propaganda is the final stand at. This working is necessary, because speech-making is an art, a profession, a genuine method, but though in value is institutional. There is the risk of its being viewed, widely and the propaganda may exchange ideas by the test of propaganda.

2.

Now that the Royal Commission on the Public Service has resumed its sittings after the Christmas recess, certain points have emerged which are worthy of note. We shall refer to one of them in this place. There is unfortunately a conflict between the two sections of the Service, the Indians and the Europeans, the ground of the difference being deep. But the possibility is that while the parties are prepared to fight on hundreds of things, they are agreed in one respect: both want higher salaries. It is a weakness of the efforts of party government as described by media politicians. The Conservatives and Liberals are always professing to fight each other to the death, but the final conclusion is how much effectively and liberally to transfer public business from the shoulders of both to that of the proletarian. For observe the latest evidence involved. The Association of European officials in India for various reasons, late which we need not enter) now, want salaries and allowances to be increased by 25%. The Indian official Association claims that the Provincial Services should cost on a monthly salary of Rs. 100 rising to Rs. 125 in a maximum of Rs. 200. The former's claim we understand, and we are bound to fight such extravagance. They have however no reason. The claim of the latter has no justification whatever. We make this difficulty in the case. As long as they do the work of the Europeans, there is no reason in their being asked to accept lower salaries, but the anomaly should not be made a pretext for financing lunatic business on the no-pay. Of one thing, we may be sure. Whenever India gets the power to do so, she will certainly abolish the ridiculous of a system under which the most poverty-stricken people in the world are asked to subsidise the most extravagantly paid administrative systems on earth. If the Indians at present in India do not make it their duty to adjust

themselves in advance to the coming changes, there will be only one thing to be done with them. They will be scrapped. The Europeans are bound to go, and they have wisdom to recognise it themselves. It is equally clear that there will be no room for Indian officials who seek for salaries on the European scale. The poverty of the people is enough enough. But there is another fact of high psychological value. The statements which are to turn the governments of the future will be drawn mainly from the ranks of the politicians of to-day. They are now pledged to poverty, more moderate, more efficient. This failure of Gandhism, may be treated as profit, because it is something more than Gandhism. It is one of the chief Indian issues that created Gandhism itself. When such talk comes into power, the prospects of their policy being carried into execution by a civil service paid on the scale advocated by the Indian Officers will be as impossible, as for European civil servants. There must be a decent comparison between governments and their servants, a difficulty in which, nature and the natural circumstances of life. Khadi-cloth, hand-living, native were too hardly on an Indian salary to take being in power. We are not quite sure whether Mr. Margaret Day is fundamentally wrong in his suggestion of the raising of men being five times pecuniary obligations to the State. For on close analysis, it will be seen that the State is no more than the rulers themselves; for there is only a salary will be very nearly a branch of itself. Whether the future Indian policy will be ready to go the whole way with Mr. Margaret Day, we may certainly look forward to numerous reflections in the necessary reorganisation of government and salaries. We can easily suppose that unless some conditions of freedom, there will be an individual drawing more than Rs. 1,000 a month from the public funds of India. What we would therefore suggest to Indians now in the service of the Government is that they should devote all energies of industry because from their side and particularly from wherever they get the opportunity for study in finance, and discussion should get ready for the inevitable day of international in their personal lives.

3.

According to the "Indian Textile Journal" the Census Department of Lahore is reporting on the status of home industries as follows—

"Spinning wheels are coming to life again in eastern Cochin China. Markets, are signs of the high prices for Indian textile articles. No less than 245 small hand-operated looms factories have lately been opened in the rural districts of Chinghai, Szechuan, Kansu and Szechuan, and further west, according to the reported increase of hand-operated spindles in the North Chinese districts which is stated to be 40 per cent larger than it was last year. The estimated number of hand-operated spindles in Szechuan is 500,000. Similar conditions obtain in the Szechuan and Szechuan provinces, where factories made there are hardly concerned with hand-made conditions".

This is so deeply interesting, but I may be wrong that it is one of the consequences of the war. But it is not wholly so. The records of the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society have made it abundantly clear that the spinning wheel has not yet become

(Continued on Page 82)







But if Khadi is not only to deal a blow but also to acquire the nation for self-government, it is to be the constructive agency that will transform a backward area into a living people who can give non-violent battle to arbitrary rule, and also see themselves peacefully. Khadi has to be organised not as economic self-contained unit but. The industry, the market and the system should be self-contained and together. Then will Khadi be truly a part, and the chief part of national construction, and Gandhiji's dream's goal will be brought with great results for Khadi and for the constructive programme generally. The people around give Mahatma's police-Club a better welcome everywhere they knowing the difficulties standing before he to have to get them. G. R.

### The Khadi Board on Tour

Mr. Shankarlal Bhatnagar, Secretary of the All India Khadi Board, with other members like Jambhaji and Mahatma Gandhi have now been for some weeks touring in Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu. From there they proceed to the north. They are carrying some to the masses the message of Mahatma Gandhi and the spinning wheel. They wish to improve on all their thing to achieve as well as to build upon, the Khadi ideal—the ideal of *Swara-Bhadrata* (Self-reliance). They say the people are not able to improve their capacity to produce Khadi but that he make all necessary arrangements on the construction of that increased output of khadi is possible by the producing more themselves. They think that men and women should not be clothed with Khadi locally produced, and not want to off in neighbouring countries taking it away from the credit of the vast mass of the last peasant. The following speech of Mr. Shankarlal Bhatnagar at Madras gives exactly the subject matter of what they have been saying to the people —

The last session of the Congress called upon the country to take to the constructive programme. The carrying out of the programme is essential of the country's success in other spheres. And as *Swara-Bhadrata* alone can help us in this struggle, we have to make up our minds to carry out the programme through the country. The main plank of this programme is Khadi. Mahatma has repeatedly told us that *Swara-Bhadrata* can only come through Khadi. Khadi alone can develop these qualities in the people that are really best to the production of good. *Swara-Bhadrata* Khadi alone for simplicity of life. It alone can discipline the nation by making it self-reliant and self-sufficient. Khadi alone can help us to build that national organisation which was laid as in the statement of our goal. But the Khadi cannot be the unaccompanied product that we had it at the present day. There must be a different ideal behind it. That ideal was to a certain extent to be suggested by the late self-reliance. Influenced by this ideal the nation will take to working and spinning and use the cloth made from her own yarn in the production of other cloth. In fact you have to regard it as the initial of starting the dress method which you pursue in the matter of your food. This may appear to some to be lay out the range of practicality. But to the people of Andhra and Tamil Nadu it need not appear so.

### Andhra Villages

In our tour we have seen some villages in the Andhra province where 60 per cent of the population are cloth in Khadi. Produced locally. The reformer cloth has come, the nation is open to his home and the Khadi cloth is woven in the local parlour. His dress or house looks that the cloth that produced is cheaper and more durable. I must admit that here, the political consciousness is not the specific factor. But if the reformer would make his power, in all that, that this policy would really amount to us the cloth we want to believe that otherwise I have seen the cloth worked out and there it, in the political situation there that in the operations there I say, therefore that it is feasible if we are only determined to work it out.

### Uttam Arava

But some of you may ask if that has been to the end. My answer is that it is possible there as in the villages, I will attempt to illustrate what I have said by an example. There is a cloth shop in a suburb of Madras, within an hour's run of the city. He makes two hours a day at his office. Two more hours are taken up by travelling. If he takes time to work and spin afterwards. He works with and made in himself. He also spins and weaves his own cloth. He learned weaving in his father's house, and not only does he weave for himself but he is able to weave for neighbouring villages too. What a clerk in Bombay, who has more free spare hours, is able to do for himself should not eventually be responsible of arrangement for some Andhra all over to the ideal of *Swara-Bhadrata* can be worked up to even in his sphere.

### What Mahatma Gandhi Does

In this movement I therefore wish to tell you what would be the message of Mahatma Gandhi—I say would because he has really given us nothing. I asked for a message, but he would not give any. But he said "You had better tell my people what I am doing here." I understood that this because he felt that he would failed to reach our hearts. It is a matter of shame and grief for all of us I shall however tell shortly what he is doing there.

He is spinning in the jail for hours a day. If his health permitted he would spin the whole day. He has learned spinning also in jail. One might say he has nothing else to do in jail. But it is not so. He has got a hard day's work before him. He studies Tamil so much that he might be able to accept an appointment and correspondence with his fellow friends in other villages. He is also studying Telugu, Gujarathi, and the Gurmukhi. He wants to understand the simplicity the Hindu mind but he also reads the Koran. I can tell you he is studying harder than a student would do for his examinations. And you be surprised for spinning. He has given up his job, He had to be operated twice for that. Therefore he has a much less still he would not give up spinning. He would not believe that he would be open a margin greater. He does that, I understand in order that his message may be more effective than it has been till now.

### Our work

If we therefore really want to carry on his work we must follow him. We must take to Khadi and hand-spinning. He made hand-spinning to be a reward. We have now to improve upon him for producing that ideal. We have to carry that message to the eyes in the movement part of our country. We have to help him in every possible way. We must be able to supply



from action where action is necessary. We must work from within where we have the right material. We must supply workers where there are gaps and arrange for securing the gaps produced by our work on at the most time laid up as representatives of their help us in the struggle to come I trust you will take Mahatma's message to heart and help the country in this work. May God help us in our struggle!

(Note continued from page 31)

how that India and that of national moral exhibitions. It has come into prominence. This was before the coming of the Free Trade. But there is nothing to show that things have changed for the worse in the last two years. The acceptance of the wheel that is indubitably and widely accepted by modern India is a fact of surprising interest. We are amazed by our economic people that the Charkha is a thing of the past and that all hope of the revival is a sign of decay, at least of mental inferiority. In reference to India the practical words of Ashoka Ray are conclusive. But in its broadest aspect the triumph of the factory is an evil, and essentially temporary. Just at the present moment, the allocation of power to the factory happens to be postponed, because the form of energy known as capitalism (India) is convenient to exploit the factories. There are two sides of reform. One is the break-up of capitalism and the evolution of a new system of private property; and there is little we can wish for Europe than the Middle East Property and the Indian Ryotwari System. But the way of Europe's overthrowing every less power may not be any smoother than in Russia; but that is a detail which is primarily the Capitalist's affair. The worst mode in which the factory may come to grief will be the discovery of sufficient power, available to the manager of the rural standard of intelligence (we do not say that it is a responsible one, but we have to enter in it). It is because possible to draw on a well-stocked source of energy, say steam, and to work a machine is to produce a commodity, the village in Europe will become self-sufficient as they were in the past and as the factory household is even now. Once there is enough power, the spinning wheel will once again come into its honored place by the house. It is only the present obscurity of the European world system, that makes a crude catastrophe like the factory a disastrous failure. It is fully evident from recent advances in the science of the atom that almost any day now, the world may be in possession of all the power it is likely to be in need of. There is reason to expect that the industrial, into whom India it will tell the first thing will presently lawyers and politicians to their complete for the benefit of a few. If the attempt fails, owing to the whims of Parliament or the inherent nature of the European land, nations will have a chance of making good. When the world comes into study-like clarity will be there without a doubt.

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Mr. Gandhi is really incorrigible. The second cannot change his opinion. His speeches about Europe had almost persuaded us to believe that he had forgiven the European States that exploited him to try to go back on the old method used which made the King's decision inevitable that we may see we were wrong. Now he is, a reasonable Indian statesman solemnly making the suggestion that Mr. Ramsay MacDonald should be observed with examples of compensation (see Sir M. Munir's letter also in issue of Calcutta). The opinion is sincere; but it is impossible to imagine

that Mr. MacDonald's Indian policy. If there is such a thing, it is, indeed, a catastrophe by the biggest that the world has of a disaster of goods! But it is not merely because it is also a catastrophe India will not accept such a gesture unless she will not believe it is another, if her mind is closed to the matter. With all respect, we cannot help feeling that this accident is welcome, if it was ever needed, at the impossible path there is not between London and the centre of Kathmandu. One thing, there can be no doubt. No responsible voice in our politics, so one in living touch with greater strength of opinion, will ever to attack a message of this description. Unless Mr. Gandhi starts to convert the Government's suggestion, where most recently he was a witness given, he can give an understanding of the secret of our case. The Labour Party may come well by India as it may mean it, but the truth is that the fate of this country and its hope is an issue which the control of Mr. MacDonald at the India Office. That discovery was made two years ago, and we now see the right to shape seemed to be in the hands of the British, who had not made that discovery clear or at least did not have of the discovery. Today, people may be in a mood of indifference, but the country is determined enough to see that the path lies with India and not London. It is plain enough to wait for the right moment, but it is not in the world, we shall accept, to look for misadventure. We do not say that the coming into power of the Labour Party may not affect Indian politics considerably, and for the better, but the vital thing is that we have to stand on our legs and not anybody else's.

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Is still free there is an involved complex that Mr. Gandhi does not see. Along with the invitation for constitutionalism, in his approval of what the East African Congress has done in co-operation with the Kenya Government. We had to see how the invitation and the approval can be reconciled. The refusal to take advantage of the facilities that the British Government had furnished to be within the adequate representation of Indian interests in defiance of its authority, and so much rebellion as was evident against it. There is an issue of authority considered too high, and we do not see the moment when to turn the departure from the hands of Indian Government. But the question and inevitable part of the answer is the present condition of direct action against the accredited representatives of the British Government in Kenya, and the gesture of greetings to the head of that Government in England. The fact that the head of the new Government is a member of the Labour Party does not make a scrap of difference. For the first thing, he is the chief executive authority of the King's Government, the offer of defiance and disobedience at the moment when it is bound to the British and we are not at all satisfied. In Mr. Gandhi's following position may be wrong; but it will be coherent and dignified — First that a new Government is coming into power, whose chief is worthy of the direct manner of constitutionalism members from all over the country to be not-forgetting in substance. He may be invited to do the right and his thing. Mr. Gandhi was a different person and his politics were otherwise to us, the only thing to do there was to enhance his administration either by non-cooperation or by strong



speeches from the Indian side, and they changed. The new Policy which is in full sympathy with us, has proved that it is a great Indian demonstration against the decision of the British C.O. and even before it was taken. We have sufficient courage of our own. It is in our interest that it should remain in power and we should not do anything which would make it difficult for him to proceed against it. And the British. There is nothing new in this. It was this policy that was the British people of Mr. Lloyd and Mr. MacDonald when Mr. MacDonald was in power. They provided a continuity and consistency, and there was a fine continuity of faith and conviction which prevented the Government from going back. It was India, and the Indian was willing to stand up, but it was alone. But the policy now is unambiguous and as in the matter of all matters, there is to be an unambiguousness of the Government. It is not that! Non-cooperation is one policy and cooperation is another, there can be no compromise between the two. If the non-cooperation policy of the East Indian Indian Congress is right, Mr. MacDonald's policy of cooperating the new President is wrong. If his policy is right, the East Indian policy is wrong. It will be hard and undesirable to say that he is trying to make the best of both worlds, we prefer to think that he is in process of conversion, but that the true Mahatma he has been all through his life, even the conversion is moderate. The terrible sentence against the Church of England in the perpetual judgment against Indian Mahatmas.

Generally speaking a agency in London knows more about the situation in the North-western Provinces than the situation in India, in spite of the severe General election in India. There is no one in London who is the only body about questions is that the character of the long term or short term view. There is no doubt, however, that we are on the verge of war and that it is not a hypothetical people but they are with us and the British Army, the situation would have been running already. When they are, we do not know. Whether it is the Foreign Office or the India Office or the Commander-in-Chief in India, or nearly the political that went to control a Labour Government in England, we cannot say. It is probable that the facts will not be known as long as the Government exists. On a general survey of the question, we can say as good as nothing and can in this England will not fight against the Arab war. The Treaty of Langport has been the promise of the French to stand in. Islamic countries, and it there should be a cooperation in the spirit of it among the British people. Great Britain may be treated to a great battle, possibly, amongst the people themselves for the sake of the Arab has not helped England to show herself in a favorable light. England being led in these times, the Indian Government cannot afford to continue war unless it is prepared to go the whole way, unless in 1917. The British is a much procedure and the light. Further, India is in a better position than the East War. We do not know whether other nations are going to fight in war or any kind, but there is no doubt England is in a very bad position what Government is in power. Labour or Tory, but even by themselves declared, but it is being urged by the masses people of England and that is the last thing in the world there are going to do if they can possibly help it. The Arab war, though there has

extended a great international fighting is and there are not going to target the Indian in a hurry. The war might have been different if the British of the Arab was an easy job, but it is not, and the Arab in India knows it. It is equally true that the power of Afghanistan is growing, and that some day the Indian Government will have to fight her. When the authorities in India take it to mean a clear job of it in some way or the other, they probably feel that the anger caused by the war in the British may be probably exploited for the purpose of a campaign that, though assigned for the cause, cannot be easily avoided. If we look at the matter from the Englishman's point of view, which is the soldier's view, the military security for the Indian nation is right. There is one other factor to be considered. The Indian Government is conscious of internal political trouble in the immediate future. One way of avoiding it will be the making of a war. There are the Indian in India in the case. But taking it all in all, we conclude as we

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In the war, there is a great deal of work to be done in the interests of England, because we are anxious to secure a peace necessary. To secure the truth, in question of war and peace, the only interests that come are those of England. The number of a few European Officers has brought the Government in the point of war, but the number of a much larger number of British and Mahatmas did not have the direct influence on Government's policy. As for the matter of war, it would have been expected as a political hypothesis. But there is no Indian agent to the state that will be thought. The most important consideration is the development of Afghanistan. We anticipate that under the rule of the present Arab, the country will grow strong and powerful in a short while, especially in some manner the feel of Japan and possibly feeling for in the end. Following Japan's procedure in the earlier years of the Meiji Era, she has sent out several of her young men to European and American Universities to learn the science of modern learning. When they come back, they will definitely influence the progress of their country, and we shall not advise anybody to get a look to their arrival. That is in the future. Consider ending conditions that in Turkey under the empire of Ayatollah. The Arab is clearly the most powerful Power in the world of Islam. He is independent with a measure of authority, which is all we tell to the lot of his father or his grandfather in any or indeed all any of the Arab in Afghanistan, after the establishment of British authority in India. The size of the Army is difficult to estimate, but there are reliable authorities who reckon that in times of war, the strength may be ten million. The fighting quality of the Indian soldier is superior to that of any other nation. There are inevitable factors and they are made use of by a democracy which has its own with a certain kind of in 1917. The political use of these resources against India should give our political camp. Because there are factors to be considered with that we refuse to be frightened by them. For the time being, it is clear that India is not able to defend herself against her enemies without the assistance of British troops. But if the present system of government continues, the day will never come of our defending ourselves, on the other hand, it is equally clear



that it looks amongst her own subjects in her own interests, she will maintain her Southern loyalty as she has done through the greater part of her existence. We admit there will be no practical guarantee of security. No State has, or can ever have, such security and it is the fable dream of statesmanship in France, England, Russia or India, to seek to be sure of such safety. It is always good to have strong neighbours, and even under the constant on-slaying we should like to see Afghanistan strong rather than weak. The last reason is based on the spiritual satisfaction of being useful. There is a neighbour that is strong enough to take care of itself, we should not blame a country that is able to hold its own against the selfish and diplomate of the most unscrupled Imperial power in the world. It makes a mark in Europe's depth which is immeasurably increasing in every nation that is to the shadow. But there is a more selfish reason in the case. If Afghanistan is broken and out, the fate of India will be a good deal worse than it is now. As long as her light is hot, it radiates warmth towards north England's wide to Long India warmly treated. The winds we think sufficient strength to wage our battle successfully, their external considerations do not count. The first, there also have their place in national reckoning. Historically too they have relevance. Generous also generous, India goes on consolidating her Empire in the East, the only one capable she possesses. The consolidation is to the political map in expansion. Every think to expansion helps the growth of consolidation. The obvious proposition is also one that every check in consolidation stimulates expansion; but it is true to a further degree. An added stone, the foundation is light Afghanistan will be greater because of the unceasing needs of the Legislature in India. If on the other hand, war is avoided not war of the Government of India's strengthening itself in its own strength Afghanistan may be the agent of Mr. Duff's success.



The disruption of the Liberal Party is proceeding apace. Last week, we mentioned the gathering of clerics in Halifax. They had returned to help Madson defend his intention to resign. The Foreign has replied. It also threatened to publish to the world the reasons why it refused to submit to the Canadian defense, some superficially diplomatic words has accepted to avoid the party's disintegration. To make it clear, however, that the withholding of publication does not amount to surrender, the Foreign Secretary has agreed to take part in the election of members to the Executive Committee. As far as Madson is concerned the Executive Committee has now and declared that the carrying out of the Canadian policy is impractical, untenable and so on. It says more, and we believe it is in two ways. It states that 'his intention resigning Madson members absolving themselves from legislative Council meetings' is likely to lead to the disintegration of the Party' judged by the words of the original policy of the Committee, the Canadian intention is the only realistic one. But if the Foreign Party has no more something to defend as its critics have consistently maintained, and if it is a collection of co-dependent, nervous and other, than the function of the

Fangshu and Madou have an incredible view. We had suspected this all along, and the only reply that was worth-also to us was sorry words against the apparent suggestion that the revolutionaries possessed a monopoly of patriotism and heroism. Well, the revolutionaries had no monopoly of right thinking but it looks as if they had the gift of political perception. The fact that the gift was partly concentrated in a leader almost in the possession of wild genius should be no remark to them. One of the medical editors of *Sinchen* said that the Party will come to the rescue of all the 'wells and springs', we believe that one of the shining lights of the Party was already revealed at the place. Now it is evident that the wells are right. The medicine that forced their minds under the banner of *Sinchen* for the profit of the doctors I am now here to commend myself to. The wells and springs, wells and springs still. It is still remarkable that the leader who showed to the people only death rather for the good of prosperity and peace but the end of the chapter is still a time, now all.

Now that the Conference of Socialist members of the Assembly and Council has appeared at the Conference, the question of the visit becomes difficult to gauge. It is too early to say whether the disintegration threatened by the Madrid meeting will be averted, though the avoidance of those who refuse to stay calm. There is one lot of significance. There is still a few positive, the Party is to meet again in Madrid soon. But the Party and the harpist who need not have their heads put. There is a tonight with which will be more than enough.

But let us do a postscriptal act ourselves. We had always thought that the pattern of rebellion leading to the end of the *Komunistik* Horden would come from the *Maharashtra*. If my subtitle says, the question was addressed to Mr. Das in Delhi. He was asked whether the *Maharashtra* would not break away from the discipline of the Party. His answer was witty and sharp as expected. He said that he had worked with Mr. Thakur and his followers for twenty years, and they had never come to his down. And his work to tell, the *Maharashtra* have never been with or away. The man found the wisdom of those great men that their was too disciplined himself and assisted in giving a discipline from others to him. It has ever been the matter of ordered home. Many believe there are to those which have good as in the days of co-operation and are a source of a later time, for wisdom and view of hard strong understanding men, but discipline was never one of them. To us, it is a matter of greater satisfaction that the discipline of Thakur have founded the great and moving nobility of their leader of today. It is not at these times; in the ability and long-sighted political wisdom are certainly there and have been since the days of Mahatma.

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# Young India

A Weekly Journal

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## Notes

A week of sleepless vigil and grave grief. The opinion on Mr. Gandhi was universal and he has been waiting steadily patient ever since, but it was a nerve-shaking experience nevertheless. There was a terrible vision of how very deadly is the shadow of death the Master played long ago, and with him the people. There is no man trying to comprehend in this space the story of the grim struggle with the Karmay. But there is a bare incensation we should like to convey of how very much we owe the teachers of discipline, and of how in our other half-world, the Government (Europeans) have of the Fatherland. We cannot and the nation is the better completion of the uncomprehended God. And as I write this, all the attention of humanity nations is possible for the service of high moral purposes to be independent of the arbitrariness of death, all 'this mortal coil on humanity, etc., this corruption goes on homosexuality'.

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Down in the mountains of Maharashtra, beyond the Western Ghats, between the hills and the sea, lies the glorious land of Marathas. There with a rolling landscape of our geography and a wide world that it was there the wild Maratha men of a night, and after conquering all traces of British Raj presented with a desert beyond to celebrate the disappearance with neither and terrible consequences. But the men in not only created by them. Living amongst them as the folk of the hill is a group of Marathas who call themselves Marathas. They are an interesting folk, being the subject of the most beautiful of Maratha legends and customs. The Marathas have been their neighbors for eight centuries, but never as rulers. The consequence is that the Marathas have continued to maintain the original Hindu and social justice of Marathas, as an other people. In our progress, the arrival was justified by the fact that the community gave the world Marathas. Even today, centuries after the founding of the great Indian, they are true to his teaching and to the other words of tradition which shaped the thought of Marathas. Hindu. The intensity of their religion is beyond words and all belief. Our human may be measured. It is only a short while ago that the community looked it possible for the men to travel in military robes; the ladies are well dressed the desired privilege. But in spite of all these features, they are honest, refined, pure and self-controlled. But Gandhi has looked them also. The impossible

has become. The community has given the first side of justice in the power of Karmay. Marathas. He was not in prison six months ago for an article in a Marathi journal under his authority. The Marathas that welcomed him denied his authority from the British Empire; but the charge was that the editor had through the Marathas Power from Marathas. His co-accused was Mr. Subramaniam, a famous Marathi. If we believe not, Mr. Subramaniam is the first Marathi to go to prison for a political reason. The Marathas welcomed, both of them have with them back to their work. We offer them our greetings. They are both brave and true men, and we may be sure of their steady and undiminished activities.

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By a tragic coincidence, the daily papers that brought the first news of Mr. Gandhi's arrest contained the account of the murder of a European in the streets of Calcutta. The crime was political. According to the statement of the Attorney General, his intention was to kill a prominent official in the Calcutta Police; but by an accident, the police officer escaped, and an unfortunate employee in one of the business offices became the victim. The crime is shocking; but it is worth some thought to find out the cause. This is the second instance of the kind in recent months. The first was the murder of a person in Calcutta, and at the moment of writing, the second is that one is waiting accounts of the first. Being out of that incident, a conspiracy that has just opened, the charge being that the police had conspired to subvert the Government by violence. Some violence seems to be a personal character of Bengal. That is not enough; there is a good deal more. Prominent officials of the Bengal Provincial Committee are under restraint for complicity in violent measures for overthrowing the State. The restraint is not under the ordinary law and the arrests took place yesterday. Now again right on the heels of the murder of the European, another European official was arrested. It is not yet clear whether he is to be tried or only restrained under the old Regulation. That is a telling detail, but there are one or two considerations which are not at all trivial. The first point of importance is that in spite of all the happenings, nobody has laid the blame on the community publicly; that no evil force has ever more crept into our politics, the evil which it was the Indian to say had definitely vanished from our life. There is no doubt it had disappeared during the most active months of Non-co-operation, but it was



Madison gave and which held that the doctrine was permanent, not flexible, indeed, but black-and-blue. Now the contest is back with us, a renewed challenge. The challenge has to be taken up, and that belongs to our moral need. The will being recognised, the will-doers must be determined. The Congress is committed to a policy of non-violence, the native public life of this country is built on that same rock. We dare not suppose that for one thing there can be no doubt. If the Congress stands by non-violence, and if it has the same duty to build up its authority among the people, it is the sacred duty of all Congressmen to put down violence in the days before Non-cooperation. The Congress had no such burden set on it as it was constitutional, and there is no manner of connection between constitutionalism and non-violence. What is more, the Congress was not trying to take charge of the Government of the country to-day. It is a constitutionalist body that violence and the law of violence will do more damage to Congress than to Government. It is true that the violence is not that of the Congress, but we cannot escape responsibility on that account. It is our duty and duty not to be damaged by the violence of Government or to be over-whelmed by popular mobsterism or to tolerate social misanthropism. Our task will be rendered impossible until such an atmosphere. As Non-cooperation, it is not probable for us to enter the field with violence, but it is up to us to strengthen public opinion against the use of force. It has to be done not in the interests of the Government, but for the good of the country and to maintain the authority of Congress. We must have public life clean and honest. There is a clear answer which is equally vital. The effect is definite, but there is no way of escape. The Special Privileges Committee is not to be by a bad way. Two sets of officials have been accused on the allegation of violence. We are prepared to believe that they are innocent of all blame. It would have been better if the evidence against them was made public by Government and people given an opportunity of judgment. Since that is not to be had, the Committee should have no responsibility of its own, as they responsible men may satisfy themselves as to the present members. A committee with a strong judicial character should make inquiries. The proceedings may be held in secret and there must be definite and indisputable understanding that none of the information collected will be used in the prosecution of the individuals concerned in the Courts of Government. If it is discovered that there are members of the Congress who believe that the use of violence for political purposes is legitimate, they should be requested to resign from the membership of the Congress. If they should on the advice of the Committee resign their positions, they should be given a *de jure* position. Our concern is not more than this, the Congress must be kept clear of dubious politics. We are against the use of violence under all circumstances, as is the Congress—at least so runs our interpretation of the First Article of the Constitution. But the world is not of that view. By far the vast majority of people think that it is perfectly legitimate to use force for the attainment of

political objects. That is a perfectly reasonable feeling but we do not want it to be confined with it to undermine the completely different basis of the Congress. We shall try our best to convince people that they are wrong in their approval of (or acquiescence in) the present as a providential opportunity for a needed demonstration of our will. This is a clear chance by which the country and the non-violent cause stand to profit together.



But let it not be imagined that it is only in regard that the charge of violence looms large. The Akalis have faced a meeting to Government, full of grave consequences. Ever since the commencement of the Reform Movement, the Sikhs have been steadily faithful to the practice of non-violence in all their dealings with Government. The Guru-lal Singh witnessed remarkable hardness, but the most serious hardship was the burden of indifference in the face of provocation. Physical means there was, which taking all moral problems to determined physical attack, but there was lack in the form of strategy. Indirectly more difficult to make and more provoking. The task of the Sikh is sacred to the Guru; the Sikh is a Kshatriya through life in this world. Naturally, one of the most deadly insults that can be offered to a Sikh is the rough handling of him or her, harsh to be avoided in word. That provocation was offered to Guru-lal Singh and has been offered ever since, whenever the Akali has stood up against the officials. So is the Khanda, the symbol of personal defence. That too is one of the insignia of the nobility of Sikhs. The affront to it is also mortal and there is special mourning to it. When the Khanda was offered to the Republic under the Guru, every Sikh was made its holder and carried, not by a figure of speech, but in actual fact. To provide that effect, it was ordered that the Khanda should be constantly worn by him. The surrender of the Khanda was the surrender of all the other privileges of the nobles, because he could not maintain any of them without. So due to the matter of the Khanda being, to touch it meant to renounce his nobility. The Sikhs have borne down all all now. At long last the final trial of their patience has come. When the members of the Privileges Committee were arrested a short while ago, the officials acted in a manner which was insulting to the honour and dignity of the Akal Takht, the seat of Government. It is here that the national voice of Sikhs has spoken throughout the country. Long years of conflict, achievement and sacrifice have brought the place with dignity and authority. There is no need now to go into the details of the way that the police officials really the subject but in that the name of the Sikhs is that dignity and honour have occurred. It is in connection with this that the Committee has decided it to wear Government. It amounts to this: the Akalis have been non-violent so far, but they do not provide that force will never be used and they clearly indicate that in the event of repeated meetings, they will be at liberty to take any step in defence of their honour and religious



obligations, and then the officials of Government will be truly responsible. The warning is repeated in time and thank heaven and there is no relaxing its import. If we may say so, the Committee has done rightly in informing to Government and the public this unqualified opinion. At the same time, we should like to point out the Sikh leaders the wisdom of the new policy and more than that its impartiality and the wisdom on which it rests. When the policy of power was assumed by the Sikhs at the beginning of the struggle, we believe the way was taken with due regard as to what it meant. It was for the successful waging of a religious fight. It was known that the task of waging two religions will involve the sacrifice of many a sacred of religion. There was no reason to imagine that in the struggle with a government based on force, spiritual and worldly would be respected. On the other hand, the very members of the Council appeared any such notion. The attack on the Committee was conceived to be an attack on the religious liberty of the Sikhs to pursue their tradition. The attack, today by the Akal Takht is an attack on one of the sacred elements and is not really different from interference with the national spirit in religious liberty. The voluntary members have tacitly offering to sacrifice in Canadian-English moved to agree in the end a larger measure of genuine religious freedom than by demanding to lifting a few policemen. The time is exactly the same as it was nearly two years ago. If the Committee should have wished to adhere to the old policy, the result cannot be any different. There is one further factor of high relevancy. The facts in the last analysis are not acted by the balancing of forces between Government and Sikhs. In the background, transcending these facts, there is the current of public opinion and sympathy. To-day, the current runs of Indian opinion in unity is favour of the Sikhs. They are leaders amongst the Hindus of the Punjab which is due to religious acts of valour by the Sikhs. But the necessary aspect is that this volume of support is an armament of the possible tactics of the Sikhs. If for any reason they should cease to have, the reaction on public sympathy will be fatal. The Government is not likely to be shaken out of its purpose by the threat of violence, if it fails in that vital respect what it will slowly come to be. It is the Sikhs who will suffer. Public opinion will be stirred and it would not stop.

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The Member members of the Punjab Party who are in the local Legislative Council have regulated themselves for the coming session. They have framed a set of rules to regulate their conduct which have interesting reading. There is no information whether they have met with the approval of the Akal Takht, General Council of the Party, or whether they have come before referred for such approval. In fact, there are a number of interesting questions, which left over undiscussed and unsettled will come day-after to-morrow. For instance, what is the relation between the Indian National Party and the Provincial Group? So far, it

is the only difficulty that has come to the foreground, on account of the conflict asked by Mathura and the Punjab. Take another problem, that of the relation between the body of the Party and the members that are in the Assembly and the various Councils. Before the Congress the laws did not arise, because many members of the Party was a prominent legislator and there was no need to discuss the question. But, conflict the States that were based at the Bombay session. Nagpur where were asked, a Party leader in the Parliamentarian sense was elected, a Deputy leader, a Secretary and Whip. We wonder whether there is anything with constitutional authority to modify or confirm the rules in the powers of the officials elected under them. If there should be, we suggest there are a series of amendments to that function to make. A recent meeting of the rules intended to regulate the conduct of Committees in Council in the event of the demands of the Party being rejected, and the Party acting on a policy of defiance, obstruction and continuous opposition' leads one to a word of deep suspicion. In our humble judgment, what is demanded or promised is no more than a will-ruling of responsive co-operation. Members of the Party will be at liberty to exercise the right of interpellation, the only restriction being that the proposed questions should meet with the approval of the Party Executive. All that the prohibition means is that the members of the Party should act as a Party and not separately. The Executive to give power 'in relation such questions as in their opinion, conflict with the policies and policy of the Party.' Surely, this permission to exercise authority on vague grounds is not the same thing as the driving after constitutional disabilities, which is the positive form of non-cooperation. In the Council-govern, if the purpose of 'uniform, consistent and continuous opposition' was uniform and not more encourage, the right of interpellation will be strictly regulated. There should be general prohibition of the right subject to the proviso that on a motion and subsequent motions, the Executive of the Party shall be at liberty to direct the asking of questions but we are free to recognize that Mr. Jayakar and his friends in Bombay acted wisely; the Parliamentarians who profess faith in non-cooperation, Civil and otherwise alike, were not in the mood to subordinate the exercise of constitutional rights to the spirit of direct action. If anybody had proposed that the right of interpellation should be used according to our suggestion, he would have been rebuffed by an overwhelming majority.

Take again the Rule regarding office. It reads as follows:—

"The Members of the Party shall not be free to be on the panel of the Chairman of Council, or hold office as or vote for the election of the Deputy President of the Council or serve on any Select or Standing Committee or Commission appointed by the Government. They will, however, be at liberty to vote for and accept places on all Committees and Commissions which are elected by a vote of the Council. They will not serve on any Commissions which are purely advisory in their character or on the Finance or Public Accounts Commissions."

(Continued on Page 42)



# Young India

March-24

## Our Little Brothers

There has come into our hands an Appeal to the Indian National Congress on behalf of the Untouchables of India. We believe it was circulated amongst the delegates to Comrade The action of it is a member of one of the committees described as Untouchable. He is an educated Tyro and the editor of a newspaper devoted to the service of his people. The summary of his case is that the Congress should make the issue of untouchability as important as the Gandhi Control. There is a specific proposal that the matter should be handed over to a special committee of the Congress. It would have been better, if the writer had specifically said what he wanted on behalf of his people. There is a good deal of general denunciation of untouchability, denunciations in which nearly every educated man will agree, but which, unless we move in particular, may well have been avoided.

There is one of the natural difficulties of this complex question. One does not know what it is that the members of these committees really mean. Untouchability is a sin, because it involves a certain attitude towards human beings, pretending to put them not merely beyond the boundaries of a specific social order, but beyond the pale of humanity. From common experience, it may be doubted whether the committees concerned at the moment show by the act of touch as we imagine. However that may be, the higher caste themselves need to gain by the movement out of confusion. The act of extending the right hand of fellowship is fraught with the symbolism of power. But now we get beyond that there is no more guidance as to the real work of the case. The primary necessity is a frank declaration of rights and grievances, a bill of self-determination by the Depressed Classes. Till then we shall be at sea.

Subject to this difficulty, it would still be possible to define the general objectives. The first has to do with the fact that the problem itself is the Indian solution of an international problem that is nearly universal. We do not hold by the common fallacy that the technique of untouchability that shock a modern educated mind were borned in a spirit of personality or wickedness. Different cultures and races met in India and India's manner of regulating the relations between Aryan and Indigeneous stocks was that of social segregation. We disagree it was possible for the conquerors to assimilate the conquered as the Europeans assimilated the Americans and Red Indians; but it is definitely the credit of the Aryans that they did not do anything of the kind. The reason is obvious. The general scheme of the caste system made segregation easily possible. Caste itself is a series of social segregations on the basis of prohibition. There was therefore no miracle or social technology in finding a place

for those who were alien by race and theory. Just beyond the social pale it is not necessary to decide whether this solution of the problem of distinction is any longer scientifically valid. But to decide between them is no doubt. There is equal political need for the disappearance of caste limitations. The classification is not absolutely accurate or scientifically right; but we shall use the common method of division. We shall speak of three classes of rights: political, social, and humanitarian.

First, there are the rights of citizenship, order and freedom of the State. Right to the unrestricted use of public roads; the right of franchise; the use of courts; public wells, schools. Of these, there can be no manner of doubt. There are difficulties for members of the untouchable State and there can be no valid reason for the denial of these rights. The declaration is not unqualified. Evidence was furnished before the Lee Commission that they were denied in several places—for the use of wells was prohibited wherever they were; that temples were refused admission to court houses because they were Untouchables; that children could not get admission to schools. In the very Appeal of which we are speaking, mention is made of a plotter in an Indian State being refused entrance by a magistrate who was sitting in the Capital on the ground that the Ruling Prince was in the middle of an important religious ceremony. The modern state is a creature of positive law and it is impossible to work the body of legal definitions the rules of disabilities, arising from social positions. The rights are clear; but we do not take issue regarding the fact that social conflicts may lead to the breach of the law. There is no real need to the protagonists of clear legal rights except their personal satisfaction. The very determination to secure legal dues may lead to persecution by law-breakers. Whether the letter of the law is on your side or not, there is a deeper security which says that you can maintain yourself only by your readiness to order. That readiness may have to be tested by the Untouchables, but there is no unwilling guarantee of escape from persecution except the strength of the human spirit, but there is this consolation in the present case. The hand of the oppressor will be punished not only by the strength of the victim, but by the value of all good men and men.

Secondly are the rights we have called humanitarian. The word is not satisfying. But the social rights we have in mind is the right of religious liberty, of free worship. Unfortunately the right is complicated in a very embarrassing way. Religious worship is no longer simple contact between God and the devotee; perhaps, it has never been in a devoted state of society or culture. Moral values, social precedents, what may be roughly but accurately called the atmosphere of religion. It is all very well to say that no man should be prevented from worshipping God. Man and God being left solely together, nobody can prevent freedom of worship. But that is not what is meant, when we talk of the rights of the Untouchables to public worship. Public worship, worship in temples, is an elaborate process in which a large number of people are involved besides the ideal worshipper and the unseen God. There are priests and worshippers of various kinds, each of them representing a human



will, after a pause, "It which does not seem to be persons because of the play. The rehearsal may say that it is a religious thing to present a scene from remembering God freely the devotee in the case being an Untouchable. But the Hinduism equally place and a good deal more in the subject of morality is concerned that the departure from sacred position will mean the end of his earthly world. Rather than tolerate impurity, he would walk away from his charge. A line case of interest to him as man's ability without cover. It is a difficult case and the solution will be more too easy. But of one person, there should not be any doubt, it should be a genuine case of play, not of political or social action putting on the mask of play. If such a workshop can be saved, there will be no real obstacle in his path. He will be not only the pathfinder, but also the maker of the path for a million others. Millions hungry, millions Hindu religious hungry, is that with this kind of program. We shall certainly pass for the asking of such a man and there will undoubtedly come to his aid without fail. The plan seems to me something. It is but a few days since the writer of these lines heard of the taking of one of the shipboard steps. A group of ship-bird brothers who had not come within half a mile of a temple, were led to just beyond the outer court of a temple place of worship and the Hinduism official in charge did not demand that he kneel down them with their staff. The program is not as simple as you be desired, it is however that the slow and inevitable away of the office.

The world that is ahead as a different horizon, rights measured by inner-dining and inner-marriage. Hinduism is a practical question of importance. The advocate of the divorced class has yet committed himself to the proposition that the settlement of untouchability leads to inner-marriage. As long as the Hindu custom of early marriage survives, the question has no genuine content; young people will be married off by their parents within the caste. The matter of these lines is giving is the conviction that early marriage in its institution is desirable and that its continuance will be disastrous. But whether that view be sound or not, there is no doubt that early marriage is a fact today and that it is all that counts in the present context. Inner-dining is more desirable than inner-marriage but we need not say more than was said about it. It is a new case of evolution, a thing that began in another, and has now ended as inter-marriage because of the prevalence of European values. Further than that there is nothing to it.

We work for the common code of Hinduism. All the same, we do not feel that we have reached the fringe of reality. The new reality is poverty. He who has not gone to our villages can find there long and deep the eye of sympathy wide open, does not know what poverty is. It is not a thing that you get from the books. It is an evil that affects those in caste and out of it, but necessarily, it affects the untouchable more. All of these matters and movements, known and new, are arising by a common light. All of these castes and classes belong to the day-made classes. If there is a message that will fit them out of misery, it will be a good one. It must be practical and immediate. The struggle is not with the Christians.

## The New Khadi Board

The Khadi Board has been working in Andhra and Tamil Nadu. It has been growing up accompanying them in Andhra, but in Tamil Nadu I had the privilege of being with the Board in their workshops. It was not a programme of mass public meetings. They collected facts, got workers gathered at the villages and had their talks with workers and masters under their own decided work. The result is that wherever they went they have spread new hope and fervour for work.

The main policy that the Board has been playing before the people wherever they have been working is decentralisation. Every collector area should become its workshop of Khadi for clothing its own people before exporting to other areas. Wherever possible, the millowners should be abolished and the workers should work in their own villages and get goods together in "factories." The workers should be made to spin out of their own cotton and not take cotton from Congress stores or Khadi-bundles to spin merely for wages.

An honest view of the best producing agent was markedly held in the meeting of Khadi. They make all schemes themselves. Solving in their own hands the means used, as hands, many of the factory work, but working for mass under conditions everywhere many of the economic conditions of factory labour. In a sense the capitalist works against the plan-makers system of the factory if he wishes the worker spin for wages. He pays no reward into it as workshop, but even the poor man's wheel and comes to his own, and employ him as labour for his capital. The better way would be to enable the worker to find that she is working for herself and has own cotton, and spin for her which she can bargain and get the best price. The last act of it is will then more easily be completed, and we will have our beautiful Indian spin, leading and ending by weight and taking back very spinning wages by the power workshops and not encourage the factory to recover their old. Millard spin does come. The problem of price of hand can be solved only if we reduce the weight of cotton consumed, that is by giving them some of pure. It is the only way out, unless we we cannot not a half an important goods to protect our own industry. If the spinners spin for own use and of value which is her own property, and the yarn is sold by her hands, the law seems to show her cotton and spin does come.

He also decentralisation meant selling the thread but he was seen and seen cloth for which he can ask for the best price. Weaving for wages has "factory" as in his own house, it may be, it is the thing we aim at. All this change, in the transition, means that and without labour and perhaps the compromise.

But he has the most important part of the scheme of the Khadi Board has been their call to people to spin and not merely look toward the Khadi. "I have no message from Mahatma but I will tell you what he does every day. He spins his own cotton and spins for his home families deriving money from his 'house study.'" Thus is Bhaskaraji Bhaskar, the energetic Secretary of the Khadi Board taking the first message from Yashwantrao Chavan.







## The French in Ruhr

[A friend has just loaned our hands an interesting collection of documents. There are three of them. They are entitled "A Collection of Depositions concerning the acts of violence committed by French-Spans in the Ruhr District". The depositions were made by the German civil authorities, judges and other officials legally empowered to take sworn statements. The subject-matter of the evidence is incidents that happened nearly a year ago and are therefore of no present practical value. But they raise a very interesting problem which we shall discuss next week. In our accounts we publish a few special cases and depositions. The want of these are hereby recommended in a public journal. Ed. Y. I.]

### Case No. 1

On March 16th, at 10.15 p. m. while conversing with his wife during a walk through Kaiser Street in Bonn, Paul Fabian, a crane workman, was killed by the shot of a French soldier, whose aim, whilst mistaking, and without having received any previous warning.

The witnesses did not even the slightest look the victim, just as he did as five other French soldiers who passed the body. They were surprised that two well-built men, equipped, on the scene of the crime.

### Case 2

On the evening of the 10th February, towards 8 o'clock, the spouse M. walked with her house E. on the road from Hülshagen to Hülshagen, to bring some furniture to a land-lady there. Arriving at the cross-roads, they were stopped by two French soldiers and a Belgian soldier who spoke German fluently. E. was asked to show her pass. One of the French soldiers held a pistol up to her face, and forced her to return with the furniture. The soldiers departed with her husband M. and violently prevented their wife's protestations at her. The Belgian soldier on that of the agreed to yield to the desires of them all, she would go free, otherwise she would be shot. E. had M. released, when she was thrown into a ditch by the French soldiers. Her hands were tied behind her back with a rope. A pistol was pointed at her breast by the Belgian, who spoke one of the French soldiers, strongly the ladies, released her. Meanwhile the other five soldiers stood some paces back and laughed. M. was then raped by the other five soldiers, in succession. The rape was then ended, and she declared that she would go shot and thrown into the water, as once she told anything to her house. She was then set free.

### Case 3

Towards 8 p.m., on February 17th, 1919, J. French officers drove out of the playground near the Theater-Cafe in Hücklinghausen, for no reason whatever. From there they entered the theatre entrance, singing and smoking short pipes with their smoking-shops, just while the second act of "King Lear" was being performed. For no reason at all, they started at the audience which at once assumed of notice, to leave the theatre immediately. One officer, standing in the front row of the first balcony stood out. His wife Mrs. West pushed the other French officers. (This is a capital offence of the law.) Leaving over the balcony, and striking the barrier

with her knee-sharp, he then started to the people in the pit to get out suddenly. The theatre of the officers were completely panic-stricken, and the play-goers were severely mistreated. Some of the former struck members of the audience across their bare heads, with their knee-sharp. One of the officers even went as far as to hit the women and of his wife in the way. Among them was one, Ernesta Gieseler, by name, who was especially conspicuous for her brutal use of the knee-sharp. Many of the gentlemen had their hats crushed from their hands.

In fact of these brutal proceedings, the German press quickly took to flight, whereby they had to put a stoppage, in which there was a further number of officers who started on the audience at the top of their voices. While passing, the hats of the play-goers were again crushed off with knee-sharp.

### Case 4

On March 17th, towards 8 p.m., a crowd of 15, was struck to the ground by French Alpine Hunters, on Wertheimer Street in Hücklinghausen, under the green-lane canopy of leaves posted up from Hücklinghausen. E. had no intention. He was then brought to St. Peter's Inn, and from there to the Town-Hall. After being surrounded by French officers there, he was transferred to the Hücklinghausen.

On arriving at the latter place, he was mistreated in the medical station, by the work composed of Alpine Hunters. He received blows on the back of the head, on the left cheek, under the right eye and around the stomach and kidneys. The surgeons belonging to the work, several hours after his fall which he felt. On return to work at night he had to be on the bare ground with only his trousers on. To all appearances about one mile over him with a bicycle running his chest, when he had again lost consciousness. He was left without any food whatever.

During the early morning hours of the following day, he was able to escape by the aid of some landless persons who were staying at the police station. Since his mistreatment, E. is fond of laughing on the left ear. He has also sustained injuries to his back.

### Case 5

On the evening of February 18th the policemen V., P., and F. as well as the chief of administration E. were present in the street without any reason by French soldiers, and severely ill-treated by French non-commissioned officers and soldiers, partly in the street, partly at the guard house in the Friedrichstrasse where they had been taken, by force, under the pretext of order and silence, mainly in the front. They had to pass the night on the sharp, bare floor of the guard house without having received an opportunity of getting down.

### Case 6

In the evening 17th, at about 10 p.m. the policeman E. who was well and who is only able to walk slowly owing to a shortening of the leg, was stopped on Kaiserstrasse, Hücklinghausen, by a group of at least two soldiers and officers there. About this matter an officer ordered him to hold up his hands and at the same moment struck him across the forehead with the butt of his rifle.



paid. After giving him another blow across the right arm, the officer let him go, after searching him for weapons, without taking any.

In the vicinity of Buxton, about several French officers again arrested E who was slowly walking on with difficulty. Two soldiers pointed their revolvers at his breast and ordered him to hold up his hands. Thereupon E was arrested and taken to Hord Woodhouse. On his way thither, the crowd was apparently led by the prisoner by the French soldiers. A French soldier who was among that mob struck him over the back with a rubber trident. All the soldiers in the Hord Woodhouse street too in the front in the number of the crowd, a soldier shot him in the stomach with a bayonet or trident, as that shot of E's back was lacerated. When the Hord began to pass from his mouth in consequence, another soldier bravely struck him again in the same place.

There was not the slightest reason for this treatment, nor did the French search for arms which followed, and the examination by French officers prove anything against him. E was thereupon released.

#### Case 7

In the night from the 15th to the 16th February, about twenty Germans were arrested in various parts of Buxton, without any charge against them, and brought into the drawing-room of the High School in the Kailashpuri. There they were told that they would have to suffer because two French officers had been murdered in Hord Woodhouse during the afternoon. In spite of the fact that the prisoners knew nothing of this misadventure, a French officer made a sign for his men to fall upon them. Thereupon two soldiers and officers rushed upon the defenceless Germans and murdered them in the most inhuman way by kicking and beating them with fists and sticks, whereas the officers participated. Finally a number of the victims lay on the ground covered with blood. One of the prisoners, Sander S., of Leipzig had a tooth knocked out and his leg was broken. After the murder the prisoners were told that they would be made to stand against the wall of the prison courtyard in the neighbourhood of the French officers, were not fired on. For two days and nights they were detained in the room of the drawing-room, not being allowed to leave, under the most degrading conditions, during which they were continually threatened with rubber tridents. There was another room to sit on the floor. At last, two white horses for all the prisoners were allowed by the French. No opportunity was given to answer the calls of nature.

#### Case 8

On April 10th, 1918 the 15 years old police school pupil E. and the 17 years old volunteer D. were going for a walk in Buxton. About half past five o'clock they passed the Ghorachabadi on the gate at which about 15 soldiers were standing. When E. and D. were about 40 metres distant from the gate of the Ghorachabadi in the Ghorachabadi, a French soldier who had followed them suddenly sprang up with them. From behind this soldier there a large stone at the head of E., who immediately dropped to the ground unconscious. After he had regained consciousness, he was moved to the courtyard of the prison where he was first imprisoned, at the back

of his head there was a shattering wound of about 1 cm in length. A physician called in later on ascertained a severe contusion of the brain.

#### Case 9

At 11.45 p.m. on March 18th, four French soldiers, among them a corporal, entered the dwelling of Hermann K. in Dortmund and demanded the immediate handing over of his husband's threatened assets. They explained their demand by proving their residence at the house of K. and his wife. When they were told that there was no money in the house, the corporal went to the middle of the room and a half year old son of K., and declared that he would shoot him dead. Thereupon he only proceeded from threatening the dead by the frightened mother's intercession. After the soldiers had easily attempted to make Mrs. K. remain solitary, they left.

Arriving outside the house, three of the soldiers started the soldier, assistant T. who happened to be among that way. One of them pressed a revolver into the left armpit of T., as that he hid. The two other soldiers asked T. of his pocketbook containing a quantity of a million marks as well as of a silver watch with a golden chain.

#### Deposition No. 1

(See Case 9.)

Witness Mrs. Hermann K.

On March 18th, of this year, towards 11.45 p.m. there were four men in our street. My husband was then in his bedroom in the first floor, as usual. When I heard loud voices I went down into the kitchen. In the kitchen were four French soldiers, one of whom was a corporal. He told a revolver at my husband's breast and said: "Give a hundred thousand marks, otherwise you're a dead man!" My husband said that he had no hundred thousand marks. The corporal thereupon hit my husband in the face. Then he took me by the arm and holding the revolver to my breast, said to the other soldiers: "Get with your money, we hundred thousand marks, we are to anything else, we will kill you!" I said that I had no money. He now went to the middle where my little son was, who is now not a half year old. He placed his revolver before the child's head and said that he was going to shoot him. I jumped between them and told him that the child was unable to give him money, and that it would be better to kill me than the child. Thereupon the corporal asked me how old I was, and upon my answer that I was thirty-two years of age, he started: "Will you go and—wait! Hermann!" As that I pretended not to understand and he repeated the same question several times I indignantly resisted, he pushed me to another soldier, but I was able to free myself. One of them wanted to take my hand-bag but was prevented from doing so by the other soldiers. The soldiers only took a hand-bag and an identity with them. They were all very much interested. I was arrested before the French commandant immediately the next in March. Four Frenchmen were confronted with me and I recognised them to be the offenders with certainty. As the interpreter told me, there was had confessed their guilt.

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# Young India

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## The Message

Mahatma Gandhi immediately after hearing the news of his unconditional release sent C. F. Andrews to his Ashram at Ashramdell to carry a message to those who were in existence. He wished them to understand that the news which had come of his release was a cause for greater humility rather than for rejecting the burden of responsibility would be greater than ever, and now they must prepare themselves in order to be ready to bear it.

### How He Received The News

Mr C. F. Andrews has communicated the following statement in the "Imperial Form" concerning Mr. Gandhi :-

I was present at the luncheon. Hospital this evening at about 7.30 A.M. and found Mahatma Gandhi very bright and cheerful after a good night's rest. While we were talking, Colonel Macleod who has been in charge of the patient in hospital came in and announced to Mahatma news of his unconditional release and congratulated him upon it most heartily. He then read out to him words of official message and said that it had cost no blood-sweat but a moral victory. Therefore he had taken occasion to coming to him as he wished to be the first man to hear news that he was now free. Mahatma Gandhi thanked him for a few minutes and then said to Colonel Macleod with a smile, "I hope you will allow me to discuss your patient and also your guests talk longer." Doctor laughed and told him that he hoped that his patient would go on staying but also as a doctor and that he himself might have very great pleasure and satisfaction of seeing him thoroughly restored to health. Later on in the morning after dressing the wound, Colonel Macleod gave Mahatma the recovery of the period which was going on as well might be suddenly thrown back after emergency operations to his illness was caused in the next few days by men of whom who wished to see him. Mahatma said to the world would be for everyone around them who were waiting him to give him all the rest possible at this critical time in his recovery. It had to be remembered that the wound which had to be made while performing the operation was not fully healed and a few over-exerting of strength of patient might throw recovery back. Next fortnight would be the time when every reason of strength

would be needed in order that the wound might be fully healed. Everything had gone well up to the present but it was imperative that no unnecessary risks should be incurred.

Mahatma Gandhi was somewhat surprised to receive news from a doctor from such an early hour, but when he would be able to get the full details of the recovery and more telegrams from him to post to him from an early hour. The first telegram reached hospital very soon after Colonel Macleod had left.

I would wish if I can be permitted to do so after all I have seen in the hospital concerning Mahatma Gandhi's health to add my own urgent request in the evening given by the doctor, as while undoubtedly Mahatma Gandhi has recovered wonderfully wonderfully he is still in a very weak condition and it must be remembered that healing of the wound has still to go on and anything that in the slightest degree might bring about a relapse must be avoided. Every day of complete rest which he can now obtain, especially during the next fortnight will mean an immense difference for the future. It would be greatest wisdom possible if those to whom his health is most precious would strictly observe the doctor's instructions until the recovery has been finished. It will also be quite impossible for Mahatma to go out anywhere to Press correspondence. After writing on the statement I read it over to Mahatma Gandhi himself at his own request, and he has given it to the Press.











power, and it will certainly not go to the other extreme, which is the rule of pure force, but we are entering the time when the spoils of imperialism will be right to give to them to achieve. The Labour Party has come to confusion in the service of a considerable, of a certain set of principles. Its members are afraid to move or confidently defy them without well and considerably devastating coverage. Mr. Lloyd George is the most sensible historian in recent history of a politician who tried to do all things to all men. Thanks to the Greeks, thanks to the barbarians, the Kaiser that overtook him came up for merit. None of the top men, in a spirit of noblesse, are willing to compromise with the narrow-minded of high class, but behind them, making them and their leaders, are vast masses of hard political followers impossible to ignore. What we feel is that even in future questions the general course will have to one direction not in any other, and that it will be completely different from the course with which we were familiar in the days of Lord Peel and Earl Winston.

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But our readers will see that until all this reading there is little of clear policy or prediction. We return to the charge. The truth is that the immediate course of policy is extremely difficult to anticipate or describe objectively. It is generally held both in England and India. There are all kinds of competing forces whose final outcome is not easy to define. We know what the new Government intends to do. It is to leave us well alone. If however we are not altogether satisfied about the forces that are behind, the policy will fall out necessarily by anything that happens here, but for the present of opinion in the councils of Government. These councils may be influenced by Indian developments. Further than this, we cannot go.

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In publishing part of the evidence about French delays in the North, we expressed an observation that was. The observation is really no more than the answer to a problem stated by the friend who gave us the document. The problem has a history which is this. When Colonel Volpwood was sent to India, the people of the French and the future of the educational system were put thus to him—"The students in the Punjab were troubled by being sent up and down most countries, and by being compelled to salute the Union Jack. These were humiliations and the Colonel was asked the question: "What was it that there was not done among the humiliated men enough to rise up and refuse submission to the punishment? How was it that there was not one amongst them was enough to prefer force over? Do you think that it should humiliate us were happy upon the young fellows in Oxford or Cambridge by German Officers, they would all have volunteered?" The further discussion of that time had no military aim, the policy to give

and the alternative? I remember the French legs good, they were? German was? One of the French. The problem had to find the Council. But, whether the assumption of the original conversation was right, whether indeed the Indian side were really as bad as we thought, whether the English one were quite the better we laughed there to her, possibly, whether any people in the world, even the lowest one be tempted to behave accordingly, in the face of pain caused by military aggression. The argument is this. Take the case of the Germans, the victims of aggression in the Ruhr. There is no doubt they were subjected to aggression, insults and humiliations as bad as any put on the subjects of Britain. Nobody will dispute the history of the Germans of the Ruhr. They were soldiers in the Kaiser's Army, and it is certain that many of them were volunteering to aggression were amongst those that fought in the war and fought bravely. But these very people are volunteering to their aggressors almost as ready as the Persians did. Were we not doing as Indians to our own people and were we not members in assuming that English rule steadily no longer than Germans would have acted differently from the Indians? Is not the truth much deeper? Is not probable that phenomena amount of military "humiliations," they must something to human nature which leads to complete surrender? Is it not a trick of mass psychology, of panic, making it impossible for any single individual to rise above the common level? We admit there is considerable force in the suggestion. We are also prepared to consider the given the circumstances to the Punjab, we were probably kinder in our judgment than the truth warranted. We are free to confess that our picture of the trouble compelling Englishmen was drawn from the Colonel Graft's account of the English officer that chose death in preference to the degradation of presenting himself before the Chinese Mandarins. There is the second question whether there is not something of that power in the use of force, and whether the Napoleonic ideal of the triumph of peace over violence is not vain. Here we feel we are as helplessly more ground. All that the Germans and the French came gave is the course that of a military aggression. Every war brought to a final determination that, and the historians under discussion do not take us any further. That the Germans did not make the physical might of France has no probative value in this regard. The Germans who believed in the breakdown of violence, that in this special case, they decided that it was futile to resist. The last we saw, the Non-cooperation case, is altogether different. We believe that there is a positive philosophy in refusing, which can prevail over the who employ violence. By virtue of this faith, we drew on us some amount of uncomfortable publicity. It is not when the spirit is at its worst that we feel our sympathy at its richest. It is not when we rebuke them by the character of his conduct, that the bested manner of non-violence reaches his naturally. The instance of the Ruhr would have been interesting, if the Germans went into it secured in order and as brave soldiers. On the other hand, they needed all available weapons. They initiated all possible military



on their enemies, whenever they got the chance. There were murders and public opinion approved of it. There was sabotage. To use an Indian expression that is now familiar, there was no strangling of Non-violence; the strangling was all of violence, of Indian violence. If indeed Germans had accepted our doctrine, and then proceeded to brutalities without conscience, the case indeed would have been hard, but the answer to the question is something more than an argument. The Sikh instance is conclusive. The incidents at Gura-ka-Bagh prove that non-violence is the leader of a cause, and possessed of dynamic faith in non-violence, can stand physical torture at its extreme limit without surrender. And the end of the affair is, surrender or no surrender. If positive non-violence in its pure form can be tested, that is all we want.

## Young India

7-2-31

### A Great Crime

The anti-Drink movement was one of the results of the great wave of purification set in motion by Mahatmaji. It was not directly aimed at by him. When it came, however, it came as a natural consequence of a national revolution which sought to purify and strengthen the people in every phase of life. The depth and vigour of the popular enthusiasm that was roused for ending the drink evil surprised even Mahatmaji. The patriotism of his own movement he knew full well, but the dynamic force and spontaneity of the anti-Drink agitation and the ardour with which it swept throughout the land was something which came as a life-surprise. It was a wonderful proof of the power and methods of national reform adopted by him, and strengthened him in his purpose to nothing else but saving life.

Great as his satisfaction was at seeing the people move themselves out of the quagmire of the drink evil, his disappointment was as bitter when he saw that the forces which he had all his lifetime trained to regard as friendly were either severely opposed or apathetically indifferent. He had every reason to expect the Christian missionaries to show the weight of their good influence on the side of the people. Their own professions as well as their general attitude towards him and his teachings justified this expectation. He had every right also to expect his friends the moderates to avail themselves of the opportunity to do good. For, had they not chosen to wield some power in the Government of the country, regarding the national benefit and disbenefit, just the same available opportunities to do good? Moved by the great appeal and its corroboration, he put aside the strict rules of Non-Co-operation and appealed to the

moderate leaders to take the national side by reform and temperate legislation to prohibit the drink. Great and urgent was the occasion, when a whole people dominated with one voice legislation which temperance reformers in other countries, have experienced difficulties to get the people to agree to. While in other countries they attempt through Government the difficult task of reforming the people against their own will, here to think the tragedy was that the field invited the lawyers, but the country was wickedly shewn away.

The only ray of hope is that the chance is not yet gone. The popular agitation is not yet dead—no thanks to the Government who have done their utmost by repression to lift it—but by reason of the spirit of sacrifice evoked by the great movement, which is too strong to be extinguished by repression. The Government may resist the demand for freedom and the field may be prolonged, but one may yet hope for a speedy surrender on the issue of Drink.

The signs are however not favourable. The official system of the British administration by the Indian Executive indulges in cunning and craftiness which show the contemptuous attitude of authority. No harm did the popular side against the drink evil like as high as in the Southern Province. Young men of all classes went in prison to their hundreds in the Anti-Drink Campaign and the message penetrated the furthest corners of village life. The Government unfortunately states that the Government that the Non-Co-operation movement has not materially affected the drink evil. Even if that the Government could do to prevent any harmful effect, if completely ill. It gave no chance to the volunteers who came forward to plant the liquor shops which they established and encouraged against the popular demand. It imprisoned hundreds of innocent volunteers on the mere declaration of intention to plant. It gave police protection to the drunkards. It blinded and stifled the Congress workers wherever it could. It persecuted them in a hundred ways and gave every help it could possibly give to the corruption of the people. But the Government shamelessly persists to minimise the effects of the movement. The fact is that it is to prevent a decent silence over the affair. To-day the Indian Government has still to be paid nearly a hundred lakhs and hundred young men, whose only offence was that they wanted to organise peaceful picketing of toddy shops in Madras, Nagpur and Bombay may be asked but the Indian Government cannot yield on the question of drink. The luxury of it all is that for this wrong, it is not Lord Willingdon but Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, an Indian Home Minister that is responsible,—showing that we are our own worst enemies in a national sense, and which is the only way out of despair.

The Government is without a shadow of doubt guilty of deliberately throwing away the greatest chance which a Government could ever have to rid the country of the Drink Evil, and it will have no excuse when history will charge it with this great crime.



## At the Sumner Hospital

That is his habit: every day, spend his time. Days, however little we might deserve him. When the news first reached me on the 12th, my guilty conscience began to whisper to me that the stock of my papers was over, and under the good look of the rest of my obituary came to my aid, I could not have the privilege of seeing Days; but the privilege did come indeed, after all twenty-four months I was in the days ago. In the fact, he was hardly half blind, it was making less than nature to expect him to speak. But you could not stop him from speaking himself. He left no room to speak to us, at whatever cost, and he began talking as soon as he came, to be conveyed to the Sumner Hospital. He rarely there and we had all the doctors from Toronto and others. But he must draw extra attention on us, by examining the whole tale myself. We listened, rarely wondering what we had done to deserve this extent of attention.

But if any one had asked me to write anything about Days that day I would not have had the heart to do it. He was so conscious, so cheerful up, that you could not bring yourself to be expected enough to say or write anything about his condition. But, thank God, he began picking up unexpectedly fast, and I am happy to say that I had now said to me everything about what is happening: in this the greatest of our phase of change to-day.

There have been days which will live in our minds. The Nation had the good fortune to see its greatest leader at work, to see him would know out of day what at work. It had not to see his pupil go back from his side-bed and see a wounded man not before his eyes. It has done so during the past fortnight. It is a living atmosphere of love at which you begin to feel the effects, as you approach the room which becomes to come to-day the light that transcends the beauty of day and night.

I have had the privilege, as mentioned probably as the one I had two years ago, of being with him these two days, though not the privilege of seeing him. That privilege is being widely monopolized by the hospital nurses. One of them is an Englishwoman of long experience. His recent help, perhaps as the experience him. One day she comes talking about her pet Days, and (knows Days) has conversation about the different varieties of Days, and their usefulness. Another day she talks about her experience in English and African hospitals, and tells him how one has died throughout her life the hours that her doctors taught her of never trying to be kinder. A third she discusses the time with the best women and asks Days to advise her work. They are neither more much younger, but equally fond of Days, who prided herself on having Mr. Gandhi as her pet. "Gentle" talked after saying out as a talked nurse. "Sounding is not always a pet, at times it is a mule," she used to say. "You can have a good job and a privilege to serve. Mr. Gandhi. The Doctor comes and tells me, 'you did not see to print your reports like this ever before' and I get him afterwards. 'Not had I such a perfect before?'" Another day she told me, 'my friends were calling me for getting food of Mr. Gandhi'. I told them they would do the same if they had the privilege of seeing him."

And the "sounding" is not the idea it is as explained in the stories. The Chief Surgeon has had better and brighter people on his to compare him the the way in which he was serving Mahatma, and it is not without a blush that he says, "how can I be truly to all of them? Shall I do it through the lives?"

I do not know if any one seeing Days has the slightest consciousness that he is serving a noble patient, a compelling love, others all other consciousness.

But why? Then he who has in fact upon him as a prisoner would scarcely differ to his manner from the rest. One morning, the Victoria Superintendent, came to see Days; the other said, "Do you think Mr. Gandhi, I have neglected you? No, I thought I should not disturb you. And so. I was you now after some days I had you very much better. The Colonel also comes to see you are really improving. Your friends remember you. His friend recently asked me to tell you that he will stay at I think. Every one of them is better, and when I hear they do so personally." His attention was striking. "Thank you Col. Murray," said Days, "but I assure you nothing will please me better than to be my and doing and be under your hand care once again at Toronto." You never could tell, if you did not know him, that a pet Superintendent was speaking to one of his patients, and you could almost imagine the atmosphere of love created by Days in his prison cell at Toronto.

But I want say something about Days's health, after two years nothing about his sickness at home. His looks will surprise, but he is better than he might have been as he said his long-suffering, the other day saying him for his ill-health suffer "and you are more than you ought to be." His weight which at its best was 112 lbs. he had cannot be now very much more moved, though it is difficult to be precise, as he is still in bed, and cannot be moved out of it. There is no doubt, however, that he is getting stronger every day. There is a chain hanging down from the top of his bed of which is given a hold to enable him to sit up when he bed. There for my experience, he said to a friend the other day. The Surgeon was still strong, but not so much as before. His consciousness is nearly left by a good quantity, and consists of about 7 pounds of milk, a couple of tea spoons and grapes. The nurse says without the help of the nurse, about a mild purgative is at first necessary. Above all he can now stand sleep of the kind he has never had during the last few years. For even the days he had were all unbroken from tranquility. From my talks with the Surgeon I can say that there is now no room for anxiety. Days's consciousness will certainly be prolonged and even indefinite.

And need I say anything about the friends of love that have taken their names to Power from all the parts of India? Besides who should be privileged to be with him, better for all the time like to conduct himself serving him by according to the sometimes intense and vigorous standing day and night looking after Days's health. But the vigilance and labor do not exhaust the affection. One day







### Khadi

The Khadi situation was then fully discussed and it was decided,

(1) That out of the money subscribed for Civil Disobedience a sum of Rs 12,500 be allocated for helping the families of Khadi going to jail in offering Civil Disobedience to Government in addition to Rs 2,500 given for that purpose by the Honours Provincial Congress Committee, that is a total amount of Rs 15,000 is granted. This money as to be sent to the Punjab P. C. C. and as to be spent by them for the purpose specified in consultation with the Honours Provincial Congress Committee.

(2) That Rs 1,000 be allocated from the General Funds to be paid to Shri A. T. Andrews for the Congress Khadi Bhagya Policy Bureau, and that Mr. Andrews be requested to send accounts and a budget estimate of future expenditure.

### Resolution

Resolved that a Committee consisting of Shri Bhanubhai Chaturvedi and Mr. G. F. Andrews be appointed to consider the provisions of suggestions for Khadi service in terms of the Congress Congress resolution No. 20.

## All India Khadi Board

The following resolutions were passed by the All India Khadi Board at a meeting held at Bombay on Friday-2nd January and Sat. 3rd Jan. —

### I General objects

The All India Khadi Board is thankful to President that Mahatma has passed safely through his most dangerous illness and is glad that the further survival in the case of freedom has emphasized to the nation the need of an, the Board, in accordance with the resolution of the Working Committee of the Congress, appeals for a vigorous effort throughout the whole country to make every one and women realize the duty of wearing Khadi. The Board appeals to all provincial Khadi organisations to put forth their utmost endeavour to achieve the object as a national movement before April 24th next.

### II Appeal to Cotton Cultivators

The Board appeals to every grower of cotton to stock a collected quantity of cotton at least for the use of his own family and request every Congress committee to take vigorous steps before the next cotton season to urge its cotton cultivators to this idea.

### III Appeal to all Congress Members

The Board deems it the duty of every Congress member to have a domestic working in his house and thereby set an effective example for the non-contradiction of domestic.

### Khaddar Policy

(1) Every province should endeavour to develop to the fullest extent its possibilities for the production of Khaddar and aim at making its population as far as possible work Khadi produced within the province itself. (2) Especially favourable areas should be fully worked so as to supply from their surplus production the Khadi requirements of areas and provinces where there is not a sufficient production of indigenous Khadi or where the industry is not yet fully developed. (3) In the transitional stage before commercial and production reach their maximum and are fully co-ordinated, provinces shall

help each other in supplying the requirements of the population and reducing surplus production, but the distribution of surplus production from one province to another shall be done through the respective Provincial Khadi Boards and with due regard to the local needs and conditions.

### V Deposits for Sale

A sufficient number of deposits or other selling agencies should be provided at suitable centres in all provinces in order that the public may always procure Khaddar at proper prices.

### VI Provincial organisations

Whereas it is desirable to put the Khadi work in the provinces on a more permanent and satisfactory basis at the same time giving the provinces the fullest freedom and scope for development, the Board requests every Provincial Congress Committee to set up and give full powers of administration to separate Khadi Boards consisting of responsible and capable members holding office for at least three years so as to ensure continuity of work.

### VII Provincial Khadi Service

Each Provincial Khadi Board shall organise and control an efficient body of whole time workers working without remuneration in Khadi work. Members of the service should be placed above work and be guaranteed at least two years employment. Make as to the qualifications, efficiency and conduct of the service be framed in each province as early as possible and sent up to the All India Khadi Board for approval.

### VIII Training to Volunteers

Provincial Khadi boards shall provide facilities for giving efficient training in spinning and working to all Congress volunteers in the province so as to make them fully conversant in the work of Khadi organisation.

### IX All India Khadi Service

An All India Khadi Service shall be organised in order to secure the services of competent full time workers: (1) for helping the provinces to organise their Khadi work on a sound basis, (2) for advising and supervising work in the provinces, and (3) for providing facilities for technical instruction. The Secretary of the Board is empowered to organise the service, framing rules as to qualifications, efficiency, tenure of service etc. and control over accordingly.

### X Loans

Loans will be granted from the All India Khaddar Board to Provincial Khaddar Boards to such extent as funds may permit and provided sufficient security by way of lien on stocks and insurance of efficient utilization of the same but are obtained and provided also the funds but are adequately supplemented by money locally raised. Every individual application shall be disposed of on their general lines and such other conditions may be imposed as the general circumstances of the case may require.

### XI Funds

The Board appeals to all persons interested in the political and economic emancipation of the country generally to contribute funds for Khadi work. Their contributions may be earmarked for Khadi work in any particular area or otherwise as the donors may choose and associated with the name of the Donor.

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# Young India

A Weekly Journal

Edited by George Joseph

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No. 7

## Notes

The Working Committee of the Congress met on Sunday on January 10 and transacted business. The most important of the Resolutions adopted to work during the immediate future. After declaring the idea to God for the great money contributed to the Nation in independence the idea of Mahatma Gandhi to the love of great work, the Working Committee went on to say

"The Working Committee earnestly appeals to the Nation that in order to prepare for a great struggle to be waged on all over the country to wrest from the Government his and the Nation's freedom and establish Swaraj, a serious effort should be made to strengthen the Congress organization in every respect and for this purpose the month beginning from 15th February and ending on the 15th of March next should be observed as the Gandhi month and devoted to an intensive national work by every man and woman desiring the emancipation of the country."

"The Working Committee calls upon all Indians to put forth the utmost endeavor to shake the Nation in Khaddar, to work Congress members and to collect money for the Tishu Scheme, Part."

"All Congress Committees are called upon to organize work at once in order to carry out the above resolution."

The purpose is clear. The Gandhi month is to be devoted to the work of intensification, which while being part of what is known as the Constructive Programme is a national and separate thing. The difference is this. The programme framed at Gandhiji was one for the permanent strengthening of national life and while truly political was not political at all something in the current use of language. The intention was to make the nation stronger which is not a political measure. But the use to which the strength was to be put and the purpose which created it was distinctly political. The programme therefore contained definite elements of political organization also. But the difference is that the organization in work did not partake any long persistence of national efficiency. But it was necessary all the same. In other words a part of the Gandhi Programme was not more and no less than the Khaddar Programme. The purpose of the latter was to better an adequate instrument of political policy. It really does not matter what the policy of the Congress may be. It may be Non-violence; it may be Swaraj; it may be Civil

Disobedience, it may be co-operation itself. In any event there must be adequate organization to carry it out. Without organization, it will be pure failure. Consider the various political groups in the country. Take for instance the Liberals. They have no leading policy; it may be wrong, it may be weak; it is not definite. The Liberals however do succeed because they have an adequate organization. It may even be grouped just as long as the Government is there in its present mood India will not perish. I have long to organize India. But that too will be a test of the leadership of Liberals. But if by any chance, the Liberals organize themselves they will be in most comfortable position than they are. The politics of the Anna Sahas in 1911 were far democratic than that of the Liberals. For during the time the organization continued. The 'Peace and Order' people did want for something and more than anything. And for a specific reason, the fact that the Congress is a National body makes with it no guarantee against final failure. In the light of this need, our only regret is that the present members of the Working Committee was not brought in Committee before the members of the Congress broke up India into three arms.

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The Resolution is good as far as it goes; but we are clear that it does not go far enough. Far rather would we have preferred the text of the resolution Resolutions after the Gaya Congress. The policy that the Committee after Gaya intended to carry out was to organize against the leadership of Civil Disobedience may have been a wrong objective to aim at. But the essential thing that the All-India Committee said should be done, there was not the suggestion of violence. The middle steps of the doctrine there was that it was above and below. The world knew that the Congress was in need of work and work on a mass of money, of a body of Volunteers of work and work a number. It was organization, the exact work of which it was possible to measure. That the men intended to be raised was not actually collected in an organized manner; it merely meant that we should have been more united than we actually should be more united in the future. We started in 1915 India; we got ahead. We wanted half a lakh of volunteers; we collected fifteen thousands. Ideally it would have been better if starting with two lakhs of people and got thousands volunteers, we managed to get what we in fact did. In any event



the actual programme was, in all humble judgment, in spite of obvious necessities to achieve, better than the regarding the country a school to be run. Take the last paragraph there. What does "national work" mean? Mr. Das was at the Working Committee in his view intensive national work, it is every Government by advance vote in the Council and the Assembly. Pundit Jankmal Nalwa was there, the specific national and he was in developing and co-ordinated public work. Mr. Rajagopalachari thinks that intense national effort resides in the production and work of education. A phrase that means these different things in different mouths means nothing at all; it is nonsense. Take the next paragraph, the one that contains the sentence of previous "take the action in Khairpur, small Congress members, and collect money for the Hindu Ganga Fund". All this is excellent and it is not come into Congress or Conference it would be absolutely uncomprehensible. But it is the Working Committee of the Congress that is speaking, that is having specific instructions to the constituent body of the Congress. Whereas individual members be left of their responsibility? Clothing the whole nation in Khairpur is no more than a case of perfection. There is not quarrel with it extending this, it cannot be done within the month between February 15 and March 15. Congress membership and the Hindu Ganga Fund are both important, more important perhaps than almost anything else at the present time. But in the absence of specific definition, the practical value is nearly nil.

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It is not as if accuracy is not possible. There is remarkable possibility of clear enunciation of needs and providing for them, as it happens, we are in a position to suggest the broad outline of a scheme which we venture to think is practical, being based on clear necessity. After securing the membership of the Congress it is always important but there is something seriously new. The Government experiment is at the height of its changes, whether it fails by internal corruption or by the impossibility of the constitutional framework is to our manner of no concern. If on the other hand it succeeds, we shall not stand on the necessity of the way of taking advantage of it. But in any event it will be well that we should be strong against the need of the nation. The country is in the mood to give and strengthen the Congress to its utmost. We should like to feel that standing behind us when we speak in the name of the Congress is a body of people more numerous than the electorate that stands behind the Council. Even the Government, we believe, will not grudge on this satisfaction. We are concerned not the contact with a pure selection of establishment. The Government will soon feel out any the agency of their dynamic energy to the demands of Government will be not the demands of Government, but the Congress. We should like to feel that the strength of the Congress rested in numbers is somewhere double the strength of the Moslem League. That strength is estimated at between five and six million. We should therefore like to see at ten million as the necessary membership of our institutions. The clearest reader will

note that a crore is ten millions and it was a crore that was the last step in the Berardo Programme. Moreover Gandhi did not perhaps take the trouble of studying statistics when he moved the Resolution of Berardo. We claim however the detailed knowledge of financing mathematical justification for his claims proposed. We shall be told that ten million is an excessive number, too high, but so is Gandhi an excessive thing to be claimed by a dozen-million people. We have given our reasons in favour of a crore. If the Working Committee feels confident of being able to act as the Cabinet of the nation on the subject of a smaller number, we shall not quarrel with it. Only we should be assured with a sense of movement.

\* \* \*

Then there is the Hindu Ganga Fund. The function of the Congress should be re-estimated, as also its financial side. To the best of our judgment, efficient work will be carried on in a small house. What we mean can be illustrated by a single fact. We have said already that we look forward in one year to the annual permanent membership of the Congress. If that single single item can be fulfilled, 15 lakhs will be the normal revenue. But if things were doing, we admit. The question we before us now is that fundamental consideration of re-estimating procedure and making it workable; Working by sports is uncertain, disappointing, and inefficient to the last degree. We say nothing of its indignity and modesty. There is only one way of putting all this on a satisfactory basis. A National Service must be created like any other Permanent Civil Service. According to our estimate of members, this body of men will be enormous. Berardo succeeded with police, but failed to carry out the instructions of the Congress. We think of them in two divisions, one All-India and the other Provincial. The most interesting is that there are two hundred and fifty thousands in India. We propose that the superior cadre should be so recruited as to give one man to each district. The cadres should be from the date to which Government currently looks for its responsible servants. They must be selected. There should be no lottery, but the demands of the Congress should be met in a position of security. For without the security that will not more often the need to be perpetually worrying about demands and responsibilities, no truly efficient work is possible. We estimate that such men will cost the Congress 3 lakhs a year. The figure may be considered too high, but it is a new generation of morality we are trying to rear, and it would be idle to ignore the needs that have been imposed on the educated classes. Besides these, there should be a provincial grade of Congress Servants. They should be recruited from what may properly be described as the peasant class. They will be subordinate to the members of the Provincial Council. The Government District should be divided into four units and each of three Districts should be put in charge of them. There will be a thousand of them for the whole of the Country. They are estimated to cost the Congress an additional 3 lakhs annually. Our idea is that if these men are rightly chosen, they can be equipped, with the



possibility of strengthening Customs, timbering and increasing the output of the Congress according to the instructions of President's and Board Committees. We are confident that if the right men are there and they give the whole of their time to the work there should be little difficulty. As for commercial education is concerned, a great deal of efforts will be given to Congress Services. We have so far been discussing only the organization of work as far their work and propaganda, money will be wasted. At the lowest estimate, 4 lakhs will be wanted. These items added up give us 12 lakhs, which we take to be the minimum wanted to keep the scheme of the Congress going. The current year has to spend commitments. They are Khadias and waterability. In regard to the former both financial and policy is hardly necessary; the water consideration is to make sure that the materials and transportation already in existence are put to proper use. This is only much a matter of systematic work by Congress Services. Waterability is on a different basis altogether. It is specialized scientific sociology of a different kind, and we are not satisfied that the Congress is qualified by experience or intellectual attention to handle it already. Our partial suggestion will be to the Working Committee to hand it over to a body like the Deccan Chamber of Commerce, the Arya Samaj or the Salvation Army. Financial matters will be another subject to periodical supervision by an officer of the Congress. One task may be mentioned, budgeting for a month, the fact is, the Congress should forward also a sum of 10 lakhs during the present financial drive.

It may be not impossible to make the use in a month. It will, however, be difficult. The best course will be to extend the Gandhi March to a Gandhi Quarter. In three months, we shall be almost certain of doing it; a month is too short.

The Khadias Board having completed their tour in the Southern Presidency is now in the Capital, covering large distances, and turning out remarkably good work. One feature of it is good beyond all call and criticism. The Board as a whole or its members is getting into the first-hand touch with all the work that is now being done. In places it is good, irrespective of what could and should be done everywhere, badly managed and breaking down elsewhere with persons in what to credit, and wide spreading of nonsense all over Maharashtra to spreading there is and must be; but right at the back in the market thought of handling the movement on more concrete self-sufficiency. The fact that it has been found possible to secure such a broad base in even one place is sufficient proof of its inherent feasibility. No failure in other areas follows from it. As far as we have been able to understand the matter, a confusion is widely prevalent. There is widespread evidence of the making up of two committees, protective agricultural and distributive commercial. The two committees are different. The distributive Indian distribution is of the lower type and the modern European which is also the official Indian of the lower. Almost all the

influential schools in our politics are educated and they have consistently tried to solve the problem of itself from the distributor's point of view. In our judgment the problem cannot be solved by this means. It is not unimagined, it is essentially one of professional consumption. The reason is obvious. From the very nature of the case, the employment of power on a territory leads under commercial competition between foreign goods and local products nearly impossible. But if we possess the production ideal of making the producer the consumer also and work out the arrangement in style education to that idea, we may look forward to the future with hope. We do not say that there will be no room for the buying and selling of itself, but it will be a special phenomenon for the towns and for what may be called heavy articles, such things of beauty and utility. But there will be half perished, but it will be a noble phenomenon which no one will regret, because looking for things of beauty there will be no damage to the permanent good of corporate life. Once we get hold of this fundamental thought, other matters will come into their proper place. Take, for instance, the current difficulty about the high price of cotton and the reaction of the American boll weevil on the Indian market. If we learn to look on itself from the standpoint of protecting the price of cotton in the market right out to distant us. Production will then be not merely the production of pure or woven cloth, but also of cotton. It is the philosophy of commercialization that today, three years after the making of itself into one life, makes it possible for itself to work on behalf the state of the American cotton market. Once a proper view is taken, the only external fact that will trouble the production of itself will be the failure of the Indian problem of Indian villages to yield the necessary need of cotton. Dr. P. C. Ray, of all the publicists we know has got hold of this, the genuine task of the problem. We must begin with the land and then we shall be security and surely founded. Commercialization may provide the field of quicker results. But the more basic, the less good.

Colonel Wolfram's speech denouncing Indo-British relations as the type of Lahore policy has undoubtedly interested; but we are afraid that we carry on very low. Indo-British relations have been the best of many cultures and parties and publicists in their time do so, however, the result has been only this. The 'yellow' has been the same throughout, while the parties and publicists have always gone about their business not seriously disturbed. Indians it was the Indians that were anxious to put themselves right with India and the world. The effect of a political proposition by that right given to two 'Indians' and two Committees on the state of Public Services in India, it goes on, in addition, following through and the betrayal of the Indians. We are also provided the Indianization of two agencies in twenty-three years, which is too long. We have therefore no special ground to be embarrassed about these vague promises. But we do the new Secretary of State for India. He leaves his house in no doubt as to the meaning of his policy. He is prepared to meet

(Continued on Page 26)



# Young India

14-3-34

## Coercion

The speech of His Excellency the Viceroy at the opening of the new Legislative Assembly has been described as salutary and was perhaps intended to be so. But we gather something more. Instead of being cheered, we feel humiliated. It strikes us that Lord Reading is coming to the end of his diplomacy, or has transcended its limits. The speech sounded like an ultimatum. It is only in desperate straits that men in power have words that sound final. With a look to the wall in the struggle is also the forerunner of the Balkan Act, he has poured himself out and despatched. It is a great sign.

The root of the difficulty is becoming more deeper. It affects not only the Viceroy. The politicians and statesmen of Lord Lytton is of similar quality. Chamberlaine says that the Government will not be moved. Delia says that Parliament will not be moved. The counter-claim of Mr. Das that the country will not be moved either is as true as it is obvious. The pertinent question is why Government and Parliament and country all alike should not move further, shuffling all talk of coercion. But the day for that kind of neutral talk is not with us yet. In the meanwhile we are generally interested in the behaviour of lions. There must be understanding.

It is no more than this. There are examples in nature with long history behind. The more that that it is psychologically possible for a Viceroy to see the representation of the Indian people as if they were schoolboys playing games in back of all coercion. The Viceroy occupies the right and there is everything in the atmosphere which centres it about a central place that is distant from the common conviction of Indians. To-day, the Englishman is triumphant. The problem is how to get on good in that state of triumph. Till the fact is removed by Englishmen that the representation of India is as serious and grave as that of England, the triumph and the triumph will be short-lived.

For in this matter, it is too simple that we cannot explain each other, two civilisations, culture and philosophy of the world. India is slow and P-land is rapid. It is not less than indifference that we are slow. The Viceroy should be able to make up his mind that if India with it, it should be possible for him to change his mind in spite of his "better judgment." The Viceroy should be educated in the hard school of experience that it is India's right to move England if it is desired necessary. Until England is able to meet not a race of substances that should strictly, honestly and respectfully concede the right of this country to shape her future and her government in accordance with her matured judgment no co-operation will be possible between the two countries. From that we can judge of the present

Viceroy, we are inclined to suppose that when the day of mutual understanding comes, he will not be there to share the moment of reconciliation or healing.

England has moved India for nearly two hundred years and attempted to persuade her most of the time. But that long chapter has no end. Lord Reading has arrived at the point when he finds it necessary to exercise his own compulsion. If India, Government had used their Christianian rights and protest against the ruling energy of the English. Now that everyone who is at an end. The Government of India has indeed become as a lion that is divided against itself. It will generally make the discovery that he have a lioned not as Canada and Assembly but in the readiness of the people to co-operate in their working, and to bring up a system that is ultimately lioned to members.

Let there be no doubt. In that regard, it is not Government or Parliament that is moved but it is India. For the Viceroy to complete that the Lionness or the people have not attempted to do the motion is pure stupidity. It will be time enough to complete of India's country after England comes to know her strength-idea. The Viceroy's attempt is a delusion as the attempt of the wall in the table that ought to find moral justification for suffering up the lion.

## Save Your Cotton

It is not essential or practical for the Indian National Congress to attract its stock cotton, purchasing it from cotton merchants to distribute it among the mass because from where it comes, so that their money may also. Why should the cotton go all the way from the farmers to our stores only to do the journey back to the cottons from where they originally came? If it is not so, the contribution towards in making and distributing cotton would be wasted. It would be more profitable in any adequate manner if we distribute the cotton we need to cover.

In India, you can see there are a considerable number of persons who have no cotton fabric of their own. They may be taken to keep sufficient quantities of cotton and cotton is available in the shops. Even these should be made available to be helped to buy their own cotton. Discrimination should be our aim in every matter. While stocking of cotton may be done by us in some places, our general policy should be to get the farmers to stock their own cotton. We should remember the traditions of men and money under which we work, and use our resources to the best advantage.

All the growers of cotton can also be said and say even use the bulk of our resources. If our resources are first and mainly employed to purchase the stocks among the families that grow cotton—and there is a vast and fruitful field to cover this way—we shall have automatically solved the question of stocking and distributing cotton.

It would be a harmful task to run the industry of hand-spinning on the plan of a single industrial company with an owners-capital working a monopoly



throughout the country. The operations involved in working out such a plan would be too expensive for the country. The heavy and the very advantages of hand-spinning and hand-weaving are that the operations of reeling the industry can be spread out and distributed. If we do not need large centralized capital or expenditure. If we only induce the farmers to keep an adequate quantity of cotton stock, we shall have automatically worked enough cotton for the needs of our spinning, and also efficiently distribute it at the same time without having a single pile of cotton in the process. We shall have done it without paying a single rupee to the millstones or to the cloth or ornament or the furniture.

In order to get this done a vigorous programme of education should be undertaken among the cotton growing areas. In addition to this, measures should be given and steps taken to ensure that all the yarn spun is taken up as early as raw cotton is raw cloth. In lieu of buying and storing cotton, we would be better not store it we buy and stock good yarn. For this purpose the members of all Congress Committees should be employed and further developed. If and when we have made progress in converting the habits of hand-spinners that they give up their wild weaving in the weaving of handspun yarn, the stocking of yarn will also become unnecessary. One should be that he be made hand-spinning a national custom working by hand here below, rather than a huge industry worked up from the top.

All Provincial Congress Committees and State Executive Boards should take very early steps to bring the following appeal of the all-India Khadi Board to the notice of all cultivators of cotton.

"The Board appeals to every grower of cotton to stock a sufficient quantity of cotton at least for the use of his own family and request every Congress Committee to take vigorous steps before the next cotton season is over to educate cultivators in this line."

The propaganda for this purpose should be done at the cotton season by education as primarily as possible. The form of propaganda should be such as to reach and spread to the farmers in their language. Advantage should be taken of the weekly markets where practically all the farmers meet once in seven days. Meetings, songs and display programmes may be organised at these markets to bring home to the farmers the duty of stocking their own cotton for spinning throughout the coming year. Other methods of propaganda should be devised such as any specially suited conditions. No time should be lost.

C. R.

#### Wanted

Agents for Young India in all the principal places of India. Full particulars about terms can be had on application from

Manager, Young India,  
Allahabad

## The Message to the Country

The following letter was addressed by Mahatma to Muzhar Mahmood Ali, an interesting President of the Indian National Congress—

Samana Harpal,  
Poona, 26 February, 1934

My dear friend and brother,

I send you as President of the Congress a few words which I know our countrymen expect from me on my sudden release. I am sorry that the Government have prematurely released me on account of my illness. Such a release can bring me no joy for I hold that the release of a prisoner should be ground for his crime.

I would be guilty of ingratitude if I did not tell you and through you the whole public that both the past and the hospital authorities have been all attention during my illness. Col. Murray, the Superintendent of the Yerrada Prison, as soon as he suspected that my illness was at all serious, invited Col. Madhock to visit him and I am sure that the prompt measures were taken by him to secure for me the best medical possible. I could not have been removed to the David and Jacob Samana Hospital a retired officer. Col. Madhock and his staff have treated me with the most attentive and welcome. I may not owe the success who have surrounded me with steady care. Though it is now open to me to leave the hospital, knowing that I can get a better treatment anywhere else, with Col. Madhock's kind permission, I have decided to remain under his care till the wound is healed and no further medical treatment is necessary.

The public will easily understand that for sometime to come I shall be quite unfit for active work and those who are interested in my speedy recuperative life will know it by comparing their natural desire to me. I am weak and still be at the same time perhaps to see a number of things. I shall better appreciate the attention of friends if they will devote greater time and attention to work national work as they may be engaged in and especially to hand-spinning.

My release has brought me an relief. Whereas before release I was thus have responsibility even that of continuing to get discharging and trying to quickly equal the most efficient service, I am now overwhelmed with a sense of responsibility. I am ill-fitted to discharge. Telegrams of congratulations have been coming in upon me. They have not added to the many people I have received at the direction of our countrymen for me. It naturally pleases and comforts me. Many inquiries however better hopes of results from our service which urges me. The thought of my own incapacity to cope with the work before me haunts my mind.

Though I know very little of the present situation in the country I know sufficient to enable me to see that perhaps so far national problems were, at the time of the last election they are far more perplexing today. It is clear that without unity between Hindus, Mohammedans, Sikhs, Parsees and Christians and other Indians all talk of Swaraj is idle. This unity which I truly believed in 1917 had been nearly shattered



how as far as Hindus and Mohammedans are concerned, I sincerely, suffered a severe shock. I must then, has given place to horror. An Indian's hand between the various communities must be established if we are to win freedom. Will the strengthening of the nation over any religious be secured in a solid unity between the communities? That will require me to look for quickness than any medical treatment is not now. When I heard by the goal of the nation between Hindus and Mohammedans in certain places my heart was broken. The rest I am inclined to have will be so true with the nation at distance paying upon it. I will all those who should have towards me to nothing it is to distance which makes me all India. I know that the task is difficult. But nothing is difficult if we have a living faith in God. Let us realize our true weakness and approach Him and He will surely help. It is weakness which breaks her and that breaks her. Let us look that our faith, but I know that even if one of us will come to that we shall come to ground. Nay, I say that your sense of union will be judged solely by what you can do to the cause of union. I know that we live with others as brothers. I ask you, therefore, to share my burden and help me to go through the goal of India with a lighter heart.

If we must but consider the growing separation of the land and nation that the separation which is the only remedy for the disease, the wheel will move as this before me for fighting. I had during the last two years enough that had with me the hard thinking. It made me a stout believer that this was the efficacy of the Indian programme and therefore in the unity between the races, the obstacles, the removal of animosity and the application of non-violence in thought, word and deed to our methods as indispensable for India. If we faithfully and fully carry out this programme we need never resort to civil disobedience and I should hope that it will never be necessary, but I must state that my thinking properly and in substance has not weakened my belief in the efficacy and indispensability of civil disobedience. I hold it, as never before, to be a mark in a nation's right and duty when as civil disobedience is properly I am convinced that it is attended with less danger than war and within the limits where successful results both the ruler and the governed the latter learn both the virtue and the vanquished.

You will not expect me to express any opinion on the vexed question of reform by Congressmen in the Legislative Councils and Assembly. Though I have not in any way shared my opinion about the Council of Gandhi, Jawahar and Government which I have no idea for coming to a judgment upon the advantages made at Delhi and I do not presume to express any opinion until I have had the opportunity of discussing the question with our National Congressmen who have felt called upon by the interest of the country to advise more of at the forefront of legislative bodies.

In conclusion may I, through you, thank all the very numerous readers of correspondence messages. It is not possible to me personally to acknowledge each message. It has gladdened our hearts to see among the messages many from our Mohammedan friends. I have, and am co-operation, can have, the spirit with them. They too are brethren

of this country and move to the front of their fight. If we consider them to be in the wrong we can hope to win them over only by kindness and patient reasoning. never by showing hatred we want to regard Englishmen too as our friends and not unacquainted them by treating them as our enemies. And if we are today engaged in a struggle against the British Government it is against the nation for which it stands and not against Englishmen who are administering the system. I know that many of us have failed to understand and always there is said the distinction and how far as we have failed we have harmed our cause.

I am,

Your sincere friend and brother,  
M. K. Gandhi

*(From notes of Jinnah page 10)*

the Indian Nationalist half-way. If we say any more there is nothing new or even distinctly original in it. That is what Lord Morley did, that is what Mr. Montagu did. But there was difference in the language; Lord Morley talked about the rallying of the Mohammedans and Mr. Montagu had the satisfaction of finding a new name for the Mohammedans of Lord Morley's rallying was converted into two separate. But let us be sure that the threatened revival of the old policy, under the cloak of novel language is not going to meet the Indian Party any better than it did the Liberals. Colonel Wedgwood will have to make up his mind to meet the Mohammedans on halfway in three-quarters of the way, but even the whole length. What that whole way means to our side may be today, but the first of moment is that when India says finally what that is, it will be really be the final word and it will not be more to Colonel Wedgwood or the Labour Party or the British Government to alter it by a single line. India's decision will not be taken easily, but she has the right to take a final decision. If she is so minded India will most probably be greatly influenced by the advice of the Secretary of State and of the viceroy, officials and officials that form the Government of India; but India reserves the right to have the Indian Commission of her Executive and Legislature without any need to such advice. India will probably want to let her own revival of the Commission that she now administering the country with ability and intelligence; but she has the right to decide every one of them and all the Public Services with her own men or experts from all the nations of the world. India will probably maintain in her under the present European nations and proceed to Indianize her forces according to her sense of national needs, but she will reserve the right to say that she does not need one of them for a moment longer. That is what India Nationalism means and the chance it is understood the better. The language about meeting Mohammedans halfway has no sense of reality or substance. It will be a clear agreement between India and England that will meet the people of the cause, and we are confident that agreement will be reached. But it by any chance, agreement becomes impossible it will be for Indian Nationalism to meet India half-way. If the Government, newspapers and local rights is recognized,



we are confident that India will be prepared to go the half-way length, and it need be more than that. The mood of India to-day is not bitter: the great wave of national enthusiasm and purification that has come over us has wrought that sort of healing. If only Great Britain will respond and enter into a Conference with clean hands in the matter of the Punjab and the Khitab, India will stand her for the reverent generosity of her desires. But the tragedy and the possibility of tragedy lie in this. The world built up by the national ideal of self-sacrifice never met her over or even too long, and therefore signs that we may once more be swept into the storm of anger and misapprehension. To-day, national unity is in the hands of one who is strong enough to forget the past and to avoid the largest trouble now before us in India. The key stone may be added. What kind of big game the nation may bring forth, would one prophesy.



The main lines of policy that Government intend to follow, or intended to follow after the Treaty was in power, are now made clear with an almost as precision. The basis of it is the isolation of the extremists in Council and capacity in religious grounds. The assumption is made that it is the Hindus that drive the pointer left in the country and that the Mussulmans are more catholic still. It is in the light of this policy that nationalised must be sought if the nationality with which Indians have been made Ministers in the different Provinces. The attempt is bound to defeat itself, being founded on a misapprehension of the facts. The truth is that the body of Indian national opinion is not so unconfused as ever. But it does not mean that there is a sea of Mussulmans who are not ready to take either if forced to do so. For the matter of that, we are certain that there are Hindus who who are prepared to do exactly the same thing. It altered the chance, as that it does not mean anything more. We must wait for the course of the matter, which is no more than this. Political action amongst Muslims is a comparatively new thing and there are living and working amongst us, the men who created it, and gave it the practical sense of meaning that it knew. There may be temporary aberrations, but the main current is under their control. The energy, political and social which enabled them to create it are sufficient to keep it alive. There are boys in the ranks that recruit, the All India Muslim, Muslim Association, the Anjuman, the Jamia. They are formidable in the big and established parties, and we shall be content with them. The particular emphasis will be on the Anglo-Indians from the national consciousness and political sympathies of the All India Muslims is nothing new in course, only it is made to serve still a new end. The character of that work is becoming visible in itself and its aims. We may be sure that very well be heard of the need for their hands on a larger, there is always needed in the nucleus of the European Press in India. What a paper in India India says to-day will presently find its echo elsewhere. The Government will be in pushing to prophesy it will be likely to say that any such reaction as is suggested will not have considerable effect. But it is

really unavoidable and will not easily cease, provided we are true. For the time being we may decide ourselves that the work is going well forward.



The Bengal Council was opened by Lord Lytton with a speech in which he defended the operations of his Government under Regulation III of 1912, which as we are agreed to revolutionary action, we consider we must depend on the high school competence of Government. If this is the answer to the way of practical action that it can yield there is not an argument in it which will not justify any species of political reaction extending to Tyranny. His Excellency distinguished between 'ordinary' action and 'revolutionary' action. He ridiculed the idea of considering the latter by judicial proceedings in Government, he doubted the right to say that outside law were revolutionary and to keep them the limits of political procedure. We respectfully suggest that the argument adopted by the Government makes you to dangerous ground. If the police are given liberty to inspect people because their politics are suspicious without bringing them up before a court or law judicial tribunal, what you do is to declare war on them. It is only pure revolutionaries on your part that you do not bring them out of hand. But even you declare war and begin to consider a species of martial law against revolutionaries you give them absolute right to pursue the methods of war themselves. They do not need to be converted to keep absolute fidelity to place, they proceed to shoot and kill. We want revolutionary action to be put down, if only for the public reason that we want a clear field for our great experiment in non-violence. Here are the two protagonists of time, Government and revolutionaries going really about and destroying every chance of right development for quiet peace-loving citizens. There are only two ways of preventing it. The first is by the Government's playing a clean and above-board game and bringing every suspect to trial. We grant that some of them will get away. We grant also that a few more things may be lost. But that is a lesser and more known thing to do and the truth of it will be that public opinion will be clearly and permanently against the abominable going men. To-day, there is a good deal of sympathy in favour of the Government and the way in the Bengal Legislative Council is evidence thereof. It would be the part of wise government to invite attention from public sympathy. So much so to what Government should do, but we are not at all satisfied that it is the best way of wisdom. We believe that the path of escape lies elsewhere. Clean non-violent politics must be tried on more heads. Non-co-operation should be given the chance again. We do not wish to revive ancient customs, but we want by a moderate effort to go back to the questioning, probing spirit. When power went out of our policy, the use of power also departed. They took to violence, because there was no strength in us. Let us stop the power and energy and do what we can for that end. Otherwise, we shall never escape from the perpetual circle of halfhearted and violence.





India is afflicted with a variety of ailments. She is also accused that she is waging the pursuit of an empty political 'ideal'. To combat the truth, judged by old standards, the influence of which is certainly dead. The Imperial Legislative Council has become Government in a sense of division. Though the members were many, the influential qualities were none. The debate related to the revolutionary movement. Mr. Das recommended the leader pointing that there was only one way of combating socialism, namely to ensure the success that led to the evolution of capitalism, the Government holding to the equally healthy doctrine that the suppression of revolutionary violence was a duty cast on all governments and that even a democratic government like the present had no objection from it. The difficulties of the Government of the United Provinces are still involved and no one is clear as to the moment of getting out of them. During the administration in the United Provinces and Bihar, all the local governments are in the midst of one difficulty or another. The Punjab is still witness to the Akali struggle; Bombay is busy not on the United side, Mahadw is rising against officials and has to addition the petty threat of a no-tax campaign. A certain parallelism is however noticeable, wherever constitutionalism is attempted to be worked out in the digestion of Government, it is the Constitutionalism that was on the defence. In Bengal for instance, the successive debates of Government in the Council has not allowed it to witness it is the majority in the Council that seems to be at loss ends, not being certain as to what to do next. The solid general policy of the officials is, at least for the moment, abundant in practical action. It is quite noticeable that there may be other ends up the shores of the Swarajists. A Party that contains Mr. Das and Mr. V. J. Patel may be termed not to fall in conventional constitutionalism. For the time being, however, it is Government that has the whip hand. On the contrary, whenever direct action was taken Government was put on its defensive. In Bombay, in the Punjab, in Nagpur, it is the Government that has to change its procedure to meet the crisis. The whole of the administration under Sir Edward Maitland is preoccupied with the implications of the fight against the Hindu Mahasabha. Hayward had to run, to General for settling the small question of a pension for a J. India. The members of the Madras Government concerned with unauthorised operations is against the 'unauthorised' who refuse to pay taxes, leading almost to a solution of the problem. Just in this very matter, it is noteworthy that Government had asked for defence of a Resolution of the Legislature; but there was neither strength nor effect by which it was possible for the Council to impose its will on the Government or to get the decision reversed. As soon, however, as the course was again made it clear that they were in an evil mood of unauthorisedness, that gesture had in it more at least than the mere judgment of their representatives and the representatives of the whole Legislature. All this has been said for the fact that look upon to see and the basis of true constitutionalism. Our collections may be said to be proceeding but we venture to think that the force and its meaning will not be lost on the nature of the fact.

So much about the situation in the Provinces and its meaning as far as we can judge of it. The situation in the Central Legislature is altogether different. In Bengal and the United Provinces, the problem is how to make a majority effective. In Delhi, the idea is to get a majority together. The Swarajists as a group number more than any other, but they count very few, which is however a minority in a House consisting one hundred and forty three. The most urgent matter under a Delhi ideal are the Independents, they count twenty nine. One should have suspected that a group whose members insist on calling themselves Independents and refuse to identify themselves with any definite political opinions are in nearly impossible. But we are given to understand that they do represent a clear shade of opinion. They are not conventionalists. Therefore, they do not subscribe to the doctrine of uniform, continuous observation. On the other hand, they are not so satisfied with the existing constitution and its working as the Liberals, the third group of eighteen are Liberal opinion is that objection may be justified as a remedy, but if the mode of objection is any particular one will have the consequence of impairing the constitution, it is an evil thing. In this respect the Independents occupy a middle position. They have their sympathies against the Constitution and would really like to see the end of it if there is a reasonable assurance that the scrapping of 'Government' will not be followed by coercion in the form as well as the policy of benevolence rule. The latest meeting of the Council in Delhi is thus clear. Liberals are not loved by other Swarajists or Independents. The only question is as to who will say the determining word in the inevitable alliance of the Independents and Swarajists. We say the alliance is inevitable because the two groups standing by themselves will be bound to stand by the combination of officials, Liberals, Localists and Swarajists. Combined, they will really stand the majority in the Assembly. Our impression is that there is no only a question of voting, the what and more important thing will be for the Independents to join the Swarajists in their programme, because it is the latest thing going. There is a good tendency to Indian politics with electoral consequences. As far as voting is concerned in the development of political institutions, Indian politicians want the vote by itself. For the time being, we need not concern ourselves with the possible failure of our mission to accept the smallest thing that may be offered with the suggestion that it is the cause that Government is in the need to control. Both the voting and the according are the test of a common debt—both of decision and action organs. The removal of the debt is a high national duty and had had to be left to the reformers who call themselves constitutionalists. The Swarajists and Independents are proud of the fact that they are not reformers but only politicians. They are therefore enabled to exhibit the weakness of Government in the service of the need for national freedom. The vote may be weak and secondary, but the tendency is more than satisfied by the weaknesses and contradictions of the reform. For this is all by the way. The present position before Swarajists and Independents is how best to avoid being overwhelmed with disaster.

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# Young India

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## Notes

The Message of the Prince of Wales to India is still the subject of much discussion. Twenty months there is general disposition to think that the threat in it is directed towards the Congress. We venture to think that it is a profound mistake. The hint is to the Congress itself.

I make comparisons with an Irish socialist, the progress of which in India. During all my political life I have anchored myself firmly upon the conviction that it is certain to be well suited to our only to be carried on by political or constitutional ways. We have seen in our own constitution all sorts of revolutionary movements which seemed to be suppressed and which have broken out in the past, but in the end, after much physical suffering and creation of evil forces and violence again, led to giving to give us the constitution that had been broken and apply the very principles they had rejected.

I can see no hope of India becoming an arena of struggle between constitutionalism and revolution. No party in India will be moved by threats of force or of policies designed to bring Government to a "quagmire", and if any Indian motion are under the delusion that it is not so, events will easily dispel them. I urge upon all Indians to come round to the Indian that stand apart from us to get at our reason and goodwill.

I deplore the existence of a backward spirit in some sections in India but let some advanced forces and efforts. When appeal is made to revolutionary methods, whether these methods be passive or active force, reaction creates the opposite extreme, a demand to return and use and parties of the most obscure goodwill headed off the stage, while the two forms of reaction, that of law rule and the left, right, and now and never against each other until the failure of both has been demonstrated.

The approach and goodwill should be central. My appeal, therefore, is not only to Indians, but to the British community as well."

Is not the threat in it clear enough? Mr. Macdonald repeats the old constant battle to every political, that between constitutionalism and direct action, between Parliamentaryism and revolution. Whoever is acquainted with the history of Mr. Macdonald's thought and action as a politician knows that he could have said nothing else. He wants India to go back to constitutionalism and shun the

ways of direct action. There is nothing intelligible or even objectionable in it. But it is quite sufficient to imagine that he is therefore opposed to the methods favoured by the Congress. I imagine his being opposed to it, he will be the first to welcome it. But we think we can replace the confusion in current discussion, confusion, which the Viceroy is taking advantage of for the purposes of his own Government. There are two revolutionary parties in India and no third. The first of them is those, the group that is working in Bengal and might have education elsewhere. Mr. Macdonald's warning is certainly addressed to them. Then there is the Congress-Cooperators, the Gandhian section, the proponents of elections, those who seek to persuade Government by direct non-Parliamentary action. The Prince of Wales's warning is addressed to them also. But the Congress are Parliamentary, only their Parliamentaryism happens to be of a very narrow sort, the kind that believes in personal obstruction. We do not see as what were they are not constitutionalists or how a constitutionalist can say that these are anything objectionable to it. In fact, when the Congress re-affirmed Non-Cooperation in Nagpur it was against the opinion of the Labour representatives. Labour had throughout advised India to contest the elections and to try Parliamentary action. Its grievance against us has been that we were not constitutional enough. There is one additional hint to be noted. Observe the way England has understood Indian politics. The definite Indian requirement was the removal of appointed direct action which we all know and which the whole world knows. Mr. Macdonald is a man of several capacities and it is well to suppose that he has been in close touch with all the developments of our politics. To an English statesman, all that counts is whether progress is sought to be achieved through the Congress or not. If it is through the Congress, it will be within the scheme contemplated by the Government of India Act and therefore with it. If it is through the Congress it will be direct action, to be discouraged, and if possible put down with a strong hand. Error is making out the report of the Congress committee understood it is exactly the way we suggest. The following is extracted from the *Daily Herald* of January 2:

"Mr. Das, after his triumph in the Bengal elections has scored another victory in the Indian National Congress at Coonoor. There the first day, having been given a kind of strongly welcome, his policy of entering the Councils in order to force Lord Rolt for election and the Gandhian policy of keeping the Congress together. On







the memory of the Indian War of Independence. In Ireland the English Chimes celebrated after three years of richly varied war; in Turkey, the memorial was largely about honour—of the hero of rebellion, what was he to think of a Yunnan who takes such bad history and takes charge? But it may be charitable to assume that he is ignorant of history. Let him then consider the letter of British Government to his own king. His Government and the Government of his subjects have made three capital mistakes: Curzon-Lansbury, Mervat and Lord Curzon, in those days was no less powerful, no greater strength of justice, no measure understood the word. There was strength and a vast network, the network that surrounding what persons expressed in it is words, or the kind of which Victoria and Curzon had already and fully charged. You may be angry: but in the long run it looks to outsiders. We pretend that the period itself was any other in distance.

## The True Ruler of India\*

(By J. P. Anderson)

On my arrival from England, I was quite shocked when I saw the excellent form of Mahatma Gandhi in the Surrey Hospital at Farnham. Those who have been with him however informed me that I should have been far more greatly shocked if I had seen his condition only a few days before. At once I felt the truth of Mahatma's words, that each day he was kept a prisoner and a day of loneliness for the rulers of the country. No more had yet come for his release and for Victoria's speech cancelled so fast as it. To me it had seemed almost incredible, that Victoria Day had passed, the day of peace and good-will, without even a single and ordered act of peace and good-will being done.

Now at last, as I write, the news has come. The release has been announced. Although he remains strictly neutral, even in view, yet it is better with it any change of heart in the rulers. It is not easy. The future alone will show.

Those who were near the release in the hospital had many things to tell me about the Mahatma he had received. The G. H. Victoria's goodness, which had been so full of courage and will, the more better even, the more showing of all official restraint, these represented a different gesture from the operation of former days. They had opened the way for the first act of release.

It has been Mahatma Gandhi's opinion that that there is a soldier almost in every day, he was very far from. For this reason, he began his Mahatma operation, and in following he is free. For this reason, he spoke with the chairman of the law in the judge who considered him in prison. For this reason, he went to the cabinet of King India again and again explaining to the rulers the object which he had in view, so that there might be no possible misunderstanding. But, in spite of it all, it

was nothing less than a tragedy in England to find how he had been misunderstood.

If the question is asked, what is the man and character of the change which Mahatma Gandhi has opened the British Government in India, it may be answered up to a single phrase. He changed them with the acceptance of the rule. In the movement which he made at the end, his consideration of the British Raj was this. They had accepted the post. The heavy shattering of the system, which Mahatma Gandhi had seen in India and elsewhere, had become his. What all he could never forget from, by night or by day. He went to his work to offer to everyone made. If the British rulers would take with him in a struggle to destroy the debt and drag traffic and to build up the industrial village-life by the encouragement of Gandhi. But each single work of such service was beyond the law of the present rulers. They would do their work in their own paralyzing way or not at all. The greatest magnitude of my Imperial India showed their minds. They neglected to take care of the side fact that all this magnitude would only be an added burden to the poor. They spent billions upon them, and the money was empty, and then doubled the burden of the rich was in order to prevent a strike. The cause of taxes went on building a New India and the cause of all India could not be sacrificed. The one necessity of life to the many millions of half-starving people must be most hated.

There is a weakness in the long ages of misgovernment which has landed the rule of India that means this value coming for a display of power and power such as New India attacks Mahatma Gandhi has called his 'false morality'. It may be seen in our own day in the paying courts that frequent the easy course, whenever they are subjected by Victoria and Curzon to such processes. Mahatma Gandhi, royal visits, hospital payments, School Empire Exhibition, all draining away the wealth of the country, have become more frequent of late in order to replace the missing question of the common people. But the national rule of India is not captured by fatigue or luxury or these. Gandhi is paid about himself in this case that deliver in the hospital at Farnham, who has looked into the face of death without fear. For there is a rule of India here. In this hospital, Mahatma Gandhi, whose every legitimate time all Imperial power, his name will be remembered and sung by the village people long after the names of the modern governors in their places at New India are forgotten. When all the splendours of India have crumbled into ruins, such as those around the British Empire and Englishland, the name of Mahatma Gandhi will still be taught by mothers to their little child as an act of the greatest of India's men and women.

For there is a spiritual value which Mahatma Gandhi has built up out of the eternal value. In his hands are deeply and truly laid in the Kingdom of God. No operation of the poor has gone to build it. Love and devotion and service to the poor are its golden foundation. No military pomp rides with its leaders, but only the peaceful language of human souls. No man or nation has been able to say about

\* This was written by Mr. Anderson, before the left Farnham, but was revised by him much.







is always the lady's custom. The master of woman has got to be a lord in their village as a M. woman always treated them.

The wife is in their village and made Lagnaga. They like their own life and have their own custom. And they will tell you in well-made "words" of married life. For of them "words" will make a good life. I made 40" wide and feet are on high for the - m. high 30" wide.

The village has 25 houses and there were 20 children of them. Another village consisted of 100 houses and had 100 children. These were a group of 100 children working in the village and working year to the Panchajanya festival. They did all the year round, raised from January to March when the women are engaged in plowing cotton. The women do the plowing on their own, making the seeds out with their own hands by their feet. They also have to do this in their working about ten times. The seedling is done by the 10 years in Panchajanya at one time, one round. The women themselves with their own.

"If we give a quarter of an acre of land, they will be happy," said the women. Now, however, is the best time in all life!

So, said the women right across a month from her own time.

"Do you like your wife to do this work?" we asked her husband.

"Of course, I do," he said. "I encourage my wife to do it."

I was the same time, have been taken to plowing and here he has showed her wife, which which they will get made.

Many of the men were Khadi men in their own village. So, the end part of it was that the women who were 40" and were Khadi women. However, the men have been taken to Lagnaga and was made of their own. The Khadi men, I was her own paper and she says 1-20 inch cotton put year but it has own money made from the sale of her Khadi yarn.

"Why don't you get your own yarn from the market?"

"They don't make it for us," she replied sharply. "All the women on this house in Panchajanya are made for their own better."

The Panchajanya women who was present at once said he would do so, many more for their women as they wanted.

"Then we can have an idea," she said. "We will have our own women's work and make them."

A woman would take three years from some work of the women's own work, the 1-10-0 for working clothes and the 1-10-0 for dyeing. All the women decided that women make of their own yarn would be more valuable than the men they were working now, and they would work again better if it was for their own cloth.

We took a woman from all the men and women that they would get all the cloth needed for their own and women's work at Panchajanya out of their own yarn. They gave this pledge very cheerfully and the Panchajanya women also promised to work to their own cloth and wool.

## (III)

We got into the next village and reached Panchajanya where there were 150. However, a 20. Khadi women. There are about 100 Khadi women in this village. One Khadi woman never had thirty Khadi working under him. He buys yarn, work under him, thousand yards every month. Working clothes for 10" wide, including strong and weak, and 4 dyed clothes were 10, 1-10-0 for a piece of 10 yards. And he was able to make 10 yards per day though sometimes and work was more up to working and working Khadi yarn. He made with a capital of Rs. 1,000. He had borrowed Rs. 500 from the Congress Committee but he has returned it. Two of his loans were 10" wide. He makes about 100 pieces in his month, of which he is able to sell 10 to 20 pieces weekly. He sells to the Congress Committee 10" cloth at Rs. 4 a piece of 10 yards. He said he was making a net profit of 1 to 2 rupees a piece. He has no establishment and does all the marketing himself, including himself. Presently he was working with yarn. Now for the last two years he weaves only Khadi.

All the Khadi women in Panchajanya put on Khadi; but of the women-40 only a fraction. The women of Panchajanya confirmed the things observed at Nigrah. We reached Nigrah late in the evening, but it was a good day's work.

We went to Ganesha, Khadi, Ganesha and Nigrah and visited some more villages from these places. However, in Nigrah a valuable gold mine in Khadi and village self-sufficiency. However, and Nigrah work, he had a few examples and being their beautiful results.

## (IV)

At Nigrah, where after some Nigrah, a woman-40 had a woman-40 for the women that gathered. Of course she was not so bright and quick as the young lady at Nigrah but she was one of those poor women that never stopped crying her clothes, even when they were up to Nigrah.

"I give my yarn to the D. (Dachman) women and have their money. He does not know to make money, but I get all the yarn's clothes for our family from this way."

There were two of these "uneducated" women working Khadi in this village. They had never given to working Khadi, at Nigrah or Nigrah or Nigrah. The wonderful working force of Khadi work was seen at once when we called one of the women-40's women and made him sit on the same carpet with the old, and not one of the women objected, as we were disturbed by it.

"Why don't you set up another time, so that you may really make Khadi for all the people of this village out of their yarn?"

He said he had a debt of 100 rupees to the women. The women of Nigrah women's work, all of them to show strength of their best cotton to spin, and get their cloth for their own and women's work, and by their own things women or by the neighbouring village at Nigrah. "We will start together," they said, "and make funds to pay up the D. debt and have them set up another time."

"What a great field for work and service to these last every village. If only we could forward it."



"In a fact," said Mahanta, "only the other day at Pooni in L. M. school," "one man can join and do his bit. But is constructive or a woman only have the best men, and her will come out."

We went on to English. English officers were from Bangalore. It was a village of Kulluk and Karabara nearby. There were about 200 houses, and a hundred wheels were working besides twenty "kicks" for spinning wool for blankets. Here too there were two "interlopers" who kept their houses going for handloom work. We saw beautiful yarn in this village. One young lady had with her about Rs. 120 by sale of her yarn during year, and she worked at her wheel last house a day long, even when she had babies after attending to her family which consisted of a son and three little girls. Another interloper her husband, she proudly told us that she paid the Government assessment on the looms made out of her yarn money. But she complained that the Khadi movement did not make money. But when it was proposed she agreed to sell her yarn more where it was not at her own price. Mr. Bhagawanalla was so impressed by it all, that he offered a prize to the best lady in the village who will sell her yarn more under its own price. Of course the young Khadi lady will come away for prize.

Y

At Gadag we had very good meetings of women, and another men's meeting. We told them what they should do while they were in this sick-bed. But I did not know what about the workshop I wish to tell this matter about a few men that we met there. They had a school, a fine old Bhawanrao professor had been and a big family. He had his house working the wool handlooms and mill yarn. But he gave a map about the movement. Even there there he had four houses only and all the members of his family. At there only handloom yarn is used. He was a man of happiness. All the members his price was a lot of Khadi woven on his own looms; the women on his hand were all beautiful fine pure and texture.

Rayappa Palla, a Congress cadre member, also showed and gave his yarn woven by Bhaji Sahab. He was had on his person all anti-caste clothes, and some of the stuff was washed. But that he had another also on it. He turned over Rs. 2,000 in his cotton business and made Rs. 500 profit during the season last year.

We saw also Chagga Wale, an old gardener in Khadi. He was the proud father of Dr. Venkaji, one of the foremost medical practitioners of Gadag. Also twelve more day were his work in area, this doctor also and we went for two hours. Another very medical practitioner of this place, Dr. Vashat Rao also spoke two hours every day. It was he who presented good Congress Rao Dadyanda with a diploma of his own prize.

C B

#### Wanted

Agents for Young India in all the principal places of India. Tell publishers about some who be had on applications from.

Manager, Young India  
Disseminated

## Anti-Indian Campaign in S. Africa

Relevant Quanta has passed on the 15th February. The following statement of the views regarding the anti-Indian movement in South Africa, and especially the Class Ameer Bill—

As one expected to understand the situation created in South Africa by the anti-Indian movement now going on there, and especially the Class Ameer Bill now under consideration by the Union Parliament, I deem it my duty to state my opinion on the situation before the public.

The anti-Indian agitation on the part of Europeans in South Africa is no new thing. It is almost as old as the first settlement of non-indigenous Indians in South Africa, and is particularly due to racial jealousy on the part of white South Indians. As in other parts of the world, so in South Africa coloured men, if they indifferently permit, had no difficulty in obtaining the support of those of those who are not so interested but who do not think for themselves. The present agitation, I remember, was begun as early as 1911, and the Class Ameer Bill as, so far as, was result of that agitation.

Before dealing with the nature and object of the Bill, it is necessary to point out that it is in breach of the compromise of 1914 entered into between the Union Government and the Indian community of South Africa. But it was a compromise in which both the Indian Government and the Imperial Government were as much party as the Union Government and the Indian community. Because the compromise was entered into with the knowledge and concurrence of the Imperial and the Indian Governments. The issue had even that Sir Frederick Roberts was representative. Intentionally to reach the terms of the Constitution that was approved by the Union Government to really help the Indian people. But in reality to deprive a parliament. The whole terms of the compromise were worked before Sir Frederick Roberts who represented the Indian Government, entered in to it.

In accordance with that compromise no further anti-Indian legislation was to be passed by the Union Government. The understanding at the time was that the legal position of the Indian would be gradually improved and that the law relating anti-Indian legislation would, in due time, be repealed. The contrary has, however, happened. The public may remember that the first attempt to break the spirit of the compromise was made when in the Transvaal an attempt was made to amend the existing legislative authority to the Indians and thereby to the position that provided at the time of the compromise. The Class Ameer Bill, however, goes much further in restricting Indian liberty.

What may be the other implications of the programme. The work cannot be disposed of any party, but the settlement of 1914 placed the Union Government not to go further restrictions upon the Indian liberty, and upon some the general power of discrimination vested in the Magistrate under the Laws of Intestines addressed to the Government-General of South Africa, the Imperial Government if they would be free to think that are bound, at any rate, to limit



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We must not, however, ignore the influence of the League of Nations which, by guaranteeing the independence of Egypt, Iraq, and the Portuguese colonies, Africa expressed through their elected representatives to the satisfaction of both the victors and the vanquished. This guaranteed independence is the highest law in the North African continent, so it is to be found in the constitution of most of the self-governing Colonies which have their native populations and Indian populations. As the League of Nations has guaranteed the free will of the peoples to prevent colonial peoples being torn from Africa and Egypt will presently accept what must nevertheless be the Imperial system, because of political, economic and, probably still being above all, religious ties to both the powers, but it will be not a question of one merely conquering the land but to the rapidly vanishing some indigenous cultural elements, either as happened as in India, where there

And even for the 801 back, before the hotel NewYork-NewYork 33, which happily the Union Government-First of her in effect raised and with applied it to its hotel, the New York 33 is designed to apply to all the post problems to enable the Government in cooperation of the hotel, the Union and other American cities for resistance and made it a decision as a response, in a modified manner, of the hotel's guests, derived as early as 1955 by the hotel Union and Government.

Let me say in a few words what our respondents may mean. The Indian location in Petrolia, where, in spite of the law of 1883, not a single Indian has been so far compelled to remove, is situated far away from the great band and just shy outside the belt of the large western English, Dutch or German. The only work possible in such locations is trade among themselves, suggesting therefore stepped out to the full means nothing less. One unexpected surprise without any explanation I found that the FBI appears to practice in a broad agent the ending rights. But that restriction is of little consequence to the Indian as it is. I do not wish to burden this note by citing themselves from my heart. All-time can speak as given how such restrictions have, in practice, proved a harmful mistake.

Finally, let it be considered that when Indian migration to South Africa was restricted, the fear of the Europeans was expressed to be that South Africa might be swamped by Indian workers. All the South African newspapers then used to say that South Africa could easily digest a small Indian population and could even give it a liberal treatment, but that the European settlers would never rest content as long as the possibility of swamping remained. Now that the so-called fear of swamping has been removed, practically since 1947, the way is opened for migration and, if that is accomplished, the next step will be compulsory repatriation. If the unrepatriated Indians do not voluntarily return the last is that the room accommodating the European's share of South Africa shall not tolerate increase to be, the more groups for their better in such a racialistic democracy.

**Figure 1**

The Working Committee and the All-India Khadi Board have issued an appeal for a supreme effort in order every man and woman in the country to wear khadi. Under the present circumstances through which the country is passing the day there is every hope of a great response to this appeal. But the whole success of the effort in this regard will depend on each upon the response as individuals. It is the duty of the various Congress Committees to open the general enthusiasm evoked. It is therefore a duty for us all to consider and discuss such quick measures as would enable us to turn to the utmost advantage the patriotic feeling aroused at this juncture.

The work before us is of a two-fold nature. We have on the first plane to carry on a vigorous propaganda to make the people realize in the fullest extent the political significance of Ethnic work by showing, on the one hand how Ethnic action can help to bring about a speedy and effective liquidation of foreign race-groups existing on the economic frontier of this country, and on the other, how it can help to build up our work of regeneration throughout the length and breadth of the country starting as to offer material and disorganized paragraphs for the statement of our goal. Ethnic work with this propaganda we have to take off such measures as would make possible Ethnic of a durable and easily available to every person and of possible, as long as a person had to an individual. Some as we see. To this and I wish to offer a few suggestions to be modified or supplemented by the Congress Organization and Provincial Ethnic Boards as they proceed to be taken on such as that the Ethnic work may be our object fulfilled on a biological basis.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100 101 102 103 104 105 106 107 108 109 110 111 112 113 114 115 116 117 118 119 120 121 122 123 124 125 126 127 128 129 130 131 132 133 134 135 136 137 138 139 140 141 142 143 144 145 146 147 148 149 150 151 152 153 154 155 156 157 158 159 160 161 162 163 164 165 166 167 168 169 170 171 172 173 174 175 176 177 178 179 180 181 182 183 184 185 186 187 188 189 190 191 192 193 194 195 196 197 198 199 200 201 202 203 204 205 206 207 208 209 210 211 212 213 214 215 216 217 218 219 220 221 222 223 224 225 226 227 228 229 230 231 232 233 234 235 236 237 238 239 240 241 242 243 244 245 246 247 248 249 250 251 252 253 254 255 256 257 258 259 260 261 262 263 264 265 266 267 268 269 270 271 272 273 274 275 276 277 278 279 280 281 282 283 284 285 286 287 288 289 290 291 292 293 294 295 296 297 298 299 300 301 302 303 304 305 306 307 308 309 310 311 312 313 314 315 316 317 318 319 320 321 322 323 324 325 326 327 328 329 330 331 332 333 334 335 336 337 338 339 340 341 342 343 344 345 346 347 348 349 350 351 352 353 354 355 356 357 358 359 360 361 362 363 364 365 366 367 368 369 370 371 372 373 374 375 376 377 378 379 380 381 382 383 384 385 386 387 388 389 390 391 392 393 394 395 396 397 398 399 400 401 402 403 404 405 406 407 408 409 410 411 412 413 414 415 416 417 418 419 420 421 422 423 424 425 426 427 428 429 430 431 432 433 434 435 436 437 438 439 440 441 442 443 444 445 446 447 448 449 450 451 452 453 454 455 456 457 458 459 460 461 462 463 464 465 466 467 468 469 470 471 472 473 474 475 476 477 478 479 480 481 482 483 484 485 486 487 488 489 490 491 492 493 494 495 496 497 498 499 500 501 502 503 504 505 506 507 508 509 510 511 512 513 514 515 516 517 518 519 520 521 522 523 524 525 526 527 528 529 530 531 532 533 534 535 536 537 538 539 540 541 542 543 544 545 546 547 548 549 550 551 552 553 554 555 556 557 558 559 560 561 562 563 564 565 566 567 568 569 570 571 572 573 574 575 576 577 578 579 580 581 582 583 584 585 586 587 588 589 590 591 592 593 594 595 596 597 598 599 600 601 602 603 604 605 606 607 608 609 610 611 612 613 614 615 616 617 618 619 620 621 622 623 624 625 626 627 628 629 630 631 632 633 634 635 636 637 638 639 640 641 642 643 644 645 646 647 648 649 650 651 652 653 654 655 656 657 658 659 660 661 662 663 664 665 666 667 668 669 670 671 672 673 674 675 676 677 678 679 680 681 682 683 684 685 686 687 688 689 690 691 692 693 694 695 696 697 698 699 700 701 702 703 704 705 706 707 708 709 710 711 712 713 714 715 716 717 718 719 720 721 722 723 724 725 726 727 728 729 730 731 732 733 734 735 736 737 738 739 740 741 742 743 744 745 746 747 748 749 750 751 752 753 754 755 756 757 758 759 760 761 762 763 764 765 766 767 768 769 770 771 772 773 774 775 776 777 778 779 780 781 782 783 784 785 786 787 788 789 790 791 792 793 794 795 796 797 798 799 800 801 802 803 804 805 806 807 808 809 810 811 812 813 814 815 816 817 818 819 820 821 822 823 824 825 826 827 828 829 830 831 832 833 834 835 836 837 838 839 840 841 842 843 844 845 846 847 848 849 850 851 852 853 854 855 856 857 858 859 860 861 862 863 864 865 866 867 868 869 870 871 872 873 874 875 876 877 878 879 880 881 882 883 884 885 886 887 888 889 890 891 892 893 894 895 896 897 898 899 900 901 902 903 904 905 906 907 908 909 910 911 912 913 914 915 916 917 918 919 920 921 922 923 924 925 926 927 928 929 930 931 932 933 934 935 936 937 938 939 940 941 942 943 944 945 946 947 948 949 950 951 952 953 954 955 956 957 958 959 960 961 962 963 964 965 966 967 968 969 970 971 972 973 974 975 976 977 978 979 980 981 982 983 984 985 986 987 988 989 990 991 992 993 994 995 996 997 998 999 1000 1001 1002 1003 1004 1005 1006 1007 1008 1009 1010 1011 1012 1013 1014 1015 1016 1017 1018 1019 1020 1021 1022 1023 1024 1025 1026 1027 1028 1029 1030 1031 1032 1033 1034 1035 1036 1037 1038 1039 1040 1

(c) The active cooperation of the local press, English as well as Vietnamese, should be secured at once and arrangements made with them to deal from day to day with the programme presentedly in their columns so as to impress upon the people the necessity of action in their cooperation of war.

(4) The Provincial Congress, Commissions and Head Boards should arrange for all the prominent local leaders to visit during the coming month of September towns and villages to carry the message of Chiao to every house.

(c) Black volunteers should be temporarily excluded from active service during the month for propaganda and other use.

(4) Leaders and pastors and priests should be urged to visit the homes of Blacks as people whom it is not feasible to reach otherwise.

(c) In propagating work all letters and values of language should be treated as symptomatic and had stroke is always more effective, whereas letters and values tend to resist rather than to succumb.

(f) The Provincial Study Board should organize workshops by province to discuss and select special lady volunteers to carry the message from house to house and back again.

Let The Presidential Election Board should also attempt to win over the support of Synagogues, Mosques, Temples and such other religious organizations for effectively implementing Eklavya.

(4) the Kinf is specially calculated, mostly and unnecessarily, to help the writers of the country to



renewing in them their ardour, and renewed act of opening and by freeing them from the anxiety of taking in foreign and such other outside work as is incompatible with their domestic duties, the Provincial Khadi Board should make special appeal to all the women of this country to use nothing made only of pure handspun yarn for the sake of their poorer sisters in the purchase of all other cloth.

(4) Students of schools and colleges should be induced through their organisations to devote on all appearing in Khadi in the next Gandhi Day.

(5) Processions, Rages, Marches, Kides, etc. should be arranged during the month in order to popularise Khadi.

(6) Exhibitions should be arranged at important centres.

(7) The Provincial Khadi Board should arrange with all Khadi or Handmade stores for prominent display of Khadi and adequate advertisement.

(8) The Provincial Khadi Board should make lists and publish the names of all depots, stores and agents in selling genuine Khadi at proper prices.

#### II Making Khadi Available

(1) The Provincial Congress Committee and Khadi Board should find out whether there is a sufficient stock of genuine Khadi in their district towns and other important centres to meet the needs of the local population during Gandhi-Mahatma.

(2) The Provincial Khadi Board should arrange to supply genuine Khadi to each District Congress Committee or three Khadi Boards as nearest nearest Khadi in their respective areas for the needs of the local people.

(3) If there are areas where there are no Congress Committees or agencies or depots that can supply genuine Khadi to the local population, arrangements should be made by the Provincial Khadi Board for opening small depots of Khadi or to stock Khadi with respectable people in those towns, with merchants or lawyers or others who are sympathetic to the movement and can help in this matter.

(4) The Provincial Khadi Board should call upon all authorities Khadi Boards to send volunteers to work Khadi from door to door in their respective areas.

(5) The Provincial Khadi Board should arrange schemes for making Khadi having attractive and remunerative use so as to sell the largest number of men and women for this purpose.

(6) The Provincial Khadi Board should find out and make change of genuine surplus of Khadi and make it available in those areas that have no indigenous depots.

(7) The Provincial Khadi Board should select the capacity of all organisations and organisations working for the economic or political emancipation of the country to help in this programme either by carrying on the propaganda or by showing and selling Khadi.

Finances

In order to secure funds for the carrying out of these works the Provincial Khadi Board should immediately have opened local contributions in the form, either of donations or temporary loans without interest, from people of all shades of political opinion.

If I can be of any help to you in the matter please communicate to my office address,—Adra, Bikaner.

### Dr. Ray's Letter to Bapu

The following letter dated 11th February 1934 has been sent to Mahatma Gandhi by Dr. P. C. Ray—  
My dear Mahatma,

I propose to abstain from going to Sarovar Haveli as a pilgrim for some well defined reason, as I thought that as long as you were in the land you should not in any way be disturbed. But now that you indicate me to leave the year I keep and upon myself.

I've been I have been watching all the setbacks and setbacks of your address in Sarovar on the occasion of your release with mixed feelings. On a single eye nothing if not continued and unbroken, and the better arrangements will now subside leaving not a trace behind. Of the thousands who are flocking to the public meetings to attend the Gandhi celebration, hardly one person is clad in Khadi. What a contrast to the sight which greeted my eyes at Comrade where I found thousands, drawn from the farthest corners and coming from the remotest villages, flocking to Gandhi's camp, and taking counsel of them who did in pure handspun! Now do I find my nation and subnational effort to realise the cause of non-violence. I am sure it is a reply of to be loved and would avoid the theory and believe both. It is not for me to pronounce my opinion on the advisability or otherwise of the action by Congress in the Comrade, but this much I may be permitted to say that the portion of our energies which have been spent over the idea that had been devoted to the country for programme checked on by you, the way to Sarovar would have been by this time considerably shortened.

You will probably remember that when the Mahatma Conference was in session at Bombay I was my feelings and pleasure in so far as your side, its name together for two consecutive days, and I professed to do my utmost to save the message of Mahatma in my Bengali country, and also in the presence since towards his presence. Things to the co-operation and devoted service of a wide band of workers, I have been able to do a little, but the work is uphill and requires almost infinite patience and persistent efforts to bring a result. The main, however, I work in this direction the more convinced I am becoming that in churches for the systematic education of India, and in our Comrade address on the Message of Khadi. I tried to address this point in questions as to find that in your letter to the Mahatma that you have laid particular stress on the Comrade as the only remedy for India's greater ignorance.

I must stop here and thank you for the further upon your report I need scarcely add that my heart rejoices after you but for the present, I must drop myself the pleasure of paying you a visit.

May God soon restore you to full health so that you may once again guide the future destiny of our nation.

Yours very sincerely,

P. C. Ray

Chand-Bhawan,

Shankar D. Banker,  
Secretary,  
All India Khadi Board.

Prescribed published by Prasad Chatterjee, Member  
Bengal Press, Serapour, Calcutta, 1934.







## The Deed of Blood

A report from a non-Sikh eye-witness declares that Sheriff Jatta of 500 Akalis that started on the 15th instant reached the townships of the Malwa State yesterday 15th February at about 12 noon. Immediately before that Dr. Khatri, Mr. Chahal and Mr. Khosla of the "New York Times" who had proceeded to a car had been arrested. Some Sikh officers of the State met the Jatta on the boundary of the Malwa State and announced an offer pending on that only 20 of them would go to Government on going on undertaking that they would remain forthwith after they have paid their ransom. The Jatta is mentioned as having replied that it would go to Ganga Gurdwara and remain Akhali Path.

The Jatta advanced singing Gurbani and large crowds following. As it reached the Gurdwara Tithi Pathi, a smaller cluster about 100 persons from Gurdwara Ganga, the State officers followed by Ganga, met the Jatta in street and advised the Jatta to retire, telling which it was pointed out that fire would be opened. The Jatta is described as having stood unmoved, determined to advance. The reporter then declares that at this stage the authorities opened fire and there were some casualties both from amongst the crowds and Jatta which had drawn back in two lines one in front and another behind with Ganga Gurdwara Pathi between them two rows. After a short while when fire was ceased, the Jatta people stood there killed and wounded everywhere and advanced. He says that the number of casualties is unknown, but estimates the number of wounded at 40 to 50. He says that fire was opened a second time. At this point the crowd stopped but the Jatta advanced and there were a few more casualties and as the Jatta reached the Police station firing was stopped. It was now about 4.30 P. M. and the reporter came back and did not notice anything.

After it is brought out on Feb. 21 by the Associated Press reporter in Amritsar. We would ask our readers to study it carefully. We have no hesitation in saying that the incident is the most remarkable achievement in the history of organised non-violence. First, note the tenacity and ruthlessness displayed by the Akhalists of Malwa in shooting down Ganga men pledged to non-violence and who in the face of evil to be remained true to their promise. It was quite open to the Akhalists to retreat and forfeit the civil resistance. We have no fear as to why the Akhalists retreated from that street and actual combat and on the basis as they stand at present, there is no reason whatever. Government has tried to make out that the Sikh circle of resistance who accompanied the Jatta were armed and threatened violence and that therefore firing became inevitable. We doubt the Government's version for two reasons. These were according to Government 5000 Sikhs armed with swords, spears and spears and intent on committing violence to the officials. The exact number of troops present is not available, but it is clear there were not more than a few hundred and it would have been quite the easiest thing in the

world for the armed crowd, if they were so inclined, to have destroyed the villages of Ganga. But not one of the troops or policemen was hurt. The crowd notwithstanding is of equal force. The Jatta was absolutely not armed. The history of the fight between Government and the Akhali during the past three years should have furnished the Akhalists with enough to this record. They according to the official version, the point of danger was the undisciplined crowd. In our view, what the Akhalists should have done was this. They should have asked the non-Jatta part of the crowd to divide itself from the Jatta. There would have been no difficulty in it. It was the Jatta that had shown the most of non-violence and was charged with the moral duty of removing the Akhali Path of Jatta. The crowd was to move from Ganga, sympathetic towards. Such words are always there, usually well-meaning and good. I am usually a Hinduist—a Hinduist not to the Government but to those who fight Government. In Government, in Ganga, in fact, whatever happened I think it is wrong with the intention, the crowd is a problem. There is no time that it more interested in the situation of trouble than the workers themselves. We mention the details in discussion that the shooting down of the members of the Jatta on the side of the crowd is altogether inadmissible. No one would have been more pleased or thankful than the Akhali themselves to stop the crowd whenever the Akhalists were able to be done. The Akhalists appeared under the circumstances in open fire was a very deed of blood. It was Ganga's own guilt.

But in fact yes. The Akhali have triumphed over the fire Ganga, but with a greater victory of spirit and courage than on the field of Jallandhar. The victory is so complete and overwhelming that it is difficult to give in its full measure of it. What has happened is that the Akhali have faced death deliberately, and in the face of death they marched forward unshaken and without flinching back. In Jallandhar-Sikhs, it was an unwilling crowd that was moved along. We have no witness test among the thousands that gathered together on the tenth of April, there was one, who was there, knowing of Ganga's predicament, or rather that there would be there before the setting of the sun a shower of death. But this Jatta that was shot down to Jatta on the 15th February knew that it was playing with death and its members went forward, because the murmur of the Ganga's would be a terrible offering. But there was something else. It was only one and of a piece with the offering of the Jatta. In the worst of the manner, the Jatta "had drawn back in two lines, one in front and another behind, with Ganga Gurdwara Pathi between them two rows. After a short while when fire was stopped, the Jatta people stood there killed and wounded everywhere and advanced."

The officers of the Jatta marching forward with their wounded, without the slightest hint of physical defence, because violence was inevitable and necessary, is in fact, incomprehensible. Later reports show that the survivors of the Ganga were taken to a hospital and that with regard to the Jatta, there is no news that the Jatta of the Jatta shooting on the 15th in Amritsar is not to be seen in Jallandhar, but to know



the pace of emigration so that the welfare of the landless may be looked out for the welfare of a thousand. We told that the Government is really foolish, and it will no longer be possible for the Prime Minister to order the shooting of unarmed men.

### British Guiana

(By C. P. Andrews)

A very important question has been raised again in India about British Guiana. As Mahatma's last year's visit has been longed for in a very particular way, it is necessary to know it. Sir Joseph Parnell and Mr. Luckies have come over from British Guiana on a Deputation in order to get Indian emigrants to go out to that country. Therefore, they bring with them two important documents. The former is a Secretary Declaration of Rights, according to the present political situation of British Guiana in which there are no legal or political disabilities from which Indians suffer as compared with other races. The second is a questionnaire submitted from the Deputation. The Indian Association, which is the new body in the Colony representing Indian interests, advised by the Colonisation Scheme.

Mr. Joseph Parnell has published a pamphlet in which he is advocating a 'Federation of India'. In his introduction in a very modest place a letter from Mahatma Gandhi written early in 1939, agreeing that as there were no political disabilities whatever in British Guiana, an experiment might be made for the welfare and that after the results I myself should be sent out to report on the experiment, and this means the emigration should be continued further or stopped. I don't know whether Mahatma Gandhi would have signed this letter a few months later after the Simla Conference movement had begun, for I don't. Indian's caste system of co-operation, even though Mahatma was guided almost very carefully at the time that by working in the same field that previously he did not desire any co-operation from India, but he would not stand in the way of others doing it.

There are eight paragraphs in what Sir Joseph Parnell says to the people about my own position. I refused to 'stand aside' in his scheme, because I was not satisfied that it was a genuine Colonisation Scheme. His conclusion is a last note that I told him in London on Dec. 1935 that I had sent a cable to him from S. Africa, which he had not received. But I told him also, that in that cable, I refused to stand aside in the scheme he had set before me.

A report made by the Indian Commission (which was sent out to investigate) has shown some light on the discussion. Papers which I have received from Deputation, which which concerned Sir Joseph Parnell, have also explained what has happened. Unfortunately, I have not yet been able to get a copy of the full Report, but as the facts are now quite clear and the matter is urgent, I will make the following statement which gives a much fuller picture than I have been able to describe from —

(i) Sir Joseph Parnell, in 1935-36, brought over proposals which were entirely for colonisation. These he showed to Mahatma, and Mahatma agreed that the scheme might be given a few months' trial, after which I should go on and report.

(ii) Sir William Collier modified this scheme on Sir Joseph Parnell's return and converted it into a Cheap Labour Deputation Scheme to support the sugar planters. Sir Joseph Parnell protested against this as a breach of faith.

(iii) Sir Joseph Parnell acted in his scheme that land was being declared and prepared for colonisation, but when he returned to British Guiana, he found that practically nothing had been done.

(iv) Both these things have to a certain extent been set right. The new Government is an ardent supporter of the scheme and has given it a good financial backing.

(v) The East Indian Association has withdrawn its opposition to the scheme.

(vi) In spite of all these things, the Indian Commission Report has refused to recommend the Scheme, unless and until the health conditions are improved. The Report shows that health conditions are so bad, that the Indian deaths have exceeded the births.

I have tried to represent the present situation in the briefest possible light, and to give Sir Joseph Parnell and Mr. Luckies every credit for good intentions. If I have stated any point wrongly, I stand open to correction. When I met them in London, I urged them very strongly not to come out to India at such a time as this, when questions of whatever party, was indulgent about the Kenya Delegation. I urged them also, if they got forward any scheme at all, to draw the two emigration proposals together and to establish the whole matter on a more self-respecting basis. Let them have that bi-monthly, or quarterly, always anti's meeting between India and British Guiana. Let them offer the cheapest business rates possible for passengers on these cargo boats, but not less passenger. Then let emigrants use the same course. If people come back from British Guiana with good service of the country and as social and economic conditions, then emigration will come from there from India. This Indian population will be a free and willing people, and people recruited under false pretences against their will.

I pointed out, that this had been already the experience of the Delegation of Canada, Australia and New Zealand. At first, they had been foolish in giving any kind of emigrant. But now they were more careful. At first, they had gone in for 'free emigration.' But now they had found out that this only encouraged pauperism and was harmful instead of beneficial. Therefore, all the Delegation now practised a self-respecting line of emigration into England and insisted on co-operation. They encouraged 'selected' passages, by carefully selected emigrants they did not encourage indiscriminate 'free' emigration.

I urged Sir Joseph Parnell to think over carefully all that I had said. I also had a long quiet talk with Mr. Luckies, who listened very patiently. Since the East Indian Association has itself passed a questionnaire asking for the scheme to be tried, the matter cannot be necessarily discussed in India itself; but I feel certain that in the light of the recent Kenya Delegation and with the favourable prospect of a Kenya Immigration Restriction Bill being passed into law, Indian leaders will be in no mood to listen to any Colonial Deputation at the present time.



### "A Prisoner and His Keepers"

documented that the Government and the principle of publishing what we hope is only the first volume. We would like to give you some idea of the progress of the work. In the letter Mr. Gorbunov addressed to him on 1 April 1937, it was mentioned that the Government would not send it unless Mr. Gorbunov received material parts of it. Letter No. 2 is the one addressed to the Government, questioning the validity of the grounds on which they refused to send letter No. 1. Letter No. 3 is what should have been Mr. Gorbunov's "Yes and no" letter. Since July, Letter No. 4 is a request to Government to return the original "Yes and no".

As we go to the press this post brings us Mr. Smith's introductory note to the correspondence. We publish this as the first item. The readers will pardon the correspondence, in connection with that note.



## 'The President's Letter' to Harvard

The *Journal of Management Education* is a peer-reviewed journal that publishes research, theory, and practice in the field of management education. It is published by the American Management Education Association (AMEA).

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Prisoners are allowed one visit every three months and to write and receive one letter during the same period. I have had a visit from Dorcas and Rajagopalachari. And I am now writing the p. entitled below.

You will remember that Mr. Becker and I were arrested on the 15th March was Saturday. On Monday night about 10 P. M. we received notice that we were to be released on an unknown condition. At 11.30 P. M. the Superintendent of Police took us to the hospital that was awaiting us at Salernum. We were given a basket of food for the journey and we were well looked after during the whole journey. The doctor of the Salernum Civil had offered us his health and hygiene course, the food to which I am used, and Mr. Becker bread and milk and had his medical course. Care's wife for Mr. Becker and gave for me with clothing, assigned on the way by the Treaty Government who was waiting us.

We were taken up at Elkhart where a police man was waiting to take us to the jail house where I was another 10th.

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I had tested food accounts of this good. I am surprised and was therefore prepared to have difficulties in my path. I had told Mr. Fraser that if my head-aching was stopped, I would have to refuse food as I had taken a vow on the Hindu New Year's Day to abstain every day at least for half an hour except when I was at my working. He should see, therefore, I told him, be checked. If I had to refuse food and that he should give an account (also was not of false assertion). He had seen me checked.

"We were not therefore surprised when on reaching the goal about 2.15 P.M. I was told by the Superintendent that he could not allow the opening which was made as the canal was to be allowed to sink the land this was with us. I pointed out that hand-picking was a matter of very much and that as a matter of fact both of us were prepared to do it everyday at the Mahatma's feet. Thereupon we were told that we were not to do it."

<sup>2</sup> For details on the methodology, see the Appendix in the online edition of this article.

I told the Superintendent too that both of us were surprised at the Superintendent's harsh response to my remarks, but that was not to be expected of him at all.

Thus the first impression was rather wrong. I felt however totally undeceived. The next day of Tuesday following that of Monday *did* not see him. I knew then Mr. Barker told me. He has slight talents and requires more one near him. And this was the first rough sympathy in his phrase. I am a moment satisfied.

The Superintendent gave the next morning to question us. I saw that the first inspectors did not do justice to the Superintendent. The previous evening he was evidently in a hurry. We were surprised that the regular crew and he were totally unprepared for what was undoubtedly to him a strange request. He discovered however that my request for the sailing wheel was not a matter of consequence but solely of courtesy a real *politesse* necessity. He saw too that it was no question of longer-stirring. He gave orders that the sailing-wheel should be restored to both of us. We smiled for the look of us would read the that we had mentioned.

And as Israel have been able to overcome the animal instincts we will be able to do so in the race. Both the Superintendent and the Guide appear to me to be tactical and have pleasant manners. The first day's experience I count as of no consequence. The relations between the Superintendent and the Guide and myself are as cordial as they can be between a prisoner and his keeper.

But it is evident to me that the human element is largely if not entirely absent in the past system. The Superintendent informs me that all prisoners are treated as I was treated. If that be, as probably it would hardly be better said so. But for the human element there is no accommodation in the Great Republic.

10

This is what the Cool Convention consisting of the Coloreds, a strongman and near upon all the rest surviving. This Convention met quite by coincidence the very first day after the outbreak. The members came to find out needs. I mentioned that Mr. Tucker refused from servitude and that he should be kept with me and that his cell should be kept open. I cannot describe to you the contemptuous and cold indifference with which the request was treated. As the members turned their backs upon us one of them remarked "supposed" They knew nothing of Mr. Tucker's past or his position in life or of his upbringing. It was none of their business to find all this out and to discover the reason why







confident, unshaken firm in its goal. I could only come away more enthusiastic about the spinning wheel.

But if I have weakness I say nothing to you, it is not for want of strength. I am happy to a big extent in this infinite silence please me. And I am able to budge in silence which I prefer but which I was bound to resist until now.

But not all scholars can enjoy isolation. It is not necessary and welcome. The best lies in the false discipline. All persons are gradually brought together and no Superintendent knows because he may be too easily to justice to the reality of men and women that come under his control and care, unless he has a few hands. Therefore the only thing to do is to study their bodies to the same extent of the new order.

Add to this the fact that the guests are being prohibited for official work so that official prosecution before a political prisoner even in the institution will.

#### The Routine

I must sketch the pattern of my day. We begin with you the routine. The cell had its morning class and story. The arrangement to sleep outside is a blessing to me being used to sleeping in the open. I like it. At 4 A.M. the papers. The Ashram people will be interested to know that I wrote the morning verses satisfactorily and they were of some benefit to me by heart. At 5 A.M. I commenced my studies. At 5.45 A.M. An hour of silence was observed. I commenced work. At 7 P.M. after which it is available to read or write without artificial light. I write at 8 P.M. after the usual Ashram prayer. My studies include reading the Kama, Kautsky by Tolstoy, books on Christianity given by Mr. Sooden, study of Urdu. These literary studies involve six hours. Four hours are given to hand spinning and weaving. At first I gave only 20 minutes to spinning when I had only a limited stock of thread. The authorities have kindly given me more cotton. It is an optional duty. It is perhaps good, looking for a partner in weaving. I give one hour to drawing and three to spinning. Ananyashil and now Magdalen Gaudel have now come. I won't like them to spin much at all, but one of them may need good close cotton, not more than two pounds at a time. I am anxious to make up some shawl. I think that every prisoner should have weaving. I was able to read about one hour. It is harder to produce but much easier to learn than spinning.

#### 'Coming Nearer to God'

This spinning is growing on me. I am daily to be seeing nearer to the peace of the poor and to that extent to God. I regard the new house to be the most peaceful place of the day. The first of my letters is written before me, but an upper thought came my mind during the four hours. The wheel worked while I read the Gita, the Kama, the Bhagavad. So the wheel is fixed while I am turning the wheel, so watching the hour. I know that it may not be enough even, all this to everyone. I have no finished the spinning wheel with the amount

of time of proper tools, that it has to be a distraction of his own. There is a serious competition going on in my mind between spinning and writing on the one hand and literary studies on the other. And I cannot not be surprised if to my great regret I report to you an increase in the hours of spinning and writing.

Three old Marathi Abdul Bari Dabhi that I expect him to compete with me in spinning which he informed me he had just taken up. His attempts will lead many to take up this great occupation in a day.

My Ashram people may be interested that I have finished the prison. I promised to write a prison that I shall be prepared to read it to them. I hope to be able to do this for the citizens who I promised to write on also the history of the struggle in South Africa.

#### Books for a Pilgr

Instead of them, for the sake of convenience, I am taking two more only here. But I am taking quite enough. The Superintendent is offering every convenience in the shape of food. For the last three days, he has prepared for me goat's milk, butter and I expect in a day or two to be taking my own chapatti.

I am allowed two pounds more were better bread, a bit of meat and two pounds. A pillow has been added since. It was hardly necessary. I need none of my own, sleeping on a pillow. The latter has been added as a mark of the consideration with Superintendent. There is always the feeling which is allowed only a separate cell is offered as a work room whilst it is not otherwise required. Necessary arrangements have been made perfect.

Parents neither need and every about me in any way whatever, I am as happy as a kid. Nor do I think I am doing too much work here than outside. To be here is good discipline for me and separation from co-workers was not the thing inspired to know whether we were an equal whole or whether our equality was one man's shadow on the day's wonder. I have no feelings. I have therefore no curiosity to know what is happening outside. And if my papers are true and from a humble heart, they I have no halfhearted more education than my amount of selfless activity.

I am anxious about Sha's health. I shall always have some for complaint against his good nature that she did not keep me informed of his health. Modiah's advice I hope has left him.

#### 'The Friend and Sensitive Boy'

To please personally Mrs. Gaudel and to think of visiting me, Devdas created a scene when he visited me. He could not break the idea of my standing in the Superintendent's office when he was brought in. The good and sensitive boy burst out weeping aloud and I was with difficulty I could restrain him. He should have noticed that I was a prisoner and so much I had no right to sit in the presence of the Superintendent. On a night one should have been allowed to Suppachari and Devdas. But I was sure there was no discomfort involved. I do not suppose it is usual for the Superintendent to supervise such visits. But, in my case, it is being insisted to me on this. I would not



But the name to be reported by Mrs. Gandhi was to be used as a special license to be shown in my own by a man being offered dignity. I am not, however, in a position. And we must get out the whole before the British people naturally and hands raised the British committee to us in every month of the I am not at all inclined to have written and I would like to be able and willing to make themselves, I believe, at the very things he will under circumstances of stress or otherwise.

I hope Christian Miss has decided the writing which I have by the name of the Hindu woman in Panchabadi, East Bengal and Agri. I hope the name of the Hindu lady who wrote to my late Agri. Kishan may be known.

I shall now think the Hindu woman, I would like a good Hindu woman (and) my book you in the second way please.

Please tell Hindu I am at ease about this.

I do hope you are keeping well. To hope that you are not overworking yourself is to hope for the impossible. I can therefore only pray that God will keep you in health in spite of the strain.

With love to every one of the nation,  
yours sincerely  
M. K. Gandhi

## II

### PRINCE'S PICTURE

From

Princed No. 1071

L.

The Government of Bombay.

With reference to the Government orders passed on prince's letter to Mahatma Gandhi, a letter of principle, and releasing and letter to prince with various remarks in the said letter and to prince by the Superintendent of Yashwanth, prince No. 1071 begs to say that an application to the Superintendent for a copy of the said letter, in reply to him as authority to give prince a copy thereof.

Prince would like to present a copy of the said letter and was in friends to that they may have under what circumstances prince has been unable to send to friends letter of release. Prince hereby applies for instructions to the Superintendent regarding a copy of the said letter.

Regarding the letter to him as prince's secretary and under the name of the Government, the letter is sent prince's letter to the Superintendent on the ground that in (i) the letter contains reference to prince's other than prince himself, and (ii) the letter is likely to give rise to political controversy.

With regard to the last ground, prince submits that the letter contains no reference to prince and is merely relevant to prince's own personal condition and affairs.

With regard to the second ground prince respectfully submits that the publishing of a public controversy is a right given to the Government of the right of sending a quantity of letters to friends and relatives. The collection of the ground

is in prince's opinion dangerous to the country, it being then an Indian prince in a secret department. Prince submits that Indian prince is not in open public department subject to criticism by the public in the same manner as any other department.

Prince submits that no such letter of inquiry or criticism or information regarding his personal affairs is given to other persons without necessity of complete information. Prince would gladly correct misstatement or exaggeration if any is discovered to him. But to send the letter in the said letter without suggestion by the Government would be to give an impression of his inability to his friends. Prince, therefore, the Government will forward prince's letter subject to such conditions that may be found necessary, prince has no desire to question the right of sending to friends a letter of release which might become of doubtful value under the conditions imposed by the Government under the said letter.

Yashwanth

19-2-24

M. K. Gandhi  
Princed No. 1071

## III

### "MY FIRST AND LAST"

Yashwanth

11th May 1924

Dear Mahatma,

I wrote to you on 14th April a long letter giving you full information about myself. It contained messages among others to Mrs. Gandhi and Devdas. The Government have not passed orders relating to send the letter unless I would remove material parts of it. They have given grounds for their decision, but as a copy of the letter has been referred to me, I cannot send them to you nor can I give you the grounds as far as I could.

I have written to the Government questioning the validity of their grounds and offering to submit statements or explanation in my own if any is discovered to me. I have told them too that if I cannot send my letter without restriction, I have no choice in order even to give letters to friends, which then become of doubtful value. Prince, therefore, the Government must now that decides the restriction must be my first and last from the point to you as other friends.

Hope you are keeping well.

yours sincerely  
M. K. Gandhi  
Princed No. 1071

## IV

### "THAT NATION PRINCE"

From

The Superintendent,  
Yashwanth

San.

There are regretting myself that prince's position for some time.

(i) In May last I wrote to my friend Mahatma Gandhi about the said prince's letter. The Government decided to forward it unless I set out prince's objection to it. As I considered the prince's objection relevant to my condition in the past I could not see my way to remove them and I suggested to the Government that I did



not propose to avail myself of the privilege of the right of sending to my friend the noted little notice I could give him a full description of my condition. At the same time I wrote a brief letter to my friend saying that the letter I had written to him was all I allowed and that I did not propose to write any longer regarding my relations with the Government, removed the publication imposed by them. The same day, too, the Government have declined to send. It is this second letter which I have asked should be returned to me as the first has been.

(ii) After having received permission from Col. Deland to write a remarkable paper and the assurance that there would be no objection to my sending it to my friends for publication, I wrote the paper and gave it to Col. Deland for dispatch to the address mentioned in the covering letter. The Government have declined to send the paper to the address given, on the ground that printers cannot be permitted to publish books which they are selling that year. I have no wish to see my name in the paper as publisher or author. If the paper may not be published now without my name being connected with it in any way, I would like it returned to me.

(iii) The Government were pleased to notify that I could be allowed paragraphs. I therefore asked for permission to send for the Times of India weekly, the Indian Economic, high class Calcutta monthly, and the Government's Hindi magazine. The last named has been kindly allowed. No demand has yet been received regarding the other two. I am anxiously awaiting the Government decision about them.

Everds good } I remain,  
Yours sincerely,  
H. K. Ghoshal

## To The Akshis

Dear Countrymen,

It was with great sadness that I heard about the shooting of an Akshis Jaina on the orders of the Administration of the Nalla. Some readings in several numbers being killed and many more wounded. In reply to telegrams, beyond sending a message of sympathy, I had no wish to say or do anything more. It is necessary to the work of Col. Madhok who has returned me with every day of his time during my illness that I am undertaking a moderate number of surveys on the steps of reforming myself of the prevailing situation in the country. The following telegram just received from Kori, "Come regarding health condition some Akshis Jaina" compels me to say something in connection with the tragedy just mentioned. I do not happen to know the reader of the telegram but had it been at all possible for me I would certainly have gone there to reply to the message. The wound being yet untreated, my work progress is a physical impossibility. I am therefore doing the next best thing. I send hereby express the Akshis Jaina of my sympathy in the loss of so many brave men and many more being wounded. Without this I have before me, I am unable to say whether the march of a few, a number of them is order to pay devotion to the shrine of Ganges at Jajpur or was not justified. But I would wish the Akshis Jaina not to send any more paper without further

deliberation and consultation with those leaders outside the Akshis community who have laboured long among them since. It would be well to stop and watch developments arising out of the tragedy. One of the telegrams received by me tells me that the Jaina remained throughout strictly non-violent. The love, from the very, my movement, clear of that year movement is perfectly non-violent and religious. I would like every one of us to understand all the implications of non-violence.

I am not unaware of the fact that non-violence is not your best sword. It is therefore doubly important upon you to guard against any violence or thought or word creeping in the movement. Over the years of the pursuit of non-violence in the political field has shown me so clearly as daylight that in every act of mine we have to watch our thoughts and words in connection with the movement in which we may be engaged. Non-violence is impossible without deep honesty and the utmost regard for truth and if such non-violence has been possible in connection with movements not based religious, how much easier it should be with those like you, who are undertaking a strictly religious movement?

I have deemed it necessary to reiterate what I said to my short non-violence laboratory experiment, because I have observed, during my brief study of the events of the past years, that we, who claim to be engaged in a non-violent movement, have not fully so thought and speech confined to one creed during the past two years to me, certainly did not during the previous years. I am sorry to have to say that what I wrote about ourselves in the pages of *Young India* during the three months prior to my arrest, holds true to-day that it did then.

I have not the slightest doubt in my mind that, had we practiced non-violence in the sense I mean during all these five years, we could not only have improved our common good but there would be today no differences and quarrels between Hindus and Mussalims. It deserves your attention, therefore, to the necessity of non-violence in your special struggle along your Gurdwaras. I do not wish to be understood to mean that there has been greater disregard of the principle of non-violence amongst you than amongst the other communities.

But a word of caution is more necessary in your case because you have some danger. You have been incessantly active in the pursuit of your special good. I would, therefore, have you to watch yourselves, and if you feel that you have not been true to the standard you set before yourselves, to cease further discussions for the time being and perform the necessary domestic process before improving more, and I think not that your efforts will be crowned with success.

I remain, your friend, and servant,

Yours

February 15, 1904.

H. K. Ghoshal



# Young India

A Weekly Journal

Edited by George Joseph

Vol. VI

Ahmedabad, Thursday 6th March 1924

No. 10

## Mahatmaji's Jail Diary

[We publish below the second instalment of Mr Gandhi's jail correspondence, along with his reply thereto. — Ed. Y. I.]

V

Yasoda Jail  
14-12-23

The Superintendent,  
Yasoda Central Jail

Sir,

With reference to Government order of 14th Oct. I beg to state that the people who accompanied my wife and myself in the quarterly interview told me that the Government had announced that petitions were allowed to the prisoners. If the information is correct, I remain my request and ask for the Dehra Doon, a monthly magazine edited by Mr. Banerjee of Madras.

I remain,

Yours obediently,  
M. K. Gandhi

[We have to say was refused — M. K. G.]

VI

Yasoda Jail,  
20th December 23

The Superintendent,  
Yasoda Central Jail.

Sir,

You were good enough to tell me that of those who had recently applied for permission to see me, Pandit Motilal Nehru, and Mahab Agasthi Khan and Mr. Maganlal Gandhi were refused permission to see me.

Mr. Maganlal Gandhi is a very nice man, of ripe, solid, firm power of memory and is in charge of an agricultural and hand-weaving and hand-spinning experiments and is in close touch with my work among the depressed classes.

Pandit and Mahabaji are, besides being political workers, personal friends interested in my well-being.

I shall be obliged if you will kindly ascertain from the Government the reasons for the refusal to Pandit Motilal Nehru, Mahabaji Agasthi Khan and Mr. Maganlal Gandhi.

I observe that under the prison regulations governing interviews with prisoners all the three gentlemen named above appear to be eligible on various on their prison records.

I would like to know, if I may, what the Government wishes are regarding interviews with men whom I may and may not see and whether I may

receive information from the permitted visitors on non-political topics or activities with which I am connected.

I remain

Yours obediently,  
M. K. Gandhi.  
No. 1423

VII

The Superintendent,  
Yasoda Central Jail

Yasoda Jail  
29th Dec. 23

Sir,

You have been good enough to tell me that the Inspector General has refused giving reasons refused to receive the note by me to two Gujarat Marathi weekly *Vasant* and *Samachar*.

In view of the orders of the Government about the use of periodicals by prisoners the foregoing decision is a surprise to me. The Government orders, as I have understood them, are that prisoners may have periodicals which do not contain any political news. I am not very conversant with the Government but I am with the *Vasant* it is the printed *Gandhi Bhaskar* monthly edited by Pandit Motilal Nehru, well known as a solid politician, and contributed to mainly by those who are in some way or other connected with the Government. I have not known it to raise political questions such, nor have I ever known it to contain political news. But it may be that the Inspector General has other reasons for disallowing the periodicals so that both the *Vasant* and the *Samachar* have now become political magazines. Will you kindly therefore ascertain from the Inspector General the reasons for his decision? I may add that if the decision is not altered it will deprive me of the opportunity of keeping myself in touch with General Banerjee.

I remain,

Yours obediently,  
M. K. Gandhi

VIII

Yasoda Central Prison  
1st Jan. 24

The Superintendent,

Yasoda C. P.

Sir,

You were good enough to tell me yesterday that the Inspector General had replied in my letter of the 20th December, but to the effect that you had not



character appearing hereafter by Mahatma and friends would bring of the public regarding personal work interest.

This wife has come upon me as a surprise and is at variance with the information given me by my wife. She together with Mrs. Vinodini Chaudhary was appointed to my case by the J.P. Bench.

My wife told me that she had to wait for over twenty days before receiving reply to her application for interview. On visiting amongst of my friends she went to Pooné to the home of being visited to me. Consequently only last week accompanied by Mrs. Vinodini Chaudhary, Mr. Manojlal Gandhi, brother his daughter about 10 years young and Mr. Prabhakar a lad about fifteen years old. Mr. Chhatrapati Gandhi's son, who had come to the place of his father who was one of the applicants and who was after, my wife asked if the place was for education. You told the party that you could not fulfil them as you had no authority to give permission and that you were waiting reply from the Government to whom the original application was sent by you. On Mr. Manojlal Gandhi's presence, you referring to telephone to the Inspector General who too, it seems could not grant the requested interview and my wife and party had to go away disappointed.

On the 27th March my wife told me you requested to her saying that you had forwarded the Government that she and three others who were named in the original application could see me. This direction included youngsters Kailas and Prabhakar.

If you had the direction sent to you, the whole of the documents around above need review. I had seen that I have not intervened my wife.

Moreover, if your direction had been received, Kailas and Prabhakar could not have been excluded.

I shall therefore be obliged if you will enlighten me on the discrepancy between the Government reply and my wife's recollection, and let me see to that—

(1) On what ground, Prabhakar, Kailas and Mr. Manojlal Gandhi were excluded last year?

(2) Who will and who will not be allowed to see me in future?

(3) Whether at these instances I may receive information on non-colonial matters and activities in local and now being conducted by my various representatives?

Though I will not permit myself to believe that my localities was harassed, I venture to think that the treatment meted by them was in fact harassing. I should not like a repetition of the subsequent occurrences.

I remain  
Yours obediently  
M. K. Gandhi  
P. N. 5112

(X)

T. P. 101  
10th February 1928

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

This is a personal letter because it concerns and touches beyond my province as a politician. At the

same time, if your official position demands that you cannot take notice of this matter as I, I cannot put me at liberty to do so.

Yesterday morning I had something and some of the men about started out there was fighting. I wondered. A short while after I saw four or five young men to younger children being punished. They had a long hair. They seemed to have very dirty and white hair. I observed that they were in pain. They bowed to me. I observed the how I conducted the case and have been begged. During the day I saw a considerable number of men by the too house. Contrary to my opinion, I asked him who he was. He told me he was a Hindu Pooné. I asked him whether he knew the beggar man. He said he knew them all, as they were the Hindu Pooné men.

The object in writing this is to know whether I could be permitted to see those men who are refusing to work. If I had them to be working locally at Chhatrapati, I might be able to persuade them to re-assume their duties. Chhatrapati requires a planer to start all necessary police regulations and certainly to do the work given. In fact, his services came once a day and he is present. It may be verified by Chhatrapati's name as a student consultation. If there were others to be Chhatrapati, I should like to explain all this to them.

I know that a solution cannot entirely be permitted to meet or interview in police administration. My wife goes for speaking reasons to my suggestion is that of course has early. Yes, I am sure, will want to have an appointment to meet beggars. If it is at all possible, I have suggested a meeting to all locality. I wish you would and need be permitted to visit yourself at any time.

Yours sincerely  
M. K. Gandhi

X

The Superintendent,  
Yamda Central Jail  
Ind.

T. P. 101  
10-2-28

I have just learnt that Mr. Jinnah has been awarded some permission for having access to some Hindu Pooné men. I do not write this to complicate of the problem but to ask for the same or give some for myself. I make this request not in a question, but if I may so put it, in a religious spirit. For the hour is more mine than Mr. Jinnah's. I asked him to tell my Hindu Pooné men he would see that if he desired to be a Chhatrapati he should go where to work. Mr. Jinnah would not reject such a request from me. I told him too to tell you all that happened if you visited him to-day, and I want to have told you sometime what happened between me and him, because you do not visit me on Mondays, as it is my day of silence. I assure you that I would not underestimate the influence of permission on me. I should feel sorry if I occurred when the one who is too guilty—if there be guilt in the act—is punished.

I remain  
Yours obediently  
M. K. Gandhi

[The Superintendent is reply to the foregoing lines to my wife and said that he had been so busy



about Mr. Jaramila, whether he (Mr. Jaramila) had not done enough but he was brought in to give notice of the breach of regulations. He could not speak on the floor. I had not left the boundary of my yard as far as the Subjunctive and therefore he could not speak on. Owing to Mr. Jaramila's talk in the Subjunctive an agit. situation was prevented.

M. E. G.]

XI

The Superintendent,

Yucatán Central Jail.

Yucatán C. P.

12th Feb. 1934

Mr.,

I observe that some 15000 Yuc. prisoners have been released, as they are said to have refused to work and to have refused to do their task.

If these prisoners refuse to be Subjunctive they are bound to obey all prison regulations as long as they are not interfering or unreasonable, and confine to the limit of their capacity to do the work allotted to them. If therefore they have refused to work or do not work willingly to their physical capacity there are considering a breach of their own duties and good conduct in addition to that of prison regulations.

I am sure that the authorities do not desire to let them, if they can be otherwise prevented to work, and that they would wish prisoners to yield to reason rather than to force of circumstances. I have that the men will do it as they do. I am sure because that I may be allowed to meet in your presence all the Yuc. Prisoners who willfully break prison regulations, as they have refused to do their duty as Subjunctive if they do so to be with.

I am sure that it is not easy to speak prisoners to work in obedience to regulations of prison administration. But I believe that considerations of humanity such as in the case mentioned will be allowed to supersede those of administrative discipline.

I remain

Yours truly

M. E. Gaudin

[In reply to Superintendent and say that with the Government decided on for the all, they could not avoid themselves of it.

M. E. G.]

XII

Yucatán Central Prison

12th Feb. 1934

The Superintendent,

Yucatán C. P.

There is no need to tell me under that you had heard from the Government to only to me limit of the Government, and that the Government is a party to the Government that was caused to my wife and that wife reference to the other acts of my wife, the Government could not discuss with a person the prison regulations in general. I am sure that the Government will discuss about the Government caused to my wife.

Regarding the other part of the Government reply, I beg to say that I have not done of the fact that as a prisoner I may not discuss the prison regulations in general. If the Government will send my letter of the 12th inst. they will discuss that I have not talked a general discussion of the regulations. On the contrary, I have merely requested an agit.

information on the particular conditions of certain regulations by as far as they bear on my future conduct and actions. I propose that a prisoner is entitled to ask and receive such information. If I am to be my friends and wife in prison, I ought to know where I am, as much as I can, as to the world Government and even private regulations.

I venture to make my position clear. I have the good fortune to have numerous friends who are as dear to me as children. I have children being brought to me by who are like my own children. I have together living under the same roof with me, and making me to my actions and private activities and requirements. I could not, without doing violence to my own cherished sentiments, see my wife if I was not doing time to the above-mentioned friends, relatives and children. I am not wife not merely because she is my wife but mainly because she is my mother in my children.

Not that I have any interest in seeing time I wish to, if I may get into time when my non-political activities.

Again, I am extremely interested in knowing why Francisco Mendiola, Rodriguez, Adjutant and Mr. Miguel Gaudin were excluded. I should understand their exclusion if they were guilty of exceptionally conduct or if they wanted to see me for any political situation. But if they have been excluded for any unreasonable political reasons, the best I could do is to make the Government of my wife, I am sure that of her and of respect which I would like to the Government. I beg to say, in conclusion and again.

I have no desire to hold political discussions with anybody much less to read any political newspaper. The Government was not aware that which is the present of their Government and their representative may take short-hand notes from the Government to be a newspaper. But I may be allowed if I wish to give against friends and relatives before refused consideration for income outside the prison regulations. I have now sent it my position and I am sure. This correspondence commenced on the 12th December last. I would urge the Government to let me have an early, straight and unobstructed reply.

I remain

Yours sincerely

M. E. Gaudin.

No. 117

XIII

Yucatán Central Prison

15-2-34

On 15th instant

Yucatán C. P.

Mr.,

You have kindly informed me that in reply to my letter of the 4th inst., the Governor General said that the Committee representing the Government should be present. I beg to say that I have that Committee is now waiting the letter in question. If the Governor General will please have the letter read in this again he will see that I know that nothing and he will see further that what I have sought in my letter is the reason for the refusal. I have suggested to ask in my letter whether the rule of the



perfidious was raised on the ground that they considered current political news, or whether the decision was based on any other ground. I venture to repeat my request and hope to be favoured with an early reply.

I remain

Yours sincerely  
M. K. Gandhi

XIV

Yours Confidential Friend  
15-2-24

The Superintendent,  
Yamla C. P.

Sir,

You have kindly informed me that the Inspector General has replied to my letter of the 23rd ultimo saying that the decision about the Fines and the Perfidious was given by a competent authority and that I was to be referred to the last paragraph of the Government's letter regarding my liability about certain applications for interviews with me. I beg to tender my congratulations to the I. G. for the promptness of his reply, but greatly deplore the position adopted by His Government's competency to decide as to the perfidious was never mentioned by me. And the paragraph of the Government's letter referred to by him does not help me. In the last, it says that you may not discuss with prisoners the prison regulations in general. I have asked the I. G. to do so much thing with me. I have already asked for the reasons of his decision. I may thank him that when he was Superintendent, and applied for my behalf for the Indian Prison, the Government did give reasons for their refusal. I venture to suggest that the ground cited in his reply differs from the previous one.

Moreover the Inspector General knows, from his conversations with me, that I regard these remarks as let me have the use of perfidious a perfidious in addition to that awarded by the convicting judge. I feel sure, that in every case, a person is entitled to reasons for punishments inflicted on him by competent authorities.

With due respect to the Inspector General, I venture to submit that he cannot take up the daily struggle of Indian prison guards prisoners that the Government may punish itself in time. While he was Superintendent, he taught me to think that as Superintendent of a prison, although he undoubtedly carried out the discipline of a prison, his appointment required him equally to protect the rights even as they were of prisoners. He led me to think that a Superintendent of a prison was to be guardian of the prisoners under his charge. If this is true the Inspector General is, I take it, the super-guardian of prisoners, who therefore expect him to cease their just claims with before the Government, when it happens to overlook or disregard them. A prisoner also expects him not to create his just feelings but to satisfy him in every possible and reasonable way.

I am sorry for carrying on this correspondence, but rightly or wrongly, I believe that even as a prisoner I have certain rights, for example, the right to have pure air, water, food and clothing. Briefly, I have the right to have such material necessaries given to me, as I am used to. I ask for no favour,

and if the Inspector General thinks that my single thing or necessities has been given to me as a favour, let it be withdrawn. But this matter of working perfidious I consider as important a right as that of receiving suitable food. I do therefore respectfully ask him not to treat my application for reasons for his decision with indifference that will leave him unresponsive. I remain

I remain

Yours sincerely  
M. K. Gandhi

[The Inspector General Col. Dabdal at Ym. confidential and replied that the decision was arrived at by higher authority.]

M. K. G.]

XV

Yours Confidential Friend  
16-4-24

The Superintendent,  
Yamla C. P.

Sir,

As my request was last sent to you on 10-day I should like it possible to see the Government reply to my letter of the 17th Feb. last regarding the application of interviews with me. The reply will enable me to find out whether consistently with my said letter. I should see the same or not, as you know today is my last day. The clock breaks at 1 P. M. today.

I remain,

Yours sincerely  
M. K. Gandhi

[The result of the correspondence was that the Government at last gave their reason for prohibiting the visits referred to. It was in the public interest that the said visits were prohibited but that if I wished I wanted to see anybody in particular the Superintendent was to send the name or names to the Government. I may add that in this last sentence the names of all who wanted to see me had to be submitted to the Government. In spite of the Government statement, in my own and those who were in the prison with me, the Superintendent had no objection to permit prisoners to visitors, which he had in the case of all the other prisoners.]

M. K. G.]

XVI

Yours Confidential Friend  
1-5-24

The Superintendent,  
Yamla C. P.

Sir,

You have kindly shared me the regulation classifying certain special imprisonment prisoners by a special division and told me that I am so classified. In my opinion there are two better prisoners, Mr. Manna, Kumbhar, Jambhakar and Bhambhar, who are no more criminals than I am, and who have enjoyed outside a living probably superior to mine, and who certainly have been used to a better life than I have for years. While therefore such prisoners remain outside the special classification, work as I should like to avail myself of some of the recreation, I am unable to do so and myself, and I should be glad if my name is removed from the special division.

I remain

Yours  
M. K. Gandhi,  
No. 177



XVII

Yankee Central Prison,

19-6-12

The Superintendent

Yankee C. P.

Sir,

I heard this morning that the Mohel Pao prisoners were shipped today for their work. A few days ago, I heard that one such prisoner was shipped for the same "reason". Today's news has decidedly upstaged me and seems almost to compel some action on my part. But I want to take no hasty step. And I want it to you that I should before doing anything whatsoever seek accurate information from you regarding the prisoners, which I do hereby.

I am aware that as a prisoner I have no right to ask you for such information, but I venture to do so as a man tied in my capacity to a public welfare.

I remain

Yours sincerely

M. K. Gandhi,

No 447

XVIII

The Superintendent,

Yankee Central Prison,

Yankee C. P.

20th June 1933

Sir,

With reference to my letter of yesterday regarding the shipping of certain Mohel Pao prisoners, I beg to thank you and the Inspector General for giving me full information about the views of the Government.

You will recall that when some requests applied for prisoners was forwarded to some other Mohel Pao prisoners, I requested the Government to let me interview all such prisoners with a view to looking them to conform to self discipline. The Government were good enough to thank me for the offer but declined to accept it. I did not press my request further, it only for the reason that I had hoped that requests would not apply when the shipping such prisoners. But the hope has now been foisted and shipping has been requested to come then come since the one refused to be one.

I believe that if I could see the prisoners I could before them to look at their imprisonment in the paper file and ask to work or want to be re-education, as they are said to have done. To enable me to do so here, first to-day I request that I may be associated with them, if this cannot be done, I request the permission to see the prisoners as close to the window may require.

I am aware that as a prisoner I may not ask to make such permission, but I respectfully ask it as a human being to serve a human purpose. The Government, I am sure, cannot wish to see the punishment of shipping followed if it can be at all avoided, as my prisoner work has on me who rightly is strongly against himself as imprisoned for conscience sake. They will appreciate my position when I state that these prisoners are most deserving to me, specially as I believe that they may be avoided if I am permitted to live with the prisoners.

I venture to trust that the Government will recognize the spirit of my letter and not put me, for receiving my offer of service, in the most degrading position of being compelled to take action, which may, without any such work on my part, prove embarrassing

to them. It is not my purpose whilst undergoing imprisonment to embarrass the Government by any conduct that I can possibly avoid.

I am of the feel that some of the prisoners are Major-shifting in connection with the matter, I request as early a reply as possible.

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

M. K. Gandhi,

No 447

[For reasons I do not wish to enter into at this stage, I am unable to comply further correspondence in this matter. But I may state that I was permitted to see two of the leading representatives in the presence of the Superintendent of the pool and the Inspector General of Prisons. The work was that Major, Gandhi said the two prisoners approached the usual argument I advanced, and at some points they lay low. The Government also investigating the cause of lagging and surrounding circumstances would investigate that no lagging was to be discontinued by the Jail Superintending without previous sanction from the Government except in the case of acquiescence by prisoners upon Jail officials. In this connection, I have observed that exaggerated reports were published about the conduct of Major Whitworth Jones then Superintendent, and that he was described as an infamous Superintendent, and his conduct as infamous. While in my opinion the lagging in connection with a group of prisoners as the part of the Superintendent is a serious thing, Major Jones was also lazy, but when all was aware never himself. On the contrary, all I saw of him and heard about him from those prisoners with whom I came in contact, he was a most sympathetic Superintendent, ever willing to listen to the prisoners and to take serious notice of the suggestions who in any way dissented from. He was ever willing to ask his subordinates as to quality of an official. At the same time he was a disciplinarian, and a body disciplinarian in order likely to make obedient. The two laggers of Bhatnagar were such obedient. They were of the kind, out of the kind. The fact is that the power of indiscipline lagging should never have been vested in the hands of Superintendents of Jails. They were taken away from the man. A detailed consideration of the prison administration and of these laggings must be reserved for a further occasion.

M. K. G.]

XIX

To M. K.

Yankee Central Prison

27th July, 33

The Governor of Bombay

Sir,

Your Excellency will I trust forgive me for according to my conversation of Bombay last. The now I think of what you said about the power of the Government about having regulations and enforcing sentences, the more I feel that you are right. I want venture that looked the special division regulations, I have always read out a strong recognition of the necessity of some such provision, but a reluctant and therefore a more passive concession to some public pressure. But if you are right in thinking that the law gives you no authority in



especially directly against Government policies or to reduce sentences, I must state my view of the Government's policy and all aspects of the people's case about themselves. I should like to be able to do so, all the more, as you tell me, you have personally framed the regulations in question. I have always considered you to be the best person to do things wisely or to appear to consider public sentiment when you did not wish to. I would be glad therefore to find that you intended vigorous enforcement whenever from the law itself the regulations only became the law without your helplessness.

But if your law officers advise you that the law does not concern you, as you thought it does, I hope you will do one of the two things:

(1) Inform me and my colleagues concerned by you by the special division or (2) logically include in the special division those persons imprisoned prisoners who are sentenced to the same work or life as we are.

I would ask Your Excellency to read and read my letter at last. They has obtained to the "Newspapers" together with this.

I remain

Yr. faithful servant,  
M. K. Gandhi

[This letter was written as a result of Mr. Bhandarkar's visit at which I discussed with him, when he passed me as to whether I had anything to say, the question of Special Division. I told him in short that in my opinion the Special Division Regulations were an oversight and were framed merely to divide the public from thinking that something was done to assist in the official prisoners' movement that their general subjugation seemed necessary. But the Government taking with the greatest assurance that he had no authority whatsoever in law to bring rigorous imprisonment prisoners within the special division. And when I returned to question the accuracy of his legal knowledge, he told me he ought to know as much as he had found the regulations himself. I was angry at the display of authority who went on such into it with as even to dare up regulations—a work that is generally left to legal officers. Although my knowledge of law has become very poor, I am, in spite of the intellectual nature in which the Government spoke I could not reconcile myself to the fact that the law had given the Government power to specify clearly only those imprisoned, and yet had those prisoners, and that it gave no direction to the Government to reduce sentences. Hence the foregoing letter. The reply received was that Mr. B. was a letter about the law and that the Government had the necessary power, but that in spite of that authority he could not see how we were to make the regulations as we wished all go to hell with a whole or anything a matter of the law. I pointed out to Mr. Bhandarkar that the Special Division Regulations were a most serious breach, and were in my, and said,

M. K. G.]

XX

The Superintendent, Yr. Faithful Servant,  
Y. C. P., 4th Sept. 1923

Sr.

With reference to the matter sent to the Government of India, I have been to see you.

You have today informed me that the Government have now decided to restrict the number of visitors to be permitted to see me to two, and that of the names was only Messrs. Bhandarkar and Divadkar. I should like to be permitted to see me by the Government's members.

As Mr. Bhandarkar has already permitted me to receive five visitors, I must consider that the present decision has been made on a whim. But I welcome the decision in as much as they have shown a great similar parallel to my colleague Mr. Tagore who is kept in the same block with me. And it is not beyond possibility, I would say, that I would be the feeling which I then saw was curiously allowed to me.

The case, however, of restricting the permitted only to Messrs. Bhandarkar and Divadkar stands on a different footing. It means that heretofore I am not to see any but such blood relations only as may be allowed. I must deny myself the usual privilege of receiving visitors twice every quarter. I had thought that the question of the qualifications of persons who were to be permitted to see me, was decided once for all. I have no desire to weary the Government by attending the argument contained in the previous correspondence on this subject. I can only state that the three friends whose names have been sent to the Government fall under the category of those who have been permitted to see me more for convenience referred to by me. And if I may not see those friends, when I regard in the same light as my blood relations, I must clearly get some other visitors still.

I observe that the Government have taken over a fortnight to give the decision you have communicated to me. Why I ask may be an early decision on this issue, so as to avoid unnecessary disputes here in there as who must to see me and to report?

Yours faithfully  
M. K. Gandhi,  
No. 10

XXI

Yr. Faithful Servant,  
4th November 1923

To the Superintendent,

Y. C. P.

Sr.

At the time you told my conviction Mr. Abhai Ghosh that the prison rules did not permit me to let him have that that you were that the authorized work, I informed you that your predecessor had allowed all my companions and me to receive a visit. I further informed you that it was unknown to me to enjoy a healthy life. Abhai Ghosh could not enjoy and that therefore my day too should be so red and as to be brought in harmony with the regulations, and the same is found in Mr. Abhai Ghosh's letter. I should mention the present matter and that I might do over the matter with the Inspector General, who would refer with the prison. I have waited now for over two days. I feel that it is to keep the peace of my mind, I will wait no longer and in my own I have nothing to discuss with the Inspector General. I have no complaint whatsoever to make against your decision regarding Mr. Abhai Ghosh. I recognize that you are so anxious even if you were asked to help my companion, that he is my companion



to make any resolution of the public regulations regarding this. All I am desirous of doing is to avoid an awkward controversy. You have kindly suggested that my disclaimer might have been conditioned by your professor's a modified assent. I know, however, as a matter of fact, that such could not be the case, for my friend has been the most warm and true friend this kind of my education in this job; and what is more to the point, my professor and I have, as has been already mentioned, been intimate friends in complete and disinterested regard to each other.

I repeat, therefore, to discontinue my correspondence with him. Wednesday next. My disclaimer will exceed the enclosed one. I am certain that I need 4 lbs. of your's as it is, but unless you will kindly write me to further change my disclaimer to include the cost to the enclosed one, I shall voluntarily decline to take the 4 lbs. of it all, and thus leave no remaining part.

I need hardly assure you that I contemplate the collection in no quarrelsome spirit. I fully sympathize with your decision regarding Mr. Abdul Qadir. I propose to make the change early for my later price, and in this I ask for your sympathy and approval.

Yours sincerely  
H. K. Ghosh,  
No 117

[The reader is warned not to read a warning into the letter which it was never intended to have. The letter is only published in order to explain the incident referred to in the letter, as it has been the spring source of much talk and speculation. And as the recollection of this is still so largely handed on villages, it is necessary to make it clear that there is no way a quarrel against the Superintendent's refusal to accept Mr. Abdul Qadir's request. Moreover Mr. Abdul Qadir had the right under the special privileges regulations to work for food and wages when he was an inmate of the Gaol, Mr. Yagya and I had none in this matter, but that it would not be proper for us to work for food from outside. The authorities would therefore not let us work outside the prison compound of any prisoners. The Superintendent, as well as the Inspector General of Prisons pleaded with us to desist from pursuing our claims. They warned us of the possible serious consequences of disobedience, but for the sake of our belief I had to take the risk. And since I do believe these I have gone through I do not need more that I took the one I did. Now should the matter in any way touch Mr. Abdul Qadir for having asked for a change of his diet. He asked for it after full consultation with me, and I approved of the change not knowing that the regulations would prohibit the Superintendent to grant the demand. I was misled into thinking so, because as stated in the letter, Mr. Yagya and other fellow prisoners were allowed by the previous Superintendent to change their diet from time to time. When I decided to resume full work after the refusal of Mr. Abdul Qadir, he told me to come to the office as from the prison, but it was not possible for me to leave the superintendent and I was absolutely clear to me that that was necessary for my position. H. K. G.]

## Notes

The Secretary of the National Convention are in a peculiar position. Mrs. Besant is the author of the motion, but it is not a particularly interesting one. The idea is that of the Revised Triple Conference short of the one feature that will give it reality. In our judgment, the Revised Triple is another road for a continuance of peace. Peace is to end a definite state of war or to avoid the possibility of war. The war is between Government and people, the representative of the people being the Congress. The essential condition of all peace negotiations is that the conflicting parties should meet face to face. Thus, the matter will never come to this settlement. If one of the parties is overwhelmingly strong or overwhelmingly weak, you can have a forced peace. That is what happened at Versailles. The Allies met together and after infinite consulting among themselves proceeded in such terms which were forced in their inability only by mutual fatigue. They were finally imposed upon Germany and her Ministers signed the "Treaty", but the history of the last four years has been a continuous and constant effort to escape from the consequences of the disaster. We do not want a similar fate here, though the consequences might work themselves out in a slightly different way. Even the war will not be of any lasting benefit to the Government but of a rather ill. What will happen is this. The Convention will select a Commission (the Besant's promised visitation of government or some other), there will be a declaration that it will be the settlement acceptable to both or one done in the days of the Congress-League Session of 1907; the Government will not surrender the forward; the Commission will go into business of representation at the long last, the leaders of government will and by making the great statement of "Nationalism". We cannot imagine anything more disastrous to the public life of the country than this. We are almost led to think that it is one of the inevitable burdens of Federalism. There is no longer among politicians, because it will always be done to the tribe to explain away the breach of pledges on the ground that the principle of another business involves concessions and so on, as the conclusion that the members were not more vital than that was because there was a lack in the weakness of the first house. This is the whole of our objection to the machinery of Conventions. Let us clearly recognize facts. The fact is that the Englishmen go here, and they have convinced themselves as the result of one hundred and fifty years of unbroken rule that there is the final word of wisdom and practical effectiveness. There is no one preventing them with self-complacency. Englishmen are not going to accept such. What is more, it may not be very paralytic on the part of the ruling class. Unconquered India experience is clearly different from executive European experience. The long years of slavery have played many hypocrisies, and lack of governing experience is one. The only reason by which the dignity of the Congress, our public men, and the country can be saved is to avoid the way of any party non-official Government. We do not dispute the need for deep and



meaning thought and even the exchange of consent. Let us leave constitutions and preferables to tackle specific problems of administration and politics. As a matter of fact some of them are already there. The Committee of Dr. Ambedkar and Late Laurel Kall is investigating the terms of the Statute Book. But it will be commendatory to those who have to take final decisions. But the decisions themselves should be taken after exhausting them to the critical examination of which need to be the professional administration. In other words, if there is to be any way at all, it can be only that of the Round Table, where official and non-official, Englishmen and Indians will meet. We concede that if the mood indicated by the Mahatma Halfway were to emerge, Englishmen, the Conference will break down in a short while. But we think better of Englishmen than the House Member does. There will be men demonstrated enough to see that the irreconcilable days are at an end, and that it is their duty and perhaps to make of the problem of a new instrument of government. If the two necessary agencies of the Conference come together, there should be no previous obstacle in the path of final settlement.

\*  
\* \*

If indeed a Round Table Conference should be convened, there will be numerous matters of importance to be discussed on the table. We shall be content to mention two of the former writers. If the Congress decides to take part in the Conference, which is the main thing as Mr. Gandhi's taking part is in season as he is already strong enough to do it, it will be the formal recognition of the movement of Non-Cooperation. The task of the Conference will be impossible without co-operation between official and non-official, that is, between Government and Congress. There is an awful gulf between co-operation and Non-Cooperation, as we have often noted in the contrast of our Indian the Government, and the storm of the Congress in the Conference should be demonstrated with a clear perception of its significance and consequences. The question is really fundamental, and there should be further conclusion not necessary in it. The matter is basic. The question involves the choice between two national policies. We are not so superstitious as to imagine that Non-Cooperation is any on this or on any other basis as perpetual day. We are forced to non-cooperation to the end that immediate co-operation may be possible. By the very hypothesis of co-operation in the Conference, everything else becomes clear. But there should be no mistake. We should be selected at the original occasion of our birth. In 1910, when Non-Cooperation began, there were two lines of the Khilafat and after Punjab. In reference to the latter, the Congress had taken its stand on the Report of its Committee, and demanded that a certain number of officials, Congressmen and Indians, who had been guilty of murder should be discharged from the service of India and that no payment should be made to them from Indian revenues. The Khilafat demand was different, and the method of its settlement was also different. Turkey was then in great peril and part of the burden on the Muslims of India was the establishment of the Khalif as a proper body of

security and power. A great deal has happened subsequently, and it is not for us now to discuss to define the need or meaning of Islamic duty. But the thing may be put more more as it was put by Mr. Gandhi long ago. It is for the Government of India to say whether they are satisfied with the British Government's manner of dealing with Turkey and the Khalif. If they are satisfied, it will be hardly for the British to quarrel with England on that issue. If the Muslims are not satisfied, it will be for the British to come to a decision as to the steps to be taken. However, we may be sure. It is highly unlikely that British will reduce their support in the case of any manifestly reasonable demand. But in any event both in the Punjab struggle and the attack on the Khalif, there must be a settlement, just as surely as there should be national self-determination in the government of the country. Without a clear understanding on these important issues, there can be no co-operation with the Government and therefore no Round Table Conference. We don't say much however whether in the present atmosphere, the two questions can be decided in such a way as to satisfy the demands of national unity. But we should not on the account doubt of a Conference. Let it be understood that the Conference will have complete liberty to make any recommendations or bring about a settlement of the quarrel between the two parties. We feel confident that even that the Conference will say back upon the two problems. There may be a hundred other points in respect of which the Congress may wish to agree. But we refuse to believe that having agreed on other vast questions involving the future of the British Empire in India, responsible Englishmen and Indians will give away questions and unable to arrive at a formula of accommodation about the problem of these officials or the right to hold the newly created of India or Intrigue-dilemma Palestine.

\* \*

There is just one more thought with which it is best to close. The future slowly mentioned are no doubt of value, but there is no consideration in them. The deal must will be said now, as it is now to be said as long as we live, by Mr. Gandhi. We do not know his mind in the matter and perhaps it is who that the people does not know it all he aims to take the people into his confidence, but we have already adapted as our own thought, that he needs further before his accomplishment. He fought a harder fight in South Africa and proved his power undiminished for nearly a decade. His right hand has not forgotten its meaning nor has his loyalty to truth suffered any dimming. But with the word of decision comes, the ultimate choice of politics is the area future must reach again.

Club Feb. 1954

G. J.

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where they live. It is here that the doctrine of non-violence, in its widest sense, becomes not only an ideal but also a compelling necessity. Non-violence in action is a command of patriotism if it is only Government that is concerned. But we know it is not so. Government is purely subordinated by Allah god by, but that is not matter of complaint, because it is unhelpful and such subordination is inevitable. The religious freedom means, at least ought to mean, religious freedom not only for the Sikhs but for everybody else. That is an assurance which can come only from a state of public opinion. From the conviction that the job of the Sikhs in India was with Government will not impart the freedom of others. It is here that non-violence in thought and word emerges of paramount importance. For, let them be so realistic about it. The Sikhs are, at present an isolated people in the Punjab. Hindus and Muslims are placed deep in the communal rifts. What time they can spare from it, they are not inclined to give to the Sikhs. Moreover the anti-colonialists; there was no exception. Dr. Kitchin, and he is in full Hindu and deeply anti-Sikh, and one modern whose eyes to the future in the Orientals is broadly and slightly hostile. Furthermore as there is, a social political. The Sikhs are fighting against Government, and wherever has a hand in reducing it to confusion divided equally, without too clearly recognizing his words. Beyond that there is nothing. All this will be done and enough satisfaction. We are well-set that the cause for which the Sikhs stand is really just and deserves to succeed. But it is not for that very reason we are anxious the Sikhs should not themselves fight with Hindus and Mohammedans. The very statement of their aim in the struggle and the obvious unwillingness of the other communities to have a share in it, is a serious factor retarding quick and decisive development. The only way of doing it will be by widening the range of cooperation. Let the Sikhs wake up their mind, Hindu and Mohammedan alike, that victory can and should come only with the goodwill of other communities, to other words, they should see that non-violence in thought, word and deed is integrally connected and that one efficient non-violence in fact had ceased to be, showed false thought and otherwise.

\* \*

The actual incidents of misunderstanding are many of which we had complained when the Congress at Lahore took place in December last. The what is more important is contained in the psychology which brought them about. The year 1923 was that of Gura-ha-hugh, the year of change. Nearly everywhere with a was the weakening of the Congress though here and there controversy. The Sikhs knew what they wanted, and had a definite plan of action to carry it. The Hindu-Mohammedan trouble began and for the moment the Congress became antagonistic with the Sikhs in the Punjab. Congress was a place of hostility in the Province it is not desirable surprising that the Sikhs, the rich and powerful were against them. All that the Hindus were

showed was that the future was in their hands. The consequence was that a small number of Congress and back of me marked the Allah attitude. No one was able to grasp the strength of the Sikhs or of their conviction. It will be help and kindness to be capable of the mind, that they considered one situation. They contemplated their own strength and under-estimated that of the Hindus. Thus it was that the distance from non-violence in thought and word became distance. It alienated the attention and sympathy of the Hindus nearly completely. The relation between Sikhs and Mohammedans was more cordial in the beginning; but they were led on the basis of friendship based on a common goal. It was well and good from the beginning, but even that disappeared during the time of Hindu-Mohammedan trouble in Lahore and Amritsar last year. Sikhs refused to take sides in the quarrel. It was a wise decision; but a moment the end of the growing Sikh-Muslim unity. The consequence was that when the blow came to Lahore but the Sikhs found themselves alone. The trouble their plan, it may be said. We do not wish so. The Indian problem is one of necessarily cross-pressure with the Government by making the co-operation amongst communities complete. It is a difficult policy, but it will be absolutely impossible, unless we over the label on the wall mark of non-violence. Every day that passes strengthens us in the conviction that the worst phase of the Allah struggle would long ago have ended in success if there was one friendly between the Sikhs and the other communities.

\* \*

If we believe me, it has long been since Lord Dufferin has taken part in any Indian debate. We are not sure that he is not the greatest Englishman now alive, but he is certainly the greatest representative of the entire British that have made England famous and created her position among Governments. His observations on the future of India at this time after the Indian war merits of respectful regard. There is one of them which calls for no answer. Here is Lord's summary of the passage:

"Lord Dufferin thought that the Legislature had perhaps given up its sense of the fact that we were doing simply as a thing upon a natural movement towards more mixed institutions in India and that we were doing so with a happy and useful course, and that in India bringing our policy was only hindering the progress that when her Legislature, situated as the Dominions, would prevail in India. He was convinced that this separation was one of the most profound Hindus. These modern demands of India had taken our institutions, and protected themselves for our institutions but without necessarily modifying the rights by which alone such institutions could be properly worked."

Lord Dufferin is a highly accomplished constitutionalist and it is quite remarkable that he has been exempted to take an even wider, qualifying share or other for the separation as it stands is considered by nearly every bar of recent history. That India is



In the middle of a journey which I would term, less of expediency, & more of a quest, to the heart of a white "British India," I cannot but regret that I am placed among judged by any reasonable definition, the desire of India for representative institutions and the craves of her democratic politicians the only subject left for this occasion, the burning question which stirred the national Indian pulse was brought up what Europe calls general suffrage, or whether Europe's interpretation was colored by misunderstanding as is the fundamental issue appearing in it, or by partial prejudice, is altogether left. The only factor that enters in the psychology of those who take part in politics. As far as that is concerned, there is not a scrap of doubt. The whole process of Indian politics is certainly responsible government. We shall not pause here to discuss the comparative situation revealed by the British India Act, Indian responsible government, and Dominion Government. The ideal of political India is developed by the nation that originally came from England and its evolution is steadily pursued. We do not propose for a minute that the goal at which we shall arrive will be the same as that of England. God forbid! The particular lesson that works Lord Balfour, the facility with which we have taken to the use and adoption of English phrases and notions, is the lesson of our adoption. English has transformed our life. The lesson will go only when a new system of education is set up. Till then, the current fundamental English will persist and the Indian love of our Lord Balfour will reach up to it.

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But there is something more than an attack on the "surrender" of the two world powers. The British Government asked for change that it is responsible for the introduction of the current pace of progress. Here, however, it is not a matter of opposition. The God would choose of our time was the British India Act. The writer of these Reminiscences, as it is more properly, the share of the world which the new came to this that Lord Balfour had proposed the institution of Legislative Councils with a non-official majority. These were the days of youth and youth were seen in their brevity. It seemed as if the last farred part of our glorious past in her book. There were in truth, it's position in the temple of legends. Once plotted and beauty, there was not a single thing collected by the British scheme that could not have been collected by another declaration. But the institutional under the British Act killed the Act, and they were framed by the Government. The whole thing that happened immediately with the British India Act is well within recent memory. As for the machine that go to the making of democratic government, as discredited here by institution a series of letters and pamphlets sent to the mouth of Government. Machine is sufficient. Social hierarchy responsible here, those who asked, considered in the spirit of the British India Act as a Commission in the Army. The adoption of them is in that Government for its benefit, already desirable, requires his share to provide the growth of Responsible Government.

## Hindu Muslim Unity

(By C. P. Arundel)

On board the ship during some of the moments of a great, almost change, which we set to provide the very atmosphere of thought, when we came from the Mediterranean into the Gulf of Suez and moved down the Red Sea I shall never forget the first evening and night, when we had come out of the Suez Canal into the Red Sea and in a splendour of gold and red, and the stars came out one by one, like great sparkling in the sky, and then the moon rose and the stars grew pale. While the moon ascended up the sky, the waves faded like heralds, and gathered about. On the left hand, Mount Sinai, in Arabia, stood out darkly, towering high above the lower hills. The ash and honey of Europe had been left behind,—the sunny amber days, the cloudy tapestries of night, the glow of artificial light, the white of innocent India, the endless multitude of warm human faces, for whom daily life the sound of business had become a dream vision. That sense of wild and good and artificial human existence had somehow vanished in giving us warm France and down the Indian Mediterranean Sea. Even at the very gates of Suez still the atmosphere had been heavy and warm. There had been splendour in the air we breathed. But at last, in the Red Sea, the sea was shifting to a shadowy sky, and at night the moon was on her throne. Over there, in Arabia, was silence and peace. That was good.

The scenery was in no way close, on that first day and night after Arabia had been sighted, how thousands of years ago the Prophet, Abraham (as he is called) had gazed at this self-same sky which was shadowy then as I look at it now. He had watched the sun setting on the west, and the stars shone and shining again. He had seen the same darkness, lay the sky and waking to light. Then the immense splendour had come to him, in a sudden instant of wonder thought, and he had cried out from the depths of his soul, "The sun, the moon and the stars do and fall. They wax and wane. They are mortal. But God is Changeless and Eternal."

God is Great! God is Great! This is the cry of the desert and the solitudes. It is the cry to be heard from the Jewish people, where home is the desert and whose pathway is across the Arabian hills and under the night sky. The hills of the desert, the Jewish people, because in the course of ages the changing look of Islam, it comes with it a trumpet call. It is the call, stronger than death, to the Divine Unity, the Truth, God is One.

The ship went on its way, and when I came to India a bright dawn, I had gained from the eyes of the desert solitudes a hard, many coloured and diverse in its nature, where the greatest truth is shaped each year by the various customs and which possibly close it were with fresh customs and life. Modified as by change and transformation in India, the new tradition, the whole atmosphere with living light and guidance lies in the bright beauty of the earth. The dark blue robe slowly came and go in



dark masses, belonging to their full growth the seeds which have been sown. Colour and varied growth and the words of flowering trees are on every hill. Winds and evening "underneath" in the air. It is good to be alive and to feel the glow of the sun by day and the tender peace of the purple heavens at night. There are a myriad channels through which all this flowing beauty flows, and yet the least of life has declined into an immortal age. "God is One, the Advertiser, the One without a Second. Mine, told indeed to His, of countless times and myriad names, yet ever Undivided. Infinite is His and Divine, yet ever the Same, ever the One, God is One."

India is India has recently found its new period through with the teaching of the Advertiser, which she and of various faiths had declined. It has found, in its way, the truth of the Advertiser with the truth of the Truth. The old gods have many lives some of which are in the world of the One, while by the with the Hindu faith, bring all men of knowledge in their common way from the Divine Unity.

Krishna, standing at the entrance of the two great streams of Eastern religions brought which have made their home in India, has been called by Hinduism and Buddhism alike a, their own. The above-mentioned legend tells, here in the midst of a world of words about the death of the Father's body after death, all that was found remaining was a lamp of white flowers, the symbol of God's Unity. In the Hindu faith, the religious experience after death is a part of harmony where all suffering seemed to vanish in the beauty of pure tolerance and natural love. The whole history of India is told in a religious growth, whereby all barriers have been broken down, thus, Krishna sought and found in both religions the vision of the One.

In later times Mahatma Gandhi's Yoga returned to India the power of the One, of his own religion for Mahatma to-day stands as a symbol for the end of the history of his progress, the One, Mahatma's Yoga.

Even of all, Mahatma Gandhi, like a second Krishna is called by Hinduism and Buddhism as their own, He is loved by Mahatma with a devotion as true and deep as that which is given to him by Hinduism. Thus, from age to age, the people of India have been seeking the religious within his own heart and finding himself in the higher synthesis of the whole world of the world. When all the present political and economic struggles are ended, the will be remembered as India's greatest gift to mankind.

#### Two Contributions

1. Please send in the last issue of Young India in P. 11, volume 2, last 12, together. General of Police in place of Inspector General of Police.

2. Also send in P. 11, volume 2, last issue, Feb. 19 in place of Jan. 19.

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Manager, Young India

## A Condition of Congress Membership

The All India Khadi Board has heard an avowed that every Congress member should have at least one spinning wheel working in his family. This would only re-emphasize the importance with which Khadi had captured the core Congress membership. One of the main objects of the Congress organization is the production and collection of handspun Khadi for all other cloth. Membership is any organization is meaningless unless it stands with it active maintenance and cooperation in the whole-hearted subscription by the organization. It is not merely an array of greater sympathies that we seek to add in the Congress Khadi. We say so because that the whole of India is sympathetic and there is no need to explain. It is only if there should be something more in membership, namely, sympathy in the Khadi of the organization that there could be any material in the movement of material as a member. It follows, therefore, that every member must, in order to consider himself as such, regularly give a portion, however small it may be, of his own or family's time to the working of hand-spun. He must spin Khadi and help in the production of Khadi. The Khadi movement has concluded that every man and woman can do his or her bit for it. Every man that spins regularly helps in the production of Khadi.

No person who has not a spinning wheel regularly in his home can claim himself a Congress member. Difference of view there may be in other matters, but in this programme of revival of Khadi, there is no doubt or difference, and no person can truly claim to be a member of the Congress, which works for the renaissance of spinning, unless there is a big spinning wheel in his own home and production. It would be a false pretence to be going about as a Congress member without one's family this primary condition of membership. The solution is that not a few "workers" are to do Congress work, and that the members are a whole body of sympathizers, should be got rid of. Every member is a pledged worker. It would be ridiculous for a member of a Temperance Association with a negative programme of abstention from drink, to indulge in alcohol simply because he is only an ordinary member. No less important is it for essential members of a great organization, with a positive programme of making every family spin, to remain without spinning themselves. During the Gandhi March, every one should be able to see his right in this respect. The Khadi is the primary condition of Congress membership, as essential as the second thread is to the Kutchi.

The programme of work this past winter saved Khadi. On the one hand, it was the duty of Khadi, it is more than enough for all the progress we have in view. It will add the power of the political, social and economic with that we are adding in Khadi. On the other hand, it was all this year to complete our Khadi programme, we shall have passed ourselves together in the way of any addition of more spinning. The Khadi Board (Department) cannot but see the atmosphere is ready and that every circumstance is favourable. We are doing



imagines that his own small efforts would mean anything. The he often encourages such, and certainly in some respects that I can single out, they should be put away but he still has a feeling of being needed and that it is in the working order, he who has not should know his limitations, and perhaps should work to reach a goal.

C. H.

## Young India

12-3-49

### The Root-Need

The long, exposed and choppy speech of the Secretary of State was made in the House of Lords on Tuesday, week before the last. We are neither shocked nor pleased. Indian states stand just where they did before the speech was made and before the present Government came into power. Beyond the scenery, there is nothing in reality to see.

But there are a number of observations the Indian suggests. They are accurate but it is the last sentence of Lord Oliver, one of course, they are the uniquely product of the atmosphere of usually with which current politics is beset. Thus Lord Oliver made a speech which it was impossible for Lord Pool to have made may be accurately also that it contained some of the inaccuracies and ineptitudes of Indian politicians. But that does not make much. The reason is obvious. The present Secretary of State was a member of the Labour Government, Lord Pool belongs to the Conservative Party and is the descendant of a famous Conservative statesman. The Indian belongs to the Government from the Top. There was no bluffing in the speech of Lord Oliver. The charges about Mr. Gandhi had before was charging, and we shall certainly not quarrel about the departmental charges about the consequences about his meetings. Lord Oliver being an experienced politician was old and doesn't like the whole lot which Mr. Nehruvian told very easily but his election, the whole of his speech, that he was a politician.

But when all this is considered, what is there left in the sphere of action? Now, what all politicians concerned with India whether outside or inside. We suggest, with all respect, that all policy should be in the hands of India, there is no one else. We do not say to be sent to the Netherlands in the Assembly or the Senate and all, but the truth is that the Round Table Conference on which they returned to the very foundation of India in the future had no acceptance at the hands of the Secretary of State. The Royal Commission on which the Liberals founded their hopes has been rejected with an equally definite gesture. We are left with Sir Malcolm Murray's promise of a departmental enquiry. There is nothing in this which may not have come from Lord Pool himself. For, in the natural course of things, the Secretary Royal Commission to give a few years ahead and there is nothing strange in the intention of attempts to get the matter ready

for the Commission. In writing this, we do not discuss here our mind the fact that the Cabinet in consultation with the Government of India will soon decide measures to get into contact with the Indian side of India. That may or may not be. It is just a play of the future. It is the speech of the Secretary of State that is not yet-considered now, not what the future holds. God will take care of that.

The continuation of this remarkable phenomenon, of a Labour Minister moving in circles the very consideration of a Tory, is certainly simple. But it is by no means just of the considered consequences of the movement for national freedom. But the matter is clear beyond the shadow of a doubt. As far as India is concerned, this, visible and high reasonable side are not effects of party, they are of the very nature of national being. There is nothing in the vital facts of Imperial Government in India which can be separated of its roots of unity. India is a national interest of England (perhaps there is no other which is greater) and one to deal with only by common political regard. That was how the Mountbatten Act was passed, that was how the Mountbatten Report came into operation. Whatever in the future also it becomes the business of Parliament to regulate Indian freedom, the same procedure is sure to be followed. We make a protest of these obvious considerations to our fellow-countrymen who believe that the acceptance of Labour in power means the end of any trouble or shadow from our work.

There are some questions that Lord Oliver asked in all his speech, or perhaps he is not so interested in his will have to believe. His way of honestly we shall get on if several come suddenly in the night, what we shall do to light the lantern from outside, to tell our eye with the Indian inside our bodies. We are called to action to be in, and there is no reason. While our hand is stretched in his hand of hands about them that we are not going to be saved by the prospect of independence, India solved their problems in the days of her freedom and is continuously re-organizing even today. Against Greeks, Egyptians, Africans, Persians, Turks and the countless tribes of the West have been in many episodes in her history. Our fathers battled with them when there was need, only India when there was need, but the course of the past life was unobstructed. Muslims and Arabs and Mohammedans were slaves, empty slaves, in the calm waters of her being. Whatever it is the course is now, and Mohammedans they will not be swayed by their enemies.

The truth is no more than this, and left be added, it is no less. Whether Lord Oliver means freedom or no, India has more freedom only in one condition. What she desires will be the full freedom for her, not what I repeat. And this may be an inability of difficulty in accomplishing her aim, it may be through a Royal Commission or through a Round Table Conference, or it may be through informal conversations, all this is detail. But when India has had her say, England must be prepared to stand by her demands. As long as a ministerial Secretary of State refuses to recognize and if necessary severely themselves in this connection, there will be no power in this country.







"I should have asked your views," said the head of Mr. Tabor.

"I was not a moment out of place," he said. "It seems much kind indeed on the part of our volunteers. They did it all with pleasure and good cheer. Though they knew they were in for a thankless task, Mr. Mitchell had some time ago laid upon the volunteer idea at the Council house. He had suggested that volunteers, paid if necessary, should be posted outside the place to insure the Indians to collect money in advance from individuals who brought their own loads to sell to the place system. That he thought would serve a double purpose, provide them with capital in the shape of money with which to trade and encourage spending in the village and also test the susceptibility of the individual to new lines of political propaganda. Besides, the Council had thought substantial appropriations to volunteers to test and improve their marketing power."

While Mr. Tabor passed a while at it expounding a question from one and added: "We had no money committed to the job, though it was wholly advisable that those in twenty regions would be paid for 'work' work, not love, than love was forthcoming. In this place we had eighteen men, but we could not count on. We started with ten." Day after day the hour national began stood below the place in the hot sun out to the collection camp with their contents they showed a gift of at least one hundred of value to the local Khadi Board. "The collection men of their ready give. There were but few who turned a deaf ear to our appeals. It was as much and encouragement. For it showed to us that the villagers were still sound at heart and could be relied on to further our cause."

"What was the total collection?" I inquired curiously.

"I was just coming to the old Mr. Tabor. "We have now with us over thousand more work of value but their resources to be much more than the country's wealth. We hope to have a new store or two there this year in our expanding operations. We were not content with the what we have made, but for the next year the Council will bring us cotton by Indian labor with which now we have covered up all this precious cotton in our Khadi store at Dhafe. These collections have also been made in the Khadi store and we propose to use it all for making cheap Khadi for those villages which gave us help at their cost. The same volunteers who stood before the place and carried the collections into parlor with their own will have, the risk of the village. Thus the village will get back cheap clothing for their clothes and besides, there would be created an hydrophic living bond of confidence between the rural collector and the rural Khadi market."

#### The Village Talk

The head of which Mr. Tabor talked so eloquently was already coming to be known at least at the village in the Piplodha. The Khadi Board visited more than one important rural marketing and marketing again in the District and everywhere they saw the village population only partially and even eager to tell him the whole story. At Rajpura and at Kumbhari,

two villages not far from Dhafe, the people consented not only to visit, rather for their women to sell, but also volunteered to provide their neighbors in other villages to do Piplodha. At the same place, the Khadi and the Indians all met together at the village Council and on their being asked why the collection inevitably did all their cotton the answer came promptly that the women from who looked all business and no meaning. "It is a better to have cotton, gin, card, and spin and weave. And the price offered for the raw cotton being fairly high we had no reason to sell our produce."

So it was at Rajpura?

"It is not a better?" asked C. R. "to have a cow and keep sheep a day after day?" The answer was a loud laugh. "Yes we prefer to do this and not buy milk from outside for the children." "Of course," they said.

"Is it not positively undesirable to keep a family order?" and yet we do not avoid anything on that account?" They laughed again.

"Is it not preferable to go out in the sun and talk with the sun all over our bodies at the field? Yet do you not wear head?" You think them as the first and of your business."

"It was a pleasure to be talking that the little hat will be your village and to be always preparing to defend your houses. So we will the village to the whole way."

And every man with questions. They came heavy and thick like balloons and swifter as the innocent village men of whom had just started out in children's language the simple the girl and boys as to see if another field out time day to day. The village men had talked about the impossibility of keeping the cotton began to look positively foolish and such late blunder. But he realized that will want to make up life, and escape from it meant death. But he had hardly worked all that he got for his simple answer, for he more than anyone else had helped to divert to the village the one valuable asset to rural economic development.

#### The Dhangra

Now the the prosperity of one village had suffered by reason of the cotton trade in the years was more slowly seen at Malpur than at Kumbhari. Malpur is a little village but situated on a slight elevation overlooking the cotton fields that stretch up to Doodhich, a red soil on the blue line, west to Rajpura. There is no straight road to Malpur. The route is past through a country which looks more like a wretchedly improved land use much of which is now through many miles of heavy sand, constantly giving and through very often being difficult even for a bullock cart to pass. The bridge cloth had passed years before though there were many streams and difficult paths and had covered the village population of Malpur. Malpur has three hundred houses in all. There are five Khadi families, twenty Malpur weavers, and numerous from, besides the Dhangra as the people who depended for temporary other houses. These last were still continuing to sell and, where women knacks. The sort of circumstances in recent years had been adverse even to them and they























before Indian Universities were constituted, before Lord Curzon wrote his fatal minutes. Promoters of universal education, the men of old methods are hardly extinct and the secret of their methods may lie with them. The reconstruction of these curricula may mean the abandonment of peddled history and geography, but the prospect does not dim at us in the distance. We have been trying to get at the elements of the old curricula at least in one part of the country and we dare write in all conscience that they strike us as infinitely more efficient and satisfactory than the latest thing come out of France. But we confess it is a layman's opinion. That is why we should like to have the matter investigated by experts. If it is done and its consequences laid, we are confident that the work of the hand will have reason to be highly thankful and our correspondents will have less reason to be critical of the educational activities of the Congress.

### The Root Objection

A document dated the 1st of February 1904 and signed by me at Lahore and headed by Dr. Isaac Sir Joseph Wilson has been reproduced in an elaborate paper (dated 13th November 1903) on the Status of Indians abroad. As it has been used in support of a scheme of Indian colonization in British Colonies and as it is stated in that paper "so large as known it will represent Mahatma Gandhi's attitude towards British Colonies," it is necessary to make my readers clear. The statement made by me in the February of 1904 is as follows:—

"Lahore, 1st February 1904.

From the start Mr. Gandhi made it perfectly clear that he was not prepared to take any step that could be construed as a parental mismanagement by him to Indians to leave India. He was not in favour of the emigration of Indians. At the same time he pushed that many laid different views on this point and he was equally well in favour of being recognized by legislative or executive action to exempt Indians on any of these. They should be treated as free citizens at home and abroad. They should, naturally, however, be protected from misrepresentation. He was willing to prevent people emigrating save except a Police of the Indian Republic which would give an certificate that the man (who is the regulation preventing the emigration of coloured Indians for work abroad, until six months after the war, unless under special or granted license.)

These are the chief points he (Gandhi) was in regard to political, educational, legal, commercial and industrial matters in British Colonies, and this day was not alone removing his treatment from the educational and the general community but would be permitted the maintenance of such law but must, he would not oppose any scheme of free movement by Indians upon official sanction.

He was anxious that the Colony had a liberal constitution, and that Indians ought to and were desired to membership of the Legislature and to municipal office. He was anxious that they had equality of rights with other races, and that there were opportunities of acquiring land for settlement. He was in favour of allowing a test of the scheme subject to a report at the end of six months on the motion by Mr. G. S. Andrews or some other representative of the Indian people in London. The displacement

accepted the proposal of a report by a popular representative independently of any supervising office sanctioned by the Indian Government, and offered to pay all expenses.

Mr. Gandhi agreed that all necessary guarantees for the maintenance of equal treatment would be furnished by the Colonial Office and British Colonies Commission through the Government of India to the Indian people and its popular leaders.

It was hardly fair to use this statement in support of any scheme. It could only be used for preparing a trial document under the supervision of Mr. C. F. Andrews or some one having the same status and having the same intimate knowledge of the position of British Indians abroad. But I admit that if such a trial period succeeded then the Indian movement, I should be bound, under the foregoing statement, not to oppose a scheme of colonization under proper safeguards. My view, however, since the February of 1904 about the British system of Government, have, as we well know, undergone a revolutionary change. At the time I gave the statement my faith in that system, on spite of better hostile experiences, had not altogether disappeared. But now I am able no longer to risk even voted as written promises made by persons working under that system and in their capacity as officials or supporters. The history in Indian emigrants to South Africa, East Africa and Egypt a history of broken promises and of ignominious surrender of their land by the Imperial Government and the Indian Government wherever it has been a question of conflicting interests of Europeans against Indians. The benefit of Emigration here almost succeeded in East Africa in helping the Imperial Government who surrendering the prime rights of Indian settlers there. In South Africa the Indian settlers' law is treacherous to the balance. In Egypt the Indian is still the under dog. There is no reason to suppose that British Colonies of the last years will be an exception. The moment Indians become accessible to the Emigration is that Colony, that very moment all guarantees, written or verbal, will disappear. Filled with this idea I cannot of the British Imperial system, I am unable to countenance any scheme of migration to British Colonies, no matter how promising it may appear on paper and no matter what promises may be given for due fulfillment of the pledges given. The benefits that may accrue to the Indian emigrants under any such scheme will be illusory. I am therefore unable to countenance the proposed scheme of Indian colonization in British Colonies. I do not intend to give my opinion a short consideration with the British Colonies Department because of the root objective stated above. If I had to express my opinion upon the merits of the scheme, the ordinary rule of courtesy would have bound me, before saying anything harmful to it, to meet the British Colonies Department and understand their view-points. But all India has come to her own and has a government fully responsible to her people and she officially to protect Indian settlers who had been neglected, can any advantage accrue to Indian emigrants even under all such schemes.

17th March 1904

As Sept.

M. K. Gandhi







needed and they have shown the most extreme common sense. They have done all they can to satisfy the King's Government, and the Council. The fact for me is a tragedy of the Government was that the King's Government could be carried on. Now it is three days to a week that Government is the country and people responsible at least in the extent of its activities. On the important question whether the country will be prepared to bring in the representatives, it has, as yet, not the Council, to consider it as altogether any of answer. We believe that the response in these has been there all through, and will be there as long as the present system lasts. The need is leadership and courage in high places. Mr. Jinnah's speech Feb. 4 is perfectly right in holding that the running down of the demands for grants and the logically only in our case, the non-payment of taxes. But logic is one thing and the answer to this demand much more is different.

The following from the "Manchester Guardian" will be of interest.

It is more to the purpose, perhaps, for us here, to reflect on the manner in which the extraordinary strength of the political weapon which has, during the last three years, come into use under the guise of order for discipline, the very essence of reaction. The dangerous demonstration and that given, as my large scale, by the "Reorganisation" through their former strikes here. First, in the original form, was an organisation for steadily passing resolutions—the simple meaning of everything (English or Indian) and the Post Office, the tax, a failure and the difference. What was the opportunity of the war led to the reformation of actual relations for the original plan, the experiment might have worked out in something substantially troublesome and descending to England. And now the Punjab is the laboratory for testing the untried force of the change are required which does not imply and yet may doubt it is a failed system that all government should rest in the control of the present in the modern world even in India, it began to look as if any Government might be driven out of gear if a considerable number of its subjects started themselves up to the point of doing as you like and whatever is left should even the act of voting in the process. The Home Office was very to wait and when she was suspended the use of the language in the Indian by word, and in the Punjab Government really were what it might be to do now? The common belief of us all has been to regard steadily passing resolutions, the simple watching as was the very rudiments of order organisation, as a simple majority mechanism. On the last resort, in the face of extraordinary force meeting need. Through the point is not yet clear, it is possible that we may yet have to accept our conception of political force and recognise a code principle in that of having the other think a clearer official order and not merely a principle of what, known only as "abstract and freely accepted."

## Khadi Notes

### Khadi Boards

Since the establishment of the All India Khadi Board at Coimbatore in 1936 provincial boards have been formed in the following provinces: Bengal, United Prods, Madras, Kutch, Rajasthan and United Provinces. Khadi Boards are also already established in Gujarat, Punjab, Baluchistan, Andhra, Orissa, North C. P. and Bihar. Other provinces are also expected to form such boards soon.

The Bengal Khadi Board is presided by Shri Krishna C. K. Das. The secretary is Shri. Mahendra Kumar Mukherjee. It now numbers eighteen the whole board. The veteran Khadi leader Acharya P. C. Ray and Shri P. C. Ghosh are amongst them.

An expert group named Khadi Panel has been already working systematically in Bengal for several months under the guidance of Acharya Mah. Ray. Shri. Krishna Chandra Das Gupta is in charge of it. They are working specially in the famous industrial area of north Bengal. Some centres are selected and trained workers are placed in charge of them. Domestic and rural systems have been formulated and power looms of various kinds have been supplied to such centres. We have received a set of them and on going through them we find that the whole work is well managed.

They have selected their own Khadi, and working statement to meet their own requirements. A fully illustrated and well-written book on the use of these implements has also been published in Bengali, a literature which is pronounced as superior of that has been printed in this subject till now. The Panel has also commenced to publish bulletins giving out our information about cotton and other things, and is going into the very root of the whole problem. They are also supplying cotton seeds of local varieties. I am hoping to see of them. We have been unable to hear about the Khadi and the working statement they have selected, but we shall do so as a future course.

The United Prods Khadi Board is under the presidency of Shri. Hemachandra Sahar. The secretary is Shri. Bhambhani. There are six other members who with the president and secretary form the board. Shri. Hargovinddas is one of them. The board has well begun its work. It has opened a training department in a school centre near Tanpura, where there is a number of spinners and good cotton available. It is placed in charge of Shri. Bhambhani, who is in-charge of Balaramdas Khadi school and a veteran Khadi worker. He will act himself to improve the locally used Khadi and the working law which are of a low working power, and is going to get the yarn spun finer still, and sharpen the cloth fibres. The programme laid by Shri. Bhambhani in the school centre with doubt as to the success of it is to be continued in time.

The Kutch Provincial Khadi Board has been formed with Shri. Karna Khambhani as honorary. More funds have not been received yet. The headquarters is Tanpura. A Khadi school is being established in the province of Kutch. Khadi is popular for the last two



months. The master also is Miss Krishna Rao, who is superintendent of Sahasrabudhi school. He is an expert and industrious worker. The school is maintaining regular financial deflection. A grant was given to it at the instance of the Technical Branch of the All India Khadi Department, but even the Technical Khadi Board is asked again to remove the difficulty and put the institution on a sound basis.

The Karnataka Provincial Khadi Board has Mr. Subash Chandra as its president. Mr. B. S. Kulkarni is its secretary. There are four other members on the board. Its headquarters is at Gadag. The accounts of the annual work of the All India Khadi Board published in the press give an idea of the khadi work being done there and its future scope. A detailed account of this work together with that of the other three provinces will shortly be published by the Indian News Bureau of the A. I. E. S. Sp. N. U. Detailed has been appointed as the visiting inspector for the province on behalf of the A. I. E. S.

The Rajasthan Khadi Board has Mr. Narayandas as its head. He is a Marwaris professional, who has given up a lucrative business and has taken up Khadi work. He taught the art of spinning and weaving himself seventeen years, and has for some time conducted classes there too. There are eight other members on this board, amongst whom is Mr. Subashchandra Kishu, a prominent Khadi worker. The Khadi weaving population of Rajasthan must be knowing him. The Rajasthan is a strong Khadi centre of old. The Board is keen to develop it.

The United Provinces Khadi Board has Mr. Ramswarup Gupta as its Secretary. He felt perturbed when he was asked to join. The province also is khadi in name to be a state of Khadi. The only work being done in this province till now only by a kind of enterprise workers organized and set to work by Parsuram Karyakari. It has been working independently of the province as has been a group on synchronously. The new board will give them an impulse too.

The Khadi Departments or boards that were already existing in several provinces before Government Congress are putting themselves into better order now.

#### Khadi Production

A gentleman from Kanika (Dist. Wardhwar) writes: "I would like to mention one interesting item of Khadias. Now, I have three Khadias, one from your magazine with all the working apparatus (Kanga, Badi, Badiha etc. for sale. I hope you will help me in the disposal of the same. Furthermore will be sent on application." His name and address is Miss Tatal Ahmed P. A. of Kanika, Dist. Wardhwar, U. P.

This is not an isolated instance. Many such requests have been received, mostly as well as by post asking for help in disposing off the implements, such as described above. It will be proper to give them for a grant and an amount of a reasonably ordered factory. Such a case was noted in India by some members of the All India Khadi Board during their tour in Wardhwar.

Kulkarni is a worker by name in conducting his loans in handloom yarn. He has employed 15 weavers on wages and closely supervises all the work. The looms used are mostly put looms. Capital invested is only fifteen hundred rupees. The cotton is the handloom yarn for his use from Kulkarni, Gadag and Trimbhanga. The rate of the Kulkarni yarn is about one rupee one anna per pound, the cotton being from 20 to 30. The factory is now about two and half years old. The owner is entering his twentieth year of it. The demand for his cloth is always greater than what he produces. The quality turned out is 20" to 22" wide cotton and thickness of doubled borders, and it is very popular there.

The Loy of the nature of Kulkarni was known to be in the following facts—1. He knows how to turn out excellent stuff. 2. He knows how to get standard work from his weavers, 3. He knows how to cater for his customers.

All the members used in the factory are indigenous. The looms are old country type, i. e., those in which a shuttle is thrown by hand. The fact that such a factory can be successfully worked with so small an investment, demonstrates the economy for the owner to have a practical knowledge of all the work done in his factory. Moreover, business here opening up an account of the Khadi movement. Kulkarni has been busy and they are well of daily occurrence. They are likely to give a new-birth to the Khadi movement. Few entrepreneurs may find a lesson from the above information.

#### Automatic Looms

A cloth merchant writes—“We intend making use of the handloom with handloom were provided by the Government. Along from weavers, Bombay, for the manufacture of khadi cloth. Will you kindly inform us whether the use of such looms is pushed by Khadi Board, and if so the reasons for the same?”

The following reply has been sent in the letter—“We do not prohibit the use of any automatic loom. But we do not recommend it to be adopted by the average producer, because it involves other expenses and repair work not manageable by the village weaver. Large producers commanding Indian may at their own risk go in for such looms.

“I may add that the present standard spring worked by handloom often difficulties in the way of using automatic loom.”

Since the above reply was sent one thing has suggested itself that the handloom with handloom were should make themselves more about the trade, hand, machine, price etc. and with it use all parts available.

Shagun K. Ghosh

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other sympathetic parts of the Non-co-operation programme. Apart from the transcendent economic gain to India, the struggle does make for self-reliance. We do not have a single person, man or woman, who has been able to sign an order issued without protest. Hindu-Muslim unity is nothing if it is not founded on self-reliance. Removal of unsatisfactory law is possible only if the Muslims will work their last for slavery. Do not these considerations represent almost the worst form of slavery? The question will be asked how long will it take to achieve that measure of self-reliance which is necessary for real independence? The answer is simple. As long as we will be content to bring about unity between Indians represented different creeds, to make the division practical and reverse the curse of unsatisfactory—

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By Subbaraj Dasbhatla K. Varadarajulu and five other non-co-operating pleaders under the Legal Practitioners' Act, the Madras High Court has dealt a blow at an age-old dogma and prejudice. The High Court's decision is roundly welcomed. It has no political flavor about it. While the distinguished lawyers have not only not lost anything, but gained much in that the decision has freed them in the execution of their countrymen, the High Court by bringing a burning spot has brought India's popular sentiment and pointed the charge that the Courts of Justice are an instrument of aid to the hands of a Government that stands for a fight which will.

The charge against them was that they had accepted Non-co-operation with law courts and employment of taxes and were consequently disqualified for being pleaders. The question taken up by the Chief Justice was that "a person who refuses to take part in the ordinary life of the State cannot ask to be or cannot remain part of the ordinary machinery of the Court." We had to understand what the Chief Justice meant to convey by this remark. Did he mean that the pleader must co-operate with the state even when it goes wrong? The plea is shared. The doctrine of obedience to the state under all circumstances has long since been applied, and is only recalled now-and-then as an instance of impertinent stupidity.

In a free society lawyers have without hindrance from law courts led many successful rebellions. The courts in free countries stand latently with the policy of practitioners. Their function is to supervise and control and ensure the purity of professional conduct. They take away orders of suspension by practitioners but leave them severely alone in their political and public activities. In a country like ours the process has been reversed. And had the profession as a class not become demoralized they would register an energetic and effective protest against the Madras High Court's action.

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The Madras Provincial Congress Committee does not high praise for having undertaken a vigorous campaign to shake out the cancer of unsatisfactory. A

secret to the Congress was that the influential assistance of 50 members with Mr. T. K. Madhavan the leader of the Tamil-nadu movement as President and including representatives of most of the high caste groups, organized as Transvaal under the auspices of the Congress to conduct the campaign. The plan of strategy consisted of two parts: the first one relating to the question of admission of non-caste people as pleaders of public works created by Hindus and the other to secure the right of entry for them along the frontiers. With regard to the first the objects of the committee have already been mentioned with considerable success,—they have brought before the members of the members of the Madras Bar Association in a public meeting presided by the President and the other to secure the right of entry for them along the frontiers. With regard to the first the objects of the committee have already been mentioned with considerable success,—they have brought before the members of the members of the Madras Bar Association in a public meeting presided by the President and the other to secure the right of entry for them along the frontiers. With regard to the first the objects of the committee have already been mentioned with considerable success,—they have brought before the members of the members of the Madras Bar Association in a public meeting presided by the President and the other to secure the right of entry for them along the frontiers. With regard to the first the objects of the committee have already been mentioned with considerable success,—they have brought before the members of the members of the Madras Bar Association in a public meeting presided by the President and the other to secure the right of entry for them along the frontiers.

For the second object: a. establishing the right of the non-caste pleaders to open public themselves, in the variety of branches and high-caste Brahmin position, the committee proposes to have recourse to direct action. It has decided, in a public meeting at Tambaram on the next convenient date, to express a resolution on the 10th instant, of all parties of people to pass through one of these prohibited themselves in the variety of a temple. The pleaders will proceed on branches of law to send all appearance of show of force and to guard against any breach of peace being done. The law is expected to act in a field as a means to prepare the ground and to compel all necessary arrangements. The attitude of the movement case-Bharat is reported to be unsatisfactory to her.

We shall watch with interest the career of the spokesman of the Congress movement. All day it seems requires great deal of anxious preparation. It is common knowledge only when all other efforts have been exhausted that action by way of striking the regime for people within time for other form.

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The resolution of blockade when the second Madras India gained Indian territory was a great achievement. We were certain that the loss of him last month and the firm history of the Hindu world at least gave the necessity for further mobilization of persons. But the noteworthy fact is that the arrest of the second India marks a change in the movement. It means that Government has been forced to change its policy in the matter of arrests. It will be remembered that



when Government published the Notification under the Colonial Law Amendment Act the essence of the fight was a struggle on the question of assets. The Parliament Committee and Dal had a large array of resolutions when they were introduced in March at once into the joint Government, mostly but unconsciously, made up so much not to play into the hands of the pig-pens. All the months since October have been spent in seeking for action that would involve Government to admit. The failure of twenty-five proceedings to pass, the paralysis of Assembly and Lahore for ministerial resolutions, the pressure of Dal Fero, finally the Shikhi Father-in-law were intended to force assets Government had nearly succeeded in the effort, and it might have gone nearly indefinitely along the same line but for the Group that had the Dal Fero on its side and go into the records of that day now, but it is clear that the Government can no longer evade from the assets. Perhaps it is the Secretary of State that is responsible for the change in policy, but based is that it is the first Ministerial staff. The thing of consequence at present is that Government will have more pressure on its hands than it will know what to do with. A third pillar is already, at the way, as also a fourth, we are prepared for the fifth one numbering over a thousand. In the meanwhile the Akalis have managed to make a normal war done of five pias for every individual in the brotherhood. The exact figure is not known at the moment of writing, but even according to well-informed news agencies, the reasons in the record has been promised. Add to this, the Shikhi Jatt are demonstrating before to people that on the map, are willing to join the movement. The whole series of movements have in them the mark of content. Of our thing we are satisfied to find. The emergence of religious elements at a moment when political union was in peril at a time the original party of the Akali leaders is a serious blow. It is the fact the Sikhs are going forward and it is changing the

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The situation created by the rejection of the Finance Bill in Delhi leaves us nearly as puzzled as Dr Mahadevi Malviya will be who. There was an admirable point Pandit Bhaiji Narm made in answer to the House Member. The charge against the Assembly was that it had no sense of responsibility and was acting in an irresponsible way. Replied the Pandit "It is true that we are acting irresponsibly. But is truth there is no lack of responsibility in the Assembly, the responsibility rests on the Government and we refuse to have anything to do with the law." It looks like a debating point, but really it is much deeper. During this declaration by the leader of the Government, we are repeatedly intrigued to understand what there was in the whole affair. The fact that it is a law does not take us much farther. We felt at that the failure of the law has a surprising more serious and successful to be than obtaining a law. And unless the Parliament can tell us what the law is to be in terms is a policy of action, we are afraid that the

motion will continue to hold that their failure had no justification. Mr. V. L. Patel in Delhi said that such a declaration will follow Government's promissory; but we have never been able to take Mr. Patel seriously. One member does not make a movement and we can only regard the speech as a protest of impotence. Impotence with Government and with the legal committee of his own party. It is much more to the point to have a glimpse of Pandit Bhaiji Narm's mind. Of that as far as he has not shown a sign. Between Government and the Nationalists there is a settled grip of deadlock. The Assembly has gone the way of the dissolution of the Government, and Government has gone the way of the dissolution of the law are not sure whom, but it will be desirable to assume that the whip-hand is that of the Secretary of State. Where, when and how control will be re-established, it is not for us to prophesy. But of one thing there need be no doubt. Unless contact is resumed, everywhere there is the Council and the Assembly, the same atmosphere of hostility will continue. It is clear now that nothing done in the Legislature by the biggest majority in the smallest assembly is going to have the slightest influence on executive policy. If we may say so with all respect, there was no necessity to go into the Council at the cost of discussion in the Congress and national parliaments for establishing the procedure. The law was there for every one clearly to take who took the trouble to read the Government of India Act. But what is done is done, and the law used about the past the better. The future is however a different affair and it is true that the situation was viewed from that aspect.

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But that there is much to be asked for originality or positive brilliancy of conception. The work in the Assembly is done to be said; but the work in the country is there still to do. The country must be organized in terms of action which can have only one meaning. Similar is done and our opinion is that both is well-known. But we are prepared to leave respectfully to any other scheme which will achieve the same result. We have mentioned Mr. Patel already. He is the director of Government, and we believe that he has ingenuity and constitutional consciousness to invent a formula for non-partisan action. The law of last resistance is not at all difficult to understand. The Finance Bill being thrown out, Legislature created by executive authority should re-establish their power over the people. Non-partisan of laws will be the natural device. But things are moving with an inherent and uncertain a pace that developments are bound to be done. There is however a condition. Whatever the pace every day that passes brings the end of the great Councils before us.

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Manager, Young India  
Allahabad



# Young India

37-3-24

## The High Office

We thought that controversy over the nomination of the Khilafat by Turkey would mean trouble for Indian Muslims. But we were mistaken. It is the voice of the Islamic world that resounded India, spoke through Khwaja Mahomed Ali (the whom gives the head of sympathy is domestic gift hand to heart). The friend of his weighty argument was that India would fight the destinies of the Khilafat, whether English or Turkish. Strong without power of deed, India could only speak. All other Islamic countries have taken a different line. Their political chiefs have not themselves assumed as candidates. In the office that Turkey has assumed to do without Khedive of Egypt, Sultan of Persia, Amir of Egypt, Amir of Afghanistan, all are believed to have withdrawn. For the moment, we do not mention Khwaja Mahomed Ali, who protesting against the validity of his deposition, still claims to be the Khilafat against the day when the fate of all elements will be decided upon at an international conference of Mohammedans. The general feeling of our Muslim countries is against the "abdication" of the caliphate. But the possibility which as far as we can be ascertained from Reuters' summary of the Iraqi Turkish common approval of the step. The clear conviction of our leaders is very much something pretty distinctly. The burden of the Khilafat has proved too heavy for Turkey and she wants to shift the new chapter in her history free of the liability. But that merely makes the duty of every body else all the heavier. We should like to believe that the competition among Islamic Powers is evidence of religious zeal, but we are afraid it is nothing of the kind. It looks too much like the sinister phenomenon of political ambition. Judged purely from Indian interests, all that we can say is that The best thing will be for the choice to fall upon Khwaja Mahomed Ali. We are surprised with the catalogue of his sins against the Khilafat when the office was vested in Turkey. But in view of all that has happened it will be hardly worth the while of anyone now to go into serious analysis. The condition of being a member of the tribe of the Prophet is fulfilled by him, and taking one thing with another we are not at all certain that there is as overwhelmingly strong case against him. Any way, it is a lighter case for him than that of his rivals. The Sultan of Egypt is obviously out of the running. In spite of the "independence" of Egypt, the position of Sultan of Egypt is not far different from that of the Sultan of Hyderabad. There is British garrison in the country, and we do not think that Egypt has got that measure of true independence which, as we have heard from Khwaja Mahomed Ali, is essential to the performance of the functions of the high office of the Khilafat. Then there is the Amir of Afghanistan. He is certainly in a better position of power than that of the Sultan of Egypt. For consider his position.

political position. He is too far away from Arabia to be able to fulfil one of the functions of the office, namely the protection of the pilgrims that access to the Holy Places in the Peninsula. We cannot see how great losses of the "army" and there is not a good thing on the world we would not wish for him! but we shall certainly draw the line here. There is enough for him to do in his own State and his own political entanglements will not be worth his while, and we doubt very much whether they will be to our good.

## Turn Love to Better Account\*

Dear Brothers and Sisters,

I address this appeal to each of you, no other to me on duty, or indeed under us.

I appealed to you sometime ago through the Press, that those of you who must be away may do so between the hours of 4 and 5 in the evening. You are either not aware of this or must have or after these hours just because you cannot help working. The result is sad for me. The little service that I am given to me is rather diminished.

The appeal of money at my disposal is very small, and I want to utilize it only in service. I wish to secure attendance of Khwaja Mahomed Ali and Khwaja Mahomed Ali. And I need absolute rest for that work. If all my time and energy are taken up in working and entertaining you, it will not be possible for me to do the work in the way I desire.

Moreover being as it is not likely to be of any benefit to you. It is an indication of your love for me, but it is an exaggerated indication. The love itself is a great thing, and I would have you apply that love not to serving me, but to the service of the world. I would have you send me all the money that you have to exceed on a visit to me for being spent on the production and propagation of Khilafat. I would have you devote all the time a visit to me would take up to all or any of the following objects:

(1) Lecturing or writing and making others

(2) Khilafat propaganda.

(3) Teaching, speaking or writing to your friends and neighbours.

To each of these as we are not prepared to do any of these things and will not permit themselves from serving me, I would appeal to render their visits to the house between 5 and 6 on all evenings except Wednesday day of absence when I cannot possibly see any value. It is evident that I cannot see them individually. I shall have to ask them to be satisfied with seeing me all at a time.

I am also request intending visitors to bring with them their gifts by them as money for Khilafat work. The year will be turned into Khilafat and the money used for Khilafat production.

I shall feel grateful if you will kindly accept my request, and all the time that need will be used for the service of the country.

Yours,

Khilafat

I am,  
Your faithful servant  
M. K. Ghosh



## The Class Areas Bill

Monday, March 27

Mr. Gandhi has issued the following statement to the Press:—

The following colleague has been received from Capetown signed by Mr. Fisher, General Secretary, South African Indian Congress:—

"South African Indians communally unite with the strongest protest Union Government determined carrying through Class Areas Bill violating principles. Bill retrograde, European, also Non-Africans, Malays and Indians being exempted Bill will apply only to Indians. Two African Malays, and Native exempted in Durban's Capetown avoid the Natives State of support to Indians in opposition to Bill. Indians will never accept segregation Indian Unity. Please take such action as you think best Mrs. Sarojini Naidu has made deep impression and was long inmate Mrs. Naidu delivered 'Young Youth Africa' with 50th April being great demand as her in interest of the cause."

This is startling news, almost we had seen for South Africa, to be believed. I have already indicated to show why the Cape area to be excluded from the operation of the measure. If the extension called by Natives as to the extension of the Cape is carried, there is something wrong in the European side, or the extension contained a "copy-fidelity" to the other three Union only, namely Orange, Transvaal and Natal. The position then will be that as far as the Cape is concerned the Cape Indians will still remain exempted from the operation of the measure, whereas in the other Provinces the measure will apply only to Indians. There is no difficulty about understanding the exemption, because the idea of segregation of Natives and Malays in the extreme areas is new. Every European household has a native of South Africa as domestic servants. Malays as I have shown is a previous immigration, and a single grade quantity except in the Cape. We have therefore the solid truth before us that the Bill is opposed as it would merely of Indians and that a compromise not only segregation but Indian separation Mrs. Sarojini Naidu's visit in South Africa, and her inspiring presence there will undoubtedly send the hearts of the Indian nation for further effort. Her presence is also bringing Europeans and Indians on the same platform. But India, however not be held into a sense of false security, because of the continued progress of Mrs. Naidu in the midst of the newly freed India and her. After all the colored Peoples of South Africa are freeborn, and I have said doubt that Mrs. Naidu is revealing all the situation that is due to her for her way and sacrifice also, but the South African Congress have also a kind and determined anti-Indian policy. General Smuts as a Nationalist. On this occasion he can speak language words, but he knows his mind, and he there is no mistake that unless India can make an effort to devote to the situation, the Bill will be carried through the Union Parliament in spite of Mrs. Naidu's presence in India.

The newly opened Working branch of "Kanyasulkam" has been started on the Promenade Street, opposite "Palace" building near the Church, Monday

Monday, Kanyasulkam

## Perspect of Satyagraha in Kenya

The movement known as the non-payment of Poll Tax was started in Kenya in the third week of January last. A resolution to that effect was passed by an overwhelming majority at the First African Indian Congress at Mombasa. About twenty five Indians, most of whom are merchants, have been sentenced to imprisonment. The movement is spreading in distant districts of Kenya and it is necessary for us to know how and why it was started in order to realize its significance and its prospects.

The Kenya Province must be a great blow to the Indian population in the Colony. They had fought for their cause for four years past, sent two deputations to India and two to England, spent not less than three lakhs of Rupees in this agitation and in fact they did what they could to win and safeguard their rights in the Colony. They had already gone through a trade depression and therefore they felt the pinch of Kenya hit upon all the more. In fact at one time they almost gave way to despair. The circular letter that was sent by Mr. Malik, secretary of the Congress in Nairobi, to the Indian press and the Indian leaders showed considerable signs of a feeling of hopelessness. This circular letter clearly told us that if India was not prepared to give the Indians in Kenya moral and material support they could not continue the struggle. This letter in fact left an impression upon our minds that our people in Kenya were ready to lay down arms and except the White Paper with some interest. I heard from a reliable person in Nairobi that at one time when our leaders in the Colony were discussing about the extension of the White Paper and the general nature of the meeting showed signs of wavering and indecision it was a colleague from Dr. Andrews that saved the situation.

There is no doubt that this mood of despair among our people in Kenya was only temporary, and the reason from that the Indian leaders of all parties at home showed what the Cabinet's decision gave our people in Kenya some hope. By the time Mahatma Gandhi had reached Mombasa the Kenya Indians had already determined to carry on the struggle and the rejection of the White Paper was a long-run conclusion. What should be the next step was the question to be settled at the Congress. An attempt had been made to convince quarters to suggest and prove that the idea of the non-payment of Poll Tax originated with Mrs. Naidu. The brave daughter of India despite capable of making such a suggestion, but in justice to the last one it should be stated that long before Mrs. Naidu went to Kenya the local Indian leaders had thought of carrying the movement as a form of direct action against the Kenya decision. Mr. M. A. Dowl, the Indian leader in Kenya, and this idea before a meeting of the Working Committee held at Mombasa in the end of November 1933. The Working Committee agreed to be quite satisfied



about the advisability of starting such a movement and Mr. Rajagopalachari announced Mr. Das at length about the number of people that would be involved, the probable amount of suffering they would have to undergo, the morale of the Indians in Kenya and similar points. Mr. Das placed before the Working Committee the information he had and invited advice from them. The Committee definitely refused to give any advice on that point and decided to send one of their representatives to Kenya to attend the East Africa Congress and to study the situation. Mr. Saroop Mehta who went there as a representative of the National Congress and President of the Congress in Madras naturally followed the policy of letting our people in Kenya decide for themselves the future line of action. The resolution about the non-payment of the Poll Tax was a counter-stroke and Mr. Mehta gave full latitude to all the people who had to say anything on the subject. After a long discussion and mature deliberation the Congress passed the following resolution:—

"In view of the urgent and dangerous Kenya situation at the 19th July 1933 the Congress resolves that as a protest against the huge demands for payment of Poll Tax by Indians in Kenya occupying Government servants should be suspended as a first step until the establishment of the real democracy."

It will thus be clear that this movement in Kenya has been quite independent of any influence from any political party at home. Now, that our people in Kenya are carrying on their struggle bravely it is but natural that we should give them all possible help. Mr. Das has already given his emphatic support to this movement and this has encouraged our people much indeed.

There are certain things about this Poll Tax campaign which should be made quite plain. The movement is against the Poll Tax, alone and the Indian population is paying every other tax with willing and regularity. Every male adult—European and Indian—has to pay 5 shillings per year to the Government. Out of a total population of twenty three thousand Indians not more than eight thousand are affected by this tax. The Members Congress has occupied Government and Railway servants from this non-payment campaign, so the actual number that could be involved in the struggle would be somewhere between five to six thousand Indians. Out of the more half already paid their Poll Tax in the last three weeks of January & 2 before the movement was started. Thus we may put four thousand as the approximate number of our people who may have to take part in this campaign.

The second thing is that the movement has been intended to serve as a political protest against the unjust Kenya Decision, and it is serving this purpose fully well. There are two ways by which the authorities in Kenya are dealing with the people who are opposing this law. First they are

striking some property of the arrested and putting it to auction, by which even the arrested suffers a loss of something like one hundred shillings as they are returning the arrears in four weeks, single instalment. In both these cases it does not matter as the suffering through the medieval class suffers seriously on account of debilitation of their trade. Undoubtedly the movement is making new signs into the Indian population and now they are not at all afraid of lawlessness. However the common suffering of both tribes will be short. Mr. Das has a moral of his own. The movement is short, but steadily changing the moral outlook of our people in Kenya. As regards the question whether our people in Kenya will be able to continue the struggle for long years or temporarily or never, here there are two ideas. It does not seem much lost to the Government to reverse. Nor are our people afraid of a loss of one hundred shillings on head or personal freedom for one month. But there are two risks. One is that the movement may result in some sort of social boycott or coercion on the part of our people which would cause bitterness and division in their own camp. The second risk is that the Kenya Government may use this movement as a handle against Indian trade by calling legislative powers to enforce trade licences on Indian traders. I am sure our people in Kenya can pass through these trial cases successfully if only they get good leaders and effective leadership in the Colony and moral support from the Motherland. We cannot say how the movement is going to develop in the future. Our conditions in Kenya are more miserable and if they had wanted any encouragement or support from Downing Street they would have certainly requested the Government for us, once being, but the sympathetic and energetic sympathetic speeches of Mr. Tennant the Colonial Secretary, set them on a different but correct line of campaign. The story of India is the same—unconquered, unbroken. Our people in Kenya must never weaken about us. We are doing this help. Our actions will find a lot of work to do. They need no outside leadership. They will do only and watch the struggle in Kenya and a recovery help the local leaders in inspiring the people in the next phase of the struggle.

In the end, I should refer to one aspect of the movement which is really significant. It is inspiring a wholesale effect upon the Africans. These people whose number is not less than two millions and a half are being ground down under high direct taxation which amounts to nearly one fourth of their wages for the year. What is more unfortunate they lack the courage to protest against this great injustice. The Indian movement will surely put some courage into these oppressed Africans. They have suffered terribly at the hands of white employers. Even if our movement for non-payment of the Poll Tax in Kenya which puts some life into these dumb driven African human beings are done nothing else, it will not have been in vain.



# The Kenya Highlands

By C. F. Adcock

It is extraordinarily difficult to take to oneself the psychology of the white settlers in Kenya for it is like nothing that we meet with in India itself. There is a certain amount of human life, that certainly one, when it is met with in the last time I have just read in some back numbers of the "Kenya Observer" and the "East African Standard" some comments on the notorious conduct of the Suggs to death of an African named by a name named Alibama who appears to have tortured the victim in the most brutal manner, by dipping him again and again, putting questions to him at intervals, which he had refused to answer, and then dipping him again, pouring water over him when he fainted in order to bring him to his senses and then torturing him with the patented question, "Who told you to make that man?" At last the boy died. There had been reported in the London Press and commented on as being false, I wish to make some further comments, concerning the marvellous legend.

Some years ago much less notice would have been taken in Kenya of my conduct Mr. (then). Hardly any comment would have been passed upon possibly the torturer would have got off with a fine, because it is supposed to "leave the white man's prestige" to put a white man in prison. Then since the policy was given two years' improvement. It should be noted that the Englishman's question in jail in Kenya, just as in India, are very different from the questions given to other men. Improvement is not the kindness that it appears, and there would be many complaints to sympathy and provide medicine.

I wish, in a parenthesis, all attention to one point before I go on. Suppose, if it were possible, that an African had treated a white man in a similar manner. How would justice be supplied to this innocent only of the white staff? Would a mere imprisonment or two year sentence be regarded as sufficient penalty for such an offence? A European had died under such torture. Would there not be capital punishment at least, with dipping beforehand and dripping added which would make what is called "whiplay" punishment? There has been a surprising punishment in Alibama case, though the presiding judge declared that he was "determined to go over the cost of things with a strong hand in order to prevent the recurrence." Let me give an example of what must of us do even which has just come to my notice. An African died some time this week in a hospital in a hospital in Rhodesia recently on 11 which straight the delirious whatever thing he was reported of away into the water was I am told. There was not the slightest evidence from the witness beyond that he attempted to make any report. His death was not public he was considered and was announced to those ladies and was then "sent" towards with hard labour. Compare that conduct with an African with the Englishman, passed on the "white" standard, who was executed at the same time. It is not to death under circumstances of unconscionable cruelty. Very many of the acts of things gone on, but would British justice will

be met only with mockery and laughter in Africa and the East.

But to return to the Kenya newspaper on the Alibama's dipping case at Nairobi. The newspaper made have brought back to me the whole atmosphere of the Kenya Highlands—the wilderness, with which such deeds are usually talked about, and coupled with what are usually about with lightness and levity. In addition, there is a strong misconception, as in the Highlands, that Great Britain and the rest of the civilized world are beginning to take more serious notice. Therefore it is regarded as necessary to explain, for consumption abroad, how ready they happen and how strongly the Kenya Government is determined to put them down.

The paragraph that chiefly struck me came in the "London Notes" of the week, in which most of the Staff attempts to be humorous. It would certainly be supposed that this weekly humour would have the Alibama's case close. But he seems to have the temptation of dealing with it. He writes—

"One often has to wonder at statements in English papers in London, which deal with East African subjects. But there is generally no excuse, because, of course, journalists in London cannot be expected to know everything. But there was no excuse for the people who sent a cable to the English papers stating that the native at Nairobi who died on the result of punishment had stolen his master's name to death. The man was very little known, a matter of fact, did only one call the man's name, correctly?" (The cable was sent.)

Notice the phrase, "who died on the result of punishment." We know from the evidence, how this African arrived was dipped until he fell down senseless, and then low water was poured on him and he was dipped and dipped again until he died. Now we know from Kenya staff that the accident in which he died without harm was hardly noted. The man as said "was very little known." So that the Suggs was an account of a merely local offence. The misbehaviour of the fact was an embarrassing feature of the accident. As a class, the settlers in Kenya are frank and straightforward in what they do. They would object to that long statement about the man being added to death being sent to London. Yet the long phrase about the man's name, somehow, keeps the picture of the information with which such deaths are met and with which they are thought of, a Kenya, have to act in a prisoner manner, though I do not quite know how to explain it. The only comment about the African happened in the "Afr." "And we are only too much interested in the." The African is hardly carried to death, a hopelessly inadequate sentence is given to the man who did the deed, yet the only comment of the Editor is that the Kenya reporter in London did not call the man's name correctly in his statement.

I will give from the same paper some further comment on the Colony staff, which gives what the people on the spot think of it and the way it has been managed in the past.

"The part of British East Africa," says the writer, "has often been described as a Great Open Gallery." But I was hoping that with this display of a new name and story Kenya would change itself from being and again, You see, in the last old days, we were all a little wild

Alibama's name a few days ago. They fully has been recorded on all to-day.



and against that stands to the Great Problem and the solution in London, the eyes of the world have been turned on us, and we really ought to avoid some responsibility, and stand as far as possible any display of inconsistency or confusion here. I fear we shall have to still a large number of the Old India to be found in which, by courtesy, we will not "pocket" us."

I think that we can get a glimpse here, if we care to do so, into the whole incomprehensible, with which the whole situation in Kenya is linked up to, the attitude it does not matter in the very least what happens in India or England or Africa, or how we may keep up of less than 2000 European settlers in the Highlands get their own way. It does not matter if 21 percent of the African population die in some single decade. What matter? It does not matter if India goes out of the British Empire because of the ways Indians in Kenya are treated. What matter? The Colony belongs to them, the White settlers, and no European could mind interfere with them.

We can appreciate this attitude in India. It is the same attitude as that I General Smuts when he talks about the "Colony Bill" at Kimberley. It is typical and logical, but it is outrageous. We know where we are.

But when we turn to the Government's recent attitude at the European Convention at Lourenco, we get a completely different picture. In one case and many ways, and especially and especially, which only an action to be seen and straightforward. Compare with what I have already quoted the following statement in the African, out of which all evidence has disappeared —

"The desire here to make our movement in the interest of the Kenya settlement. To us, as the White Paper put, that the interests of the natives in relation to White settlement were paramount, was a consideration in terms of the maintenance of that Convention and the individual relations of the white settlers to the natives showed positively that the interests of the White settlers and the natives were independent and unconnected. It was not easy to imagine any set of circumstances adverse to the natives, which would not be also adverse to the white settlers. In regard also to the suggestion of the White Paper, that the native's attitude was to be the 'primary concern of the effort,' we felt that they also lived in constant touch with the natives and whose interests." "The appreciation and meeting of the natives' needs, were positively qualified to advance on the progress of the natives and as to the issue on which it should be passed."

The last statement on the above matter follows —

Mr. Haughey, Leggett, who was for many years member of the Kenya Legislative Council, declared that in all his experience of the Council, the non-official members had not been brought forward and secured through a measure which was in the direct interests of the natives. Another is from Mr. Thomas Lipp, for 12 years medical officer in East and Central Africa, who has advised that there was no one in British East Africa, familiar with native opinion, who knew of any tribe that would not prefer to see Europeans leave the country. He adds that the labour system introduced by the settlers provides the potential explanation.

The following further facts may be added —

(1) The amount taken from the natives by direct and indirect taxation is admitted by the Colonial Office to amount to Rs. 25,000, out of this only Rs. 21,000 are paid to native officers.

(2) The natives not long ago put pressure on the Government to insist by law a system of forced labour on their behalf which has only with recently been rescinded by the Colonial Office.

(3) A hut and poll tax has been imposed which must be paid in cash. The fee has the definite object of driving the natives out of their reserves to work for Europeans.

(4) The same medical officer quoted above states — "The physical condition of unsettled native labourers when they return home is inferior to their condition on leaving home for the White settler's estates. One can always tell from their appearance, in which direction men are going when one meets a group on the road."

(5) The census for 1901 shows a decrease in the native population of 21 per cent in ten years.

(6) A Representative Act called a "Pana Law" has been passed whereby each native has to carry on a certificate as he owns land a certificate, which gives him the right and legal recognition, but not of "Strangers" etc. This is actually accepted by the natives.

(7) If a native knows his work he may be indirectly persecuted and treated down as a "Migrant." The expenses of the employer who provides are paid by the Kenya Colony Government.

(8) The representation in Kenya has up to now been and publicly exposed to say of these things, though they are now supposed to be tried to represent native interests in the Council. Only the Bishop of Mombasa protested strongly and publicly against the "Pana" and Labour Regulations. It had to be put on and in, even to agitation in England, not in agitation in Kenya.

In the light of all these facts, which are plain as the day, the Chairman of the European Convention at Lourenco declares that "he felt that they (i.e. the White settlers, who lived in constant touch with the natives and whose interest lay in the appreciation and meeting of the natives' needs, were positively qualified to advance on the progress of the natives and as to the issue on which it should be passed."

In all that I have said above, I do not wish for a single moment to imply that all Englishmen in Kenya Highlands are out to rob the natives and to drive the natives to destruction. I am quite certain on the contrary that the majority wish to treat the natives well and to give them a fair deal that they have obtained a system, (then better needed, Englishmen — what a lot of the very worst in the world, and those to day taking part in that system. The system is based on (1) expropriation of the natives' lands and (2) dependence on native labour for the subsistence of large European estates. This can in the long run result in nothing else except the ultimate degradation of the natives in West Africa, where the expropriation of native land has been already facilitated by law, these evils of the plantation system have been increasingly realised.



# Young India

A Weekly Journal

Edited by M. K. Gandhi

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## For the Readers Past and Present of 'Young India'

It is not without much hesitation that I accept the editorship of *Young India*. I do not know whether my health may yet enable me to carry on my part of conducting the paper. But I cannot hesitate. I can only study unceasingly God's purpose in bringing me out of my retirement in Y. India. In taking up the editorial control of *Mustard* and *Young India* I am following the Light as far as I can go.

Now have I any new message to deliver to the reader. I had hoped for nothing by an act of a British Parliament and to be able to take my lawful share in serving Free India. That was not to be.

We have not to attain freedom. I have no new message. My life is the old in just as bright as ever it was bright. Indeed one's faith in one's own and methods is truly tested when the human before one is the British.

Though freedom as far as my word can befriend those will be no new method or policy developed in the pages of *Young India*, I hope they will not be such. *Young India* will be stark when Truth becomes real. I want to see God face to face. God I know is Truth. Yet was the only certain means of knowing God is non-violence—ahimsa—love. I know India's freedom and would die for it, because it is a part of Truth. Only a free India can worship the true God. I work for India's freedom because my God-father teaches me that being free is it and having inherited her culture, I am fitted to serve her and she has a prior claim on my service. But my partnership is not exclusive; it is calculated not only not to hurt any other nation but to benefit all in the true sense of the word. India's freedom as conceived by me can never be a menace to the world.

But if it is not to be such a menace, the means adopted for gaining it must be strictly non-violent. My heart in India's freedom will spare of the slight violent means for their first will be not freedom but slavery to discipline. And if we have not yet attained our freedom, it is because we have not been convinced in thought, word and deed. It is true that non-violence has been adopted as a policy (i) because we are convinced that by no other means can India achieve her freedom. Our policy is not meant not to be a compromise. We may not achieve violence under cover of non-violence. While we claim to be non-violent for a particular purpose and a particular period, our thought and

and word must accord with our practice for that purpose and that period. Even so does an honest trader not handle a condemned man. He protects his life at the peril of his own till the date of the sentence passes. He thinks and speaks of his enemy. He is, for the time and the purpose, non-violent in thought, word and deed.

We pledged ourselves to be non-violent towards each other and our opponents whether adversaries or co-operators. We want to speak to their hearts and make the best of them, not play upon their fear to gain our end. Gradually and unconsciously the majority of us—the editing position—are not true to our pledge. We have been making friends our opponents. Our own consciences are filled with distrust of us. They deeply do not believe in our non-violence. Hindus and Mohammedans in every place have provided an object lesson not in non-violence but in violence. Even the 'disarmers' and the 'no-changers' have long and against one another. Each has claimed the monopoly of truth and made an ignorant consistency of conviction worse of the other for his better discipline.

The pages of *Young India* can only, therefore, illustrate the reality and the necessity of non-violence in dealing with the questions that engage public attention. So much for the central policy of *Young India*.

A word as to the business side. Some of the readers will remember that I announced that when at the instance of Mr. Shankarilal Banker and other friends, I took up the editing of *Young India*, I told the public that it was run at a loss and that I would be obliged to give it up if the loss continued. I do not believe in publishing—except on behalf of a loss or by means of ad arrangements. If a paper makes a loss, must, a must pay its way. The subscription the however has up steadily week by week and it began to yield profits. But during the last two years as the reader is aware, the loss has fallen from £1,000 to £500 and it is now being raised a loss. *Young India* has made up for it. But again that method is wrong. *Young India* must stand on its own bottom or fall. It is likely that if I still retain the personal affection of the old readers, *Young India* will soon pay its way. But I have mentioned the loss not only to acquaint the public with the true state of affairs but also as an introduction to my important announcement.



When Mrs. Ducker and I have suggested that the Oxford School should have a weekly fund to be turned into a weekly and added for one-eighth when I collected the contributions, I announced that it would be given up if I received a line and that if there were profits, they would be divided for some other purpose. They are now becoming profitable, but at the instance of Shree Jambhikar, Keshu Jambhikar has commenced. It has had just begun to pay for my when my work took place and the charitable weekly fund. It is now again being turned at a loss but in spite of these losses the large circulation of the paper and other publications enable the management to derive Rs. 10,000 to subsidize the Young Association and thus saving the Young Association has left a surplus of Rs. 10,000 to allocate the money and as I know no other and better method of utilizing it I propose to donate the same through the agency of the Provincial Congress Committee to the credit of the Young School and Shree Jambhikar Publishing Corporation. The fund will be given to their school among poor women and widows and orphans. It is due to my co-operation that I should inform the public that with some of them he could have a better of how things they were over me. It is just enough for their work. The work of such work is before the public I know that if from the money spent I could a more efficient workers with the efficient management I could the good before the time to-day, it would be possible to show a better result.

I should also like to add that Young India again shows profits, as it did before my retirement, they will be distributed for all India work. If any profits are left over after the work is done, they will be devoted to the spread of Hindu.

M. K. Gandhi

## Notes

### Thanks

It would be wonderful for me if I had not publicly tender my thanks to the editors who are after another week change of Young India a most critical period to be over. Shree Keshu Jambhikar has his judicious style proved me strong for the Government and they hardly allowed him to write that. They followed Keshu Jambhikar with his wholehearted confidence exhibiting a wonderful grasp of the deep truths of Hinduism. George Jambhikar's broadcast style is well known to the reader. To all those friends my deepest thanks are due for coming to the rescue. The management staff was so low because of its need for the national cause.

### The Khilafat

I have been asked to give my opinion on the Khilafat problem. I have come to give it from London, therefore for me an answer to that is very easy on my Indian borders. It is a question which the Mohammedans and while for themselves. All that non-Mohammedans can do is to remove them of their deep sympathy in their affliction. The existence of the Khilafat is an essential part of their faith. Therefore who looks his very religion to be lost in Khilafat is bound to require a more complete sympathy with those who suffered

loss. The heart of every Hindu who values Hinduism in religion must go out to the Mohammedans in their great sorrow. They have a more serious time now than when the Khilafat was attacked from within. But now that the danger comes from within and several nations are contending for their own claims, it must not be the latest movement of those who are engaged in solving the problem in a manner that I am in touch with the deep truths of their own faith and acceptable to all nations. The work is quite clear to me that the desire of the Khilafat, instead of being used in order as it can rest with men for the hands of Indian Mohammedans. There is the burden that is the problem. May God grant them the power to see the right path and the strength to follow it.

### 'Commercialising' Vias

This is the question that Mr. Andrews has raised in connection with the traffic on which the reader will find in another place. Mr. Andrews' contribution from his pen to be devoted to me, is said to be had improved upon my description of the traffic. I have described it as 'commercialising' Mr. Andrews calls it 'commercialising' the traffic. I do not see it with a scholar of Mr. Andrews' stamp the opportunity for it to commercialise but I would recommend to the reader's careful attention Mr. Andrews' essay. And when he has done it, the publisher should write with Mr. Andrews has devoted his contribution to the common traffic. But the reader should also that it is to be used for that purpose and suggest others in which to improve and thus reach the further fact that our children are educated in Government schools from the proceeds of this organized and commercialised via.

### Spence Hazen

Mr. C. Spence Hazen's appeal to the students protest elsewhere deserves the careful attention of all students of all kinds of national schools but also of Government schools. Spence Hazen's suggestion is to every school had a march of violence about it. There is a gap between the boys and girls belonging to national and Government schools. It is a matter of fact there should be no such gap. Mr. Spence Hazen's suggestion of adopted will serve a useful purpose. The education will be the best and provide a means to realize the intention of utilizing the spirit of the students in their own way. The address must be made by non-cooperative students. They will not only be able to consider as one of their principle but they will actually participate in the movement and therefore that part. There could be no danger of an advance is selected. The matter may feel more of interest, it is interesting that prompts the advance.

### An Example to Copy

The boys of the National School at Darwad have sent me a card of 1000 lines by them and written to me that it was open continuously for seven days and nights. I learnt to the Governor of the Province that the boys of the Government School had served the boys going continuously for a month and a half. If all who can join were to follow the example of these good boys, we should solve the Khilafat problem in no time, and as I believe







well, the graining of a mass of cotton in an ordinary handloom, one of the simplest of household tools, will take but an inappreciable time. The weaver's loquacious fond for the new and the cotton is ready to be carded. If general action is preferred, this part of the work is suited.

#### Carding, the Key-stone

The Key of the whole programme is the carding. Our efforts at spinning have hitherto failed. Our greatest obstacle is the difficulty of procuring skilled cotton. Almost any one can be induced to spin if you give well prepared cotton and a good wheel. While stop working looms carded cotton is not readily available. Attempts to get professional persons to card cotton and sell the cotton from the Congress offices are bound to prove costly, irregular and unsatisfactory. If there is one secret more than another for the opponent of such an spinning activities among the labour class, it is due to the working difficulty. Late upon-feeding, supplying cotton to spinners, is not a healthy method of manufacturing growth. This difficulty is however very apparent. If solved properly it disappears at once. Carding should become an ordinary accomplishment of young men. It is here that you can do greatest service during this coming winter.

#### Start Early

Any young man who learns the art of carding in a day or two, a sufficient paper can be easily hung up in any room and as already stated, a young man can learn and practice one who teach the correct method and direction of motion, in a whole year's use for his family if during this season he goes but one hour in the morning every day at the loom.

#### A True Story

It was nearly three years ago that I bought a card loom from Rajagopal. Ashram along with one of Mahadevi Chandra's big families. The children between an entire member of the family. But the day, when some talk enough to get it up went to a corner in the latter room. There were others who a friend had supplied and this was more than enough for the spinning that went on. A Group of the women improved the working but for some time, I don't know if it was useful there, but it was soon returned and it went again to the latter room and somewhere was forgotten. My young friend B. G. of the Ashram came here last year, and I asked him if he could set up and work a cardloom. "Oh yes," he said. But after suggesting a local brother shop, he said there were not good looms and so he visited and we got it up and began the subject again.

This year Sharpy, Yashod's brother accompanied me when I returned from him to the Khadi camp.

"How you set up the loom?" I asked him smiling.

"Oh, yes" he said. And this time I was more active and got the lot of three shops of good looms and strings that were wanted. It did not cost as much they came, and more than half an hour's work. The cardloom was finished.

Sharpy examined the loom of the girl like a perfect machine, clack, he heard and took a card and returned it. It was quite ready.

"Where is the 'loam'?" I asked. We searched for it, but it was not to be found. Either the Congress Committee forgot to return it with the loom or it was used somewhere else. So I took my typist, would not leave delay as was to the town and

returned in the evening with a new and beautifully made loam and a pound of cotton in each web. The loam set at the loom and after a few preliminary coloured fibres, and enough from Sharpy, he pulled along well enough. He was put back in all machines looms at my place in. By one young Khadiashan stopped in. I asked, for I thought the loam was not finished a lay for each web. But to my satisfaction he went on all right. The day proceeded regularly after this. The remarkable event showed that the looms were left enough and the young men set to. So I took myself down to my room in the second day with a card paper roll containing quite a decent quantity of clean white shiraz. "Ready," I asked, "Did you do this?"

"Yes," said he. "It is quite an easy affair." The third day my son came with a well-lapged roll of shiraz. It was delightful.

"The problem of spinning is solved," said I.

And so it is, reader, for every loom can easily learn this simple art of carding and place the Khadi as to say so in independence and sustainable basis.

Now become an independent centre of work.

The Ward Khadi Khadi Board is arranging to open a school where young men can stay without any expense for food or lodging and learn all about carding and spinning. They will have to work continuously in the school for the month will be in the Khadiashan, the Provincial Khadi Board's plan is that every one of them become an independent centre of Khadi work. If you set up a loom in a room in your house, you can on food-ge and enough cotton in distribution shiraz for all your friends and neighbours for the whole week. Every loam can become a valuable source of some Khadi work absolutely standing on its own legs.

Now you can easily be made into cloth. You can study and a master for your own. It is that it can be made into making, towels, etc. If this enough, it can be made into shiraz. The last year should be made into more for the summer. If you cannot find a local master, the Provincial Khadi Board would be glad to arrange the evening for any one who has your, provided there is sufficient pure yarn at a time, say 2 lbs.

#### Your Quota of Service

What then is the true Khadi Programme in which you can give your quota of service. If you have nothing, you automatically enter what has happened here the last part of the problem. If a quality person will be a master of the work done and by your example, wherever you are, you do the greatest service to the movement.

There are other lesser things you can do, you can speak to men and women and induce them to wear Khadi, and arrange for you do the only of you are yourselves exclusive division of Khadi. You can teach looms. You can collect funds for Khadiashan work. But all this or not such valuable service as your own working and spinning.

#### C. Rajagopalachari

#### Bombay Branch

Subscriptions for Young India can be paid at the Bombay Branch of our office situated on the Princess Street opposite Federal Building.

Manager, Young India







third part of a well known one. The two or three thousand years that have gone by under their ministry, are but a week in the system of time.

I do not consider myself writing to be criticised in the same breath with the mass of people. I am a humble worker after death. I am anxious to make myself, to make India in the very existence. My national service is part of my training for facing my end with the knowledge of God. Then considered, my service may be regarded as purely selfish. I have no desire for the probable Kingdom of earth. I am waiting for the Kingdom of Heavens which is infinite. You attack my end and it is not necessary for me to seek the clarity of a case. I carry one about me, if I could but lose it. A new disaster has befallen India in the war whereas a disaster is a poison like death but no easier to bear. The new disaster who have not saved the world on the wings of death has no power. A death struggle going on the matter of "peace and righteousness" may have peace that cannot understanding. For me the need in salvation has strength increased but in the service of my country and the strength of humanity, I want to identify myself with everything that lives. In the language of the Gita, I want to live at peace with both friend and foe. Though I consider a Hinduism or a Christian or a Hindu any despite me and hate me, I want to love him and serve him even as I would love my wife or son though they hate me. By my position as for me a stage in my journey to the land of eternal freedom and peace. Those of will be sure that for me there are no points devoid of religion. Their subjective religion. Subjective theory of religion are a death-sentence because they kill the soul.

### Plea for Patience

(By E. F. Chubb)

Some correspondents are anxious for my views on Gandhi's entry and Hindu-Muslim question. Others are equally anxious that I make no hasty pronouncement. I am myself most eager to express my opinion on both these questions but I want to avoid all avoidable mistakes. I owe a debt to those who differ from me. They are valued co-workers. They love their country just as much as I claim to do. Some of them have secret enemies in their craft in which I can lay no claim. They have a deeper first-hand knowledge of the country than I have. Their opinions therefore deserve all the respect and consideration that are due to their position and ability. Above all, I must not embarrass them by my ill-considered opinion. There is a deadline laid. The Government have selected every advance made by them. The latter have stood silent behind their usual reticence even to such extent (in their) as the removal of the prohibition against Mr. Bonalton and the release of Mahatma Harshad Mehta. In these circumstances it would be improper on my part within the almost insuperable to say anything that may in any way disturb the plans the Government may decide for meeting the emergency. I am trying to give the situation and understand their condition.

Nothing can possibly be lost by patience. Make every time unnecessary mistake.

The same may be said of the Hindu-Muslim question with greater candour. It is a problem that requires for most delicate handling. Every thought has to be scrutinised. Every word weighed. A hasty adjective may cause an explosion. Though I believe I hold decided views on the question and am most anxious to express them. I must believe both Hindus and Mohammedans accepting their position in the community and asking me not to say a word without fully studying the situation. I have a letter which goes so far as to say that I shall never write until I have consulted and seen things for myself. Without going so far with my correspondents I give my assurance to them and all who read, with them that I shall not write or say a word without a careful and prolonged study of the question. For not the statement of Gandhi depends not upon what the English Cabinet thinks or says but entirely upon a proper, systematic and lasting solution of the Hindu problem. Without this before or behind. With a "Yes" or within immediate reach.

While Gandhi's conferences are going on, I respectfully urge those who are interested in our system on these important questions to go on with the constructive programme. Every yard of your own individual nation is a step towards peace. Every man who refuses this hardening an evil thought of his Hindu or Mohammed brother in the race may be considered to be active. Every writer in the Press who encourages his objections and causes to create violence or inflame public opinion makes sure the path to a better solution. The other day the *Times* of India published interesting extracts from the Government press showing the present mentality of some writers. They tell us how not to do the thing. Knowing that a Hindu or a Mohammed man's hasty word, if it is the business of a person who wishes well to his country immediately to eliminate it. It would be essential to encourage such blindness. I am glad that the statements advertised in these extracts were even made by the parties concerned. No expression of opinion from anybody is needed to discountenance the necessity of being accurate, of cutting out corners and skipping out jobs.

### Spinning Activity in Tirupati

We take the following very interesting letter from the *South Indian* collected by Mr. Margaret Gaudin:—

The Secretary, Congress Committee, Tirupati, writes:—

"There is a steady demand for spinning and cotton from all sections of the people, Hindus, Mohammedans, Christians, non-Hindus, plebeians, merchants, students etc. I have got a good carpenter now, who is regularly paid now, and is preparing new spinning wheels to your measurements. I hope to get at



most likely students to come regularly though there will be many opening irregularly. They are coming in for Charlie's. The difficulty is that since I have arranged to purchase all copies from a friend of mine, viz. his university, comes just about four miles from the door. The service is very good and I started supplying the people the new copies as it is I had a more convenient to converse with with hands and used also with hands, then to use the printing wheel and the service of the service. Our meeting is certainly better and thus to take work time. This obviously fits in for work as a limited scale in each house. My wife is able to go and work for me, and for herself, so much more as we have more than 8 hours, evening. She takes about half an hour each house and she does for itself and some more work and a lot of conversation due to lack of meeting by professional method.

"As the school I mentioned you that most of the Vahis are opening very regularly every day, one of them over a year of years to be more, with about about 15 days ago and has got his cloth & book, cloth at the head. Head's work gave me about half a year of years and he has changed his cloth & widow gave me about a year and a quarter of years and has got her cloth. Another young boy, a new-fashions, gave a year of years and got about 12 yards of cloth. A married school teacher gave me a year of years and he will get his cloth in about a week's time and so on.

"An old gentleman of about 50, a retired soldier and a religious man, has got his old Charlie's there in number repeated and has begun to open along with his religious studies. A retired Telenite is working on for a Charlie, has learnt opening in for 5 days at the Congress office, and has promised to take the Charlie's today or to-morrow".

In a further letter he writes—

"Our excellent friends have instituted a silver cup for the best officer—who successfully completes three successive campaigns. The competition will commence when 50 Charlie's are introduced by the merchant community. In many small shops Charlie's are working already."

In the latest letter he says—

"After I had wrote to you, I have begun to take work at work to be done in the Bazar. One of our workers goes about the town taking down names of those who have Charlie's, and those who have no Charlie's. I am sure now, those who want copies, opened, etc. He will take about 15 days to go to every house in the town. At the end of that period he will have to go to those houses and give them what they want.

"I think there are more than a hundred Charlie's working regularly in the town and I believe many more be working irregularly. Our Municipal chairman, one of our working with a working, has I supplied him. He gave good yarn. Our Vaid himself has also opening regularly. Mr. Vaidhar, a rich of the place, an untouchable, opened very regularly and some days when he has an event, he gives for 8 or 4 hours at a stretch. He tells me opening gives him relief as no other untouchable does. He has therefore kept his Charlie's in a room where he keeps his favourite Vana. Charlie's take a plate therefore I long with his love and say all things."

## Government Monopoly Opinion

[By C. P. Desai.]

The inevitable passage of the amendment made by Mr. John Campbell at Calcutta, last May, when he introduced the amended opium representatives from every part of the world, that "from the very beginning, India had treated the opium question with perfect honesty of purpose, and was even its most ardent opponents, including Mr. Oswald, had ever made any request in that respect," should be sufficient to warn every man lover of his country how the present Government has been driven by the exigencies of its military budget and its own commercial outlook to cling to an opium revenue that is ruined. The fair name of India has been brought into disrepute and there has been no remedy.

Mr. John Campbell was sent upon to Calcutta last September, as adviser for "India" at the League of Nations' Assembly. The rest of the civilized world almost unanimously waited for the news of opium to be confined to those of medicine and science. He came as a drug and a poison was to be prohibited. The Government of India blushed the way for own reasons. The opium traffic deals with the Far Eastern people is clearly another medicinal one. It is purely for the satisfaction of a few. Furthermore, the internal opium trade in India itself is controlled by my Department. It is not that great opium is used in India by the common people for medicinal purposes, but it is equally true that much is used for purposes of vice. The demonstration of demand during the last twenty years is proof of that. The production of things in our larger Indian towns is a contribution. If they were needed the average opium revenue each year comes to more than £4,000,000. The British Government in India that has agreed on by force the opium traffic with China for nearly 150 years (including all the while that it was "medically" used) expect of its abolition in a single day. The loss of the loss of £4,000,000 per annum has been a very great incentive to the defence of the opium traffic in the own town, just in the same way that it was also a leading motive in defending the traffic with China.

Mr. Oswald's comment on the opium traffic equally represents the facts—

"It will have differed, in order, to say that the vice has spread in India more than anywhere, but we admitted the vice, as the present Government has, for purposes of revenue."

Lord Lansdowne's Parliamentary Committee has recently made the following frank statement—

"The bulk of the expenditure in the Opium Department represents the cost of the opium produced from the cultivators. The statement that the possibility of reducing the price paid to cultivators is actually worked with a view to reduction. We are informed that there will be a reduction of about twenty lakhs in expenditure for 1923-24, with no rise of the levy of duty of 2½ pence per hundred weight of opium. We mentioned in 1913-14 that the cost of opium was £1,000,000."

According to Lord Lansdowne, it is manifestly unnecessary not to kill the goose that lays the golden eggs. The burning of the opium revenue must be immediately handled. The Government of India is not morally as open and frank in its statements about opium as this. That the opium trade is organized in the Far East may be understood from the East's Schismatics. Both



the Straits Settlements and India against the Opium Convention in 1925-26, which declined.

"The Conserving Powers shall take measures for a long and not otherwise easy course of the maintenance of an opium trade. It had no of proposed opium (i.e. the opium smoking) in a form agreed in the supply, maintenance of and thereby increased same quantities in the subject and thereby to increase the Conserving Powers shall prohibit for export and import of prepared opium, from Straits, however, which are not yet ready to prohibit immediately the export of prepared opium, shall prohibit it as soon as possible."

It would appear to the ordinary reader that such articles, agreed by Governing Powers in 1925-26, were binding. Every Power should clearly be so treated in prohibited opium smoking. What he believed then, that as late as 1933, sixty per cent of the whole revenue of the Straits Settlements was derived from opium, presumably the whole of which was accounted for opium smoking? India supplied for the greater part of the opium. In 1933, the government the revenue amounted forty-eight per cent to the remarkable story of purchasing to vote for the sale of profit and trading scheme proposed made in the Straits Commission, goes on:

"It must be remembered that Singapore is one of the richest ports of the world. The wealthy merchants there pay hardly any income tax, towards revenue and very little customs duty. The Colonial Office has for 1933 reported:—

"There is the case of petroleum, rubber, sugar and tobacco, the prices are low from duties on exports and import, but the income from the other general imports."

Then the amount paid to the local Government is taxation is very low indeed. The dividends of these rich Singapore merchants grow heavier and heavier owing to the income which comes from the opium duty. The Government of India, which provides the opium, shares in the profit. The Powers, who were Members of the League, have income greater out of the income of the gambling license. Is there really any material difference between these two forms of remunerating rent?

The figures for revenue and expenditure in Singapore are so remarkable, that I give them below as follows:—

Revenue	22,000,000	dollars
Expenditure	15,000,000	"
Opium Revenue	12,000,000	"

It will be noted that in that special year, 1933, the opium revenue very nearly covered the whole expenditure of the colony. I have not got the full figures for 1933, but the opium revenue was about 11 million dollars.

The story is not yet fully told. The opium does not monopolize by the local authorities, who come from China to find and collect the steps in Singapore Harbour. The great attraction of Singapore to these Chinese Chinamen is the gambling and the opium smoking. As long as there are two attractions towards them, there will be no labour union. It is true that the opium addict dies after a very few years, but others come pouring in to take the dead man's place. All moral and material standards vanish. The Chinese labourer becomes a mere tool for doing a certain amount of dirt, heavy, continuous work and then getting paid for his day. There could be no more deadly system, to be used in the exploitation of man by the labour of labour, intelligent labour. There could be no greater degradation to man, who is made in the image of God.

Let's pocket that as well as these opium does in Singapore is marked 'Indian Monopoly Opium'. It is marked that, because introduced opium from Indian opium to any other quality. I have seen these opium done in Singapore. They are like only very cheap. There is no chance to dispose attracted to them. Another Curiously, a resident of the place, writes in April, 1933:—

"When visitors of Chinese origin and so opium who they come of Straits from China, has introduced the body under the British flag."

Miss Le Merle is commenting upon this, writes from the Times newspaper, London, of July 20, 1933:—

"The Chinese in power believe that opium smoking will do them no harm, that the practice of taking opium and smoking opium was doing much to demoralize society. Taking too, this was so, that must be true as a matter of fact, possibly from the knowledge that this practice is the worst and the most dangerous of smoking the most power from the world opium."

A further incident, in my own personal experience, will show the extreme care with which the sale of opium is guarded in the West. I was told by the Doctor, through an attack of influenza, to take a medicine containing a very slight quantity of opium. I gave the prescription to the chemist, and when he offered me the medicine, I asked for the prescription to be returned to me. But the chemist said he was obliged by law to keep it, because, if I wanted some more of that special medicine, containing opium, then, under the Dangerous Drugs Act, I must get a new prescription.

Think of the extreme care with which every single leaflet and leaflet is guarded in the West. And then think of those Chinese labourers, introduced to Singapore by the Chinese for introduced opium smoking—like birds raised a month young to their death. Then remember that every one of those packets that are sold in Singapore as "Indian Monopoly Opium."

A very short time ago, I was passing near the back of the Chinese set far from the moral eye of Singapore. There I saw many other were covered with beautiful flowers that were suddenly shown. At first, the sight that was with intense joy, for the morning light shone upon the pure white flowers was not immediately beautiful. But later, with a sharp mental eye I noticed, that the white flower was the opium poppy and that of these tiny bulbs were due to be planted and the poppy seeds killed down, and the deadly gas extracted, which under strictly medical use might become an useful benefit to man, but when extracted for smoking purposes, might become more of a death than the very little where Darius, the Buddha, had walked, and made unimpaired of the Hindu and Buddhist faith—men, who had been given peace and having to maintain. But then, here, in the moral Buddha land a foreign government was engaged in the history of the world before. It was making a new form of unimpaired path, from which larger and larger dividends might be reaped by the wealthy capitalists of Singapore, and other parts.

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# Young India

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## Notes

### The Satyagraha Week

The reader does not need the reminder that this is the sacred Satyagraha week. It was on Sunday the sixth April 1919 that the first all-India hartal took place as a protest against the passing of the Rowlatt Act. It was that day that thousands met and wept all over India left a twenty-four hour fast. It was on that sacred day that the nation recognised with full strength it has never done before the capacity of Hindu-Muslim unity and that Hindu, Mohammedan, Sikh, Parsi, Christian and others and in hearty co-operation and it was on that day that an all-India Swastika spirit, not in vengeance but as a vital necessity in the life of the nation, was born. It was on the 10th that the all-India assembly met. We have been observing both these days and the intervening days from year to year as special days for purification, searching all hearts for disturbing factor relations among all the different sections and for promoting brotherhood which has caused gradually raised the morning when I was privileged to have from a friend that in Amritsar, the scene of the Black tragedy, the week was last observed last year. I wonder how Amritsar and the rest of India will have observed the week this year.

### Am I Unfair?

I have the good fortune to possess friends who keep me on the right path when I am inclined to stray away from it. One such friend thought that in my letter last week to the readers of Young India, I was less than fair to the Government of Bombay as so much as I declined to render thanks to them for having given me best medical assistance and made the public recovery very by kindly rendering friends as this was. In my friend's opinion the treatment was a sign of change of heart due to the advice of the new Governor. I have deeply thought over my friend's argument and I am reluctantly obliged to adhere to the conclusion that I owe no thanks for the best medical assistance and the facilities given to friends to visit me, unless thanks are due to a Government every time it does its duty. I have made ample acknowledgments of the fact that the Government did for me during my illness all that it could reasonably be expected to do in respect of a prisoner. But I am unable to render thanks to the Government as such, in the same sense that I have rendered them to Col. MacLeod, Col. Murray and Major Ayre.

They need not have been as kind as they were and I would not have acknowledged that they had done all they could be expected to do in their collective opinion. The personal element was a factor in their gentlemen's conduct towards me, and I was bound to give them no thanks. To fulfil this part of the argument, I may stop a walking cadaver. I may say that our unconsciously correct conduct as a prisoner had not a little to do with the happy relations that subsisted between the officials and indeed also the Government and myself. I made this merely to emphasize the truth stated for me on scores of trying occasions that unobscure correct conduct will obtain the friendliest attention, respect and sympathy.

Now for the proposed change of heart. I wish I could say it. I am begging for it. The reader may know that the slightest real change of heart will make me capitulate without delay. But it will have to be very real. The Government have failed even up to nearly a test as the release of Mahatma, Hansa Mehta, and the release of the ban against Mr. Harrowood. I was that from a strong feeling as I have known an equally strong resolution in this Government. I am however more anxious to be able to receive a sincere change of heart. It has been suggested that the Governor would not have treated me during my illness as the Presidency. Sir Leslie Wilson has done. I do not believe it. In spite of Sir George Lloyd's wise advice of me, he would have given me the same medical assistance and facilities that were given to me by the present Governor. Indeed it was he who sent Col. MacLeod, to prescribe as when I first leaving at all necessary. It is the Governor's good about eight months ago. Col. MacLeod was asked to visit me weekly during convalescence and send the Government weekly reports. I have a better opinion of the British officials than most people imagine. They have a high sense of duty. Only the honesty of an ordinary official does not usually support the line of policy. It is so much of him. He is bent to a system handed down for generations—a system which is based on exploitation of the weak by the strong. The official hands down when the system which sustains him is so deeply. But it is my belief that no other human being will do better under this system. The system therefore it is destroyed or radically altered the better for us all.

### Good Postings

I join the reader's attention to Mr. Chatterjee's broadcast and instructive expression to East Africa.



His better experiences as a dark passenger took mental possession. The picture he has given is not coarseness. These pictures can change the deplorable state of things.

(1) The British India Steam Navigation Company.

(2) The Government.

(3) The passengers.

The British India S. N. Company will not worry because its concern is to secure the largest profits. It is wary enough nothing from the Government, till it knows the price to pay. It. The passengers are the real parties affected. Unhappily the majority of them are coloured ones to available landings. The others secure what they desire. It is only when a coloured passenger travels as a dark passenger that he can be hurt. He does not make noise as the treatment of dark passengers has his-made and so nothing is achieved. Only when well-reported passengers Mr. Broomfield found no proper sanitation and accommodation not merely for himself but for all, any subsequent change be expected.

Charles Abrahm

Mr. Chamberlain's remarks on the coloured school are the most suggestive. If indeed in East Africa one separates the law, the school and the loan among the natives of the soil, they will have mastered them a great service. The possibilities of the school are as wide as the world itself, because its appeal requires little capital. It merely needs fellow-feeling, volunteer organising ability and technical skill which can be easily acquired.

Charles Abrahm

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Khadar in East Africa

Should the Indians of East Africa wear Khadar? Khadi's Saragis Khadi is reported to have replied to the inquiry. I can hardly believe it. By that as a man, I am Africa should wear Khadar as far as possible. It is not necessary for them to take or to make the use of Khadar, as we at home wear it. What the Khadiars must have is a kind of dress upon which khadi and khadi. Khadi clothing must be light, especially clean and worn neatly. One often notices a khadiar's filthy outfit of his necessary qualities. If Khadiar is to become popular with the upper classes the system must be clean and neat. The roughness and the lack of well-kept Khadiar are a disadvantage rather than otherwise. The abundance variety of such Khadiar makes it impossible to wear it, to wear it gives it a richness that is pleasant to the eye.

As We Have Seen

Mr. Anderson's public remarks on untouchability deserve to be pondered over. Recently Khadi, I have nothing to Mr. Anderson told me that untouchability was practical even for some Christians of India. As a Hindu I bow my head because when I heard the news. For I realised that the evil was coming by them from the Hindus. The report of his fellow-passengers which Mr. Anderson received when he brought the subject of the disabilities of Indians in South Africa was well deserved. While it is true that the Europeans in South Africa need not treat us as we treat our own people at home, our mouths are shut when we see that our thing is not done. They are saying that of what we have seen.

My Other

My dear Madam's splendid work in South Africa has told. Letters reached by me from South Africa show that her presence has brought fresh courage to the Indian nation. Mr. Dutt's freedom efforts to justify an unreasonable measure show also that the presence of South Africa have left the force of her wonderful work. Dr. Dutt's assertion that the agreement of 1914 did not bind the Union Government to take such vested rights as the Union Government actually does, ought to carry with it the understanding that if once an agreement can be proved the Bill will not be presented with. Even though a non-co-operation I beg to make the proposal that if the Government of India receive an undertaking from the Union Government that if the agreement can be proved to the satisfaction of an impartial tribunal they will suspend the Bill pending such enquiry, I shall be prepared to appear before such a tribunal to prove the agreement. Nor is successful waiting for such a course. When the interpretation of the Transvaal Law 3 of 1910 and the property of the enactment is spite of the London Convention were in dispute, the matter was referred to a tribunal by the Imperial and the Transvaal Governments.

To Correspondents

I have before me a heap of correspondence and shall decrease its publication. It is impossible for me to find space for it. If Young India is to retain its present size. The correspondents will please shorten letters as if they were their contributions in these columns. The fact is that as an editorial board member to on Young India is not a newspaper. It is a newspaper. And since it is being used to do so, I am distributing my news and in my own way. It is being being written correspondents, correspondents will do well not to send contributions which have no special feature about them and which have no bearing on the message for which Young India stands. M. K. G.

Untouchability

(By G. P. Anderson)

When any man, who is not by religion a Hindu, writes on the subject of Untouchability, it is necessary for him, first of all, to state the grounds on which he feels compelled to write. For that is obvious, in the first instance, a Hindu question, with which Hindus are most intimately dealt. For that reason, during an interval of many years, when undertaking public work in India, I steadily refrained from writing or speaking on the subject. At one time, when my nearest visit to India, I mentioned to Mr. Gandhi this interval silence, which had prevented me from writing on Untouchability, and he advised me to continue to stay the subject which was a right one. But events have happened such and such since then, and further reasons have come into existence which have made it appear necessary for me to speak now, although I had been silent about before.

The chief reason, which goes to me with a mass of letters and opinions, when I first visited Malabar and Travancore was to do that the new and old



unhappy Hindu problem of all, for more than a thousand years the Christian Churches at the South of India, where 95 per cent. of the population were Christian, had been labouring in an attempt at about 'non-interference' towards certain classes of the community. Their moral attitude had in no way departed from that of the neighbouring Hindu. Hindu law says that a convert was made I have felt that the ground for my original mission was taken from under my feet, and that it was necessary to speak out and share the blame of the error of non-interference in India with my fellow Christians and Hindus alike, so that with them in helping in a community which protected the guilty act.

I make also a further discovery, that among Mohammedan and Christian villages in India there was often the same reluctance to share the blame with the non-interference classes that existed among the Hindu Hindus.

More and more, therefore, recently, it has appeared to me that it has become a matter in which the whole national life of India is involved and in which such the whole of India must share.

But a second reason arose in South Africa itself which almost compelled me at the time to speak out. My friend Walter Preece did so without getting any chance, no chance and having no love. My own love, that could not reach as deep as his, had to wait. The second reason was this. Every day in South Africa, in 1913-1914, we were faced with 'non-interference'. Here it was not protected by Indians, but by European Evangelists,—the railway lines, in the electric trams, in the restaurants and hotels, even in the houses of Europeans, and—how deep alone I say it is—in the Christian churches, the Indians had become segregated. From the very first moment that we realised this thing, we began to speak out publicly against it. Then, like lightning, the feeling which went back from the Europeans, that Indians should not object to such segregation because they treated their own fellow-converts as a matter common in India. In a speech, which I recently delivered in Poona, I told the story, how we started a day going to England the whole movement which I had with a European, who knew South Africa, turned on this point, and there were many things uttered. "Look at your non-interference in India!" my opponent said. "Look at every part of India! What are you doing to remedy that? Why don't you go there? Why do you come to England, to tell us no duty in Africa? Why don't you stay in India and tell them their duty in their own fellow-converts?"

"Good God," said another to me, with recognition and more. "I've treated Indians, as they treat me another—Good God, now, why don't you open your eyes and see what's happening there, instead of looking about in Kenya and Uganda and South Africa, making yourself a witness in every white man's house there alone for God's sake and go down to Johannesburg?"

Thus, that I have written down, was almost word for word what was said to me on that last day. It has been repeated over and over again

to me on various occasions with such force that I have nearly come to know it by heart. It is no little argument at all, because two things were made out right. The movement, with which of us always started, shows that it is only a scheme for a guilty conscience and an excuse for what is really intended to be wrong, but cannot openly be non-interference. Non-interference, the man knows well, that is non-interference, is to remove non-interference in India. This provides the key not only to Kenya, but also to India. Kenya and South Africa and Fiji and to remove the marks from the head of every Indian church.

India has often, and by Christians and dignitaries in Church and State, that the Satyagraha movement inevitably leads to racial hatred and violence, and to the killing and maiming of the innocent, and in the stirring up of hatred against Englishmen as such, who charge the Indians nothing but good. There could hardly be a more direct refusal of all these because then the present Satyagraha movement in India, which has been started after public protest and pleading against the same non-interference. The very same terrible weapon is being used which was used at Cape Colony and at Kenya. The very same suffering is being suffered. Mr Gandhi has stated publicly, that he had no intention of allowing Satyagraha violence to be used. This was in reply to the charge, that he was deliberately stirring up race hatred against the English. Here, in India, we have made Indians pleading by Satyagraha against their own brethren. In the end, they are outside in general, it will have nothing of love, not force, the violence will be love, not hate.

The writer, now quoted in India, will be a sign for a new triumph in every part of India. The way will be laid out by India alone, but by every Indian alone, and by all the world.

P. S.—After writing this article, the following paragraph caught my attention from a *Standard* daily paper:—"On February 14th two directly named Englishmen, Khanna, son of Karna and Dora, son of Dora, were forcibly ejected from train-car No. 32 at 9 p.m., and notwithstanding their protests, were not allowed to board by the car."

This is so almost exact parallel to what might happen any day in England, if an Indian, however well-dressed, got into a certain portion of the train car, or of the train.

Furthermore, I have noted that the Satyagraha movement against non-interference in Africa, India, has been temporarily suspended, pending a further appeal to the Government of South Africa to enable them to realise the urgency of their attitude of violence. This does not imply any weakening or faltering in the matter of non-violence which has been already said. Rather, it implies the carrying out to the uttermost of the principle of love and forgiveness, so that the eyes of the blind may be opened in the truth.

#### Intending Subscribers

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Travelling India.



## Young India

18450

### Campaign of Misrepresentation

[illegible]

All the parental concern there seems to be without attempt being made to widen the gulf between Hindus and Muslims. Some newspapers, both Hindu and Muslim, are leaving no stone unturned to induce hatred and unfortunately they do not hesitate to resort to suggestions and even representations where they are not themselves consciously guilty of such methods. They violently urge mutual violence everything in the name of a nation that exists, in any other name.

One such statement was made with reference to Muslims Mohamed Ali. He has reported to have said that an unknown Moroccan was better than himself. That there should have been found any person willing to believe such a thing of Muslims Mohamed Ali shows the degree of tension that exists between Hindus and Mohammedans. The reader will find in another column a translation of the two letters written by the Muslims one to Swami Sri Shambhuddhar and the other to Sri. In my opinion the latter degree of anger for all the calumny against the Muslims that has been going the round of the Press. Enemies of India's freedom have not hesitated to desert the Muslims a statement and use it for the purpose of warring the Hindus against the Muslims. Indeed I venture to commend its being to the attention of every thoughtful Hindu. The letters in my humble opinion demonstrate the transparent baseness of the Muslims.

What is the original statement which has been so cruelly distorted by some newspapers? He says in effect that the creed of Islam is better than our creed. Is there anything offensive in this statement? As long as there are different religions, is not the Machine's position the only logical and honest one? I have seen four Christian friends in South Africa and in India. They pray for light for me. One of them, a retired scholar of standing in South Africa, urges me to accept Jesus Christ, and his salvation. He says that without that all my effort will be useless. Thousands of Christians earnestly hold that a gentleman must without fail be Jesus Christ, or lose their no challenge. Christian. Does an orthodox Hindu take issue? If he does, why is there all the terrible agitation regarding Gandhi? In making the choice of a husband for his daughter, will he choose the best-character representative of religion or the best man by his own test? And if he will withhold the choice to his own code, does it not show that he too like the Machine believes that he lived in the East of all?

The Marjans has played the religious law as picturesque language and legal rule, as he had a right to do: that I could not be offended, he chose not as one of his best Hindu friends for his education and showed that his need to hold worship

Perhaps, no matter how deep they might be to him, I feel that he deserves to be honored for the steadfastness of his high values (that he seemed at odds for a friend or opponent for the woman's good).

We need to prepare for the fact that I should find it in my heart to accept Islam evening any claim of apostasy. He would not be a true friend if he did not wish the best (according to his belief) for me. My mind is truth and nonviolence in their extreme form. I may be wrong... But if I wish well to my friends I cannot but wish that they may have the same good as long as I continue to believe it to be the best. I remain within the Islamic fold because it stands head the best laid down for me now.

The discussion in the next edition is more heavily and systematically accepting the Moslems's letter, remarked that in itself made no difference between justice and justice in the Moslems's letter to the Moslems. The second letter of the Moslems shows up the point and clarifies the whole argument when he says that he owed his duty to the Moslems' justice from justice. He adds that in his letter he merely compared the world's justice to the Moslems' and says he means that he was the best (and) in the Moslems' and still he is a Moslem. If he thought otherwise, would he not have to be the best in the Moslems to prove the point, he concluded that the Moslems' letter of Islam?

I think that the heart of every true Hindu will go out to Mahomed Ali Khan in the midst of his domestic bereavement and the violence of his grief; together he is trying his utmost to heal the breach between the Hindus and the Mohammedans, partly Hindu, who give, he may have thought, him no reason to regret that Mohammed Ali was not his father.

The other incident is reported to have occurred in the Tilden College 1 school my son is in to Dr. Agnew to let me know what actually did happen. I quote his reply in full except for parts which give the name of the newspaper which has been offending against the law of self-censorship and verities. I omit the name because the return is not in what newspaper it is offensive but to find a remedy for the disease that has become rampant in the Press. Dr. Agnew writes:

[illegible]

The papers which you mention are directly contrary to what I have said. However it is no purpose now to discuss it, as it has already been pointed out, and to present nothing but a new kind of conspiracy and fraud. It would not have been so well, and it is plain that it is even so plain, because they are nothing but a new kind of fraud. It is not possible to say that the spirit of conspiracy is everywhere in the world, and it is not possible to say that it is everywhere in the world.

"There are two headlines referred to by the lady once in regard to which these papers have been charged with a deplorable and uncharacteristic virgity. First Kazakhstan and a representative desire to put the issue concerning them, by using names like Kazakhistan on the opening page of the latest magazine issue of Kazakhstan."



















# Young India

A Weekly Journal

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No. 16

## My Jail Experiences

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I

The reader knows that I am a hardened convict. It was not for the first time that I found myself a prisoner in the March of 1892. I had three previous South African convictions to my credit, and as I was regarded at the time by the South African Government as a dangerous criminal I was moved from jail to jail and was able, therefore, to gather much experience of jail life. I had, before the Indian conviction, passed through six prisons and had come in touch with as many Superintendents and many more prisoners. When, therefore, during the beautiful night of the 10th of March, I was taken to the Johannesburg Jail together with Mr. Barker, I did not feel any apprehension which always attends even a strange and new experience. I cannot tell I was going from one home to another in order to make some congenial life. The police-stations were more like being taken to a pleasure-trip than to jail. The courteous Superintendent of Police, Mr. Brady, would not even enter the Africans but, as Mr. Amarakshi, with a message that he had a warrant for my arrest and that a car awaited me at the African gate I was to take whatever time I needed for getting ready. Mr. Barker, who was on his way back to Johannesburg, was met by Mr. Brady in the way and already arrested. I was not at all surprised for the news that Amarakshi brought. As a matter of fact, after having walked long enough for the comfort of the warrant which everybody thought was innocent, I had given instructions that all should move and I was myself about to lay myself to bed. I had returned that evening from Agnes after a long journey when most reliable information was given to me that a warrant had been sent to Agnes for my arrest but the committee would not arrest the warrant, as the very day that the warrant reached Agnes, I was going back to Johannesburg. The real news of the warrant therefore came as a welcome relief. I took with me an extra bundle (hinsakhi), two blankets, and five books, Bhagavad Gita, Arabian Nights Book, Ramayana, Rodwell's translation of the Koran, a presentation copy of the Satyagraha to the Nation sent by subscribers of a High School in California with the hope that I would always carry it with me. The Superintendent, Mr. Barker, Mr. R. W. Wade, visited me

kindly and we were taken to a separate block of cells attached to a hospital, clean and peaceful. We were permitted to sleep on the verandah of the cells, a nice privilege for prisoners. I secured the quiet and the orderliness of the place. The next morning we were taken to the Court for preliminary examination. Both Mr. Barker and I had decided not only not to offer any defence, but in no way to hamper the prosecution but rather to help it. The preliminary examination was, therefore, quickly over. The case was committed to the Sessions, and as we were prepared to accept, about twelve the trial was to take place on the 11th of March. The people of Johannesburg had risen in the occasion. Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel had issued strict instructions that there should be no crowds gathering near the Court-house and that there should be no demonstration of any kind whatever. There were, therefore, in the Court-house only a select body of citizens, and the Police had an easy time of it, which I shall see was duly appreciated by the authorities.

The work before the trial was passed in receiving visitors who were generally permitted to see us without restriction. We were allowed to carry on correspondence as long as it was harmless and subservient to the improvement. As we willingly carried out all the Jail regulations, our relations with the Jail officials were smooth and easy in contrast during the week that we were in Johannesburg. Khan Sahibdar Wacha was of assistance and politeness but it was impossible not to notice his cruelty in everything he did. He seemed to apologise for his Indian look and unconsciously to convey that he would have done more for us had he been a European. Being an Indian, even in allowing facilities which his regulations permitted, he was afraid of the Collector and the Inspector-General at Pretoria and every official who was at all superior to him. He knew that if it came to a struggle between himself and the Collector or the Inspector-General at Pretoria, he had nobody to back him up as the Secretary. The action of inferiority haunted him at every step. What was true outside was equally true, if not truer, inside the Jail. An Indian official would not assert himself, not because he could not, but because he lived in constant fear of degradation, if not dismissal. It is not to think his post and stable promotion, to keep place his superior, even to the point of abject and even of de-



methods of discipline. The constant business trouble when my eyes transferred to Varanasi. The European Superintendent had no fear of the European General at Police. He could claim post as much influence at the Superintendent as the latter. The Colonel for him was almost an interloper. The Indian is never to hold cheap and therefore he was not about to do his duty when he talked and was equally unwilling to neglect it, when discharge of duty means coercion with. He knew that, as a rule, he was always right. The sense of duty enables young Europeans officers often to do the right thing in spite of opposition either from the public or from the Government, and he has also often done so, much and we through all temptations, all temptations and defied public opinion.

Of the trial and the sentence I found something in the reader knows all about it, except to acknowledge the courtesy which was extended to us by all the officials including the Judge and the Advocate General. The wonderful restraint that was observed by the small crowd of people that was seen in and about the Court, and the great attention shown by them was never to offend my memory. The sentence of six years' simple imprisonment I regarded as right. For if Section 124 A of the Penal Code did really constitute a crime and the Judge acknowledging the loss of the land could not but hold it as a crime, he would be perfectly justified in imposing the highest penalty. The crime was repeatedly and rightly acknowledged, and I can only account for the leniency of the sentence by assuming not that the Judge took pity on me, for I asked for more, but that he could not have approved of Section 124 A. There are many instances of judges having awarded their disapproval of particular laws by imposing the minimum sentence, even though the crime dictated by them might have been fully and deliberately committed. He could not very well impose a lighter sentence saying that for his holiness's sake was mitigated to six years' imprisonment for a crime all-year.

The sentence over, we were both taken back to the office, this time as fully-grown persons but there was no change in the treatment accorded to us. Some friends were even permitted to accompany us. Letter-writing in the jail was quite free. Mr. Choudhury and Anandachari both themselves brought us they passed Mr. Hunter not laughing all the time and I received a sign of relief thinking God that all was over so peacefully and that I could be able to leave home and still feel that I was serving the country, if possible more than when I was travelling up and down addressing huge audiences. I still I could confess the violence that imprisonment of a comrade does not seem so much loss of work, for a common cause. If we believe, as we have to when proclaimed we do, that spiritual suffering is the greatest way of remedying a wrong in regard to which the suffering is gone through, surely it follows as a matter of course that imprisonment of a comrade is as true silent suffering undergone with dignity and industry works with an unswerving devotion. It is still more because there is no consolation about it. It is things that because there is no danger of

self-satisfaction. However if we say that within the loss of a letter, a letter management and and decision capacity, he was. And so long as no regard anybody is single—any—any there are fitted ourselves for argument work. For equipped with mental capacity for carrying on a line of action in the matter. Therefore we are not against the unswerving suffering of friend or ourselves and trust that for cause it is or just will go through such suffering.

## The Struggle Against Alcohol

(By G. P. Jahan)

I have just received a letter from the Secretary of a local branch in Bengal, asking me for my advice with regard to the prohibition of liquor over which there is a crisis in Hindustan. Many other letters have come to me of a similar nature, and they seem to show that the great religious party, long witnesses of the year 1891 devoted against drink and drugs has not died away, but has reached at a steady glow, ready once more to burst out into flame when the time for action arrives. In answering the letter from Bengal, I tried to make clear that every one however small which is possessed of energy in order to restrict the drink traffic in any area is all to the good, and that my sympathy which can hardly go "far" is a whole lot on the case of India—poor white. I said that the white men of the Hindustan movement shall would be disappointed if the drink and drugs traffic continued. In the same letter I pointed out how many of the Indian States were now checking themselves from the drink traffic, and how Mr. Gandhi in the very height of the prohibition movement of 1891 had held the country bound to co-operate with the people. As I he had advised the Government.

Like I was in England, the prohibition, it was my good to know to word every day with Mr. W. L. Jahan. When we were all over the then in "Varanasi" He knew that we were also, because the British of the 18th that Hindustan in America. It will be remembered how deeply impressed he had been with the prohibition, especially of the Hindustani movement, and how he had during his visit and how he had made a great deal of work, that had been of the in person, and advising the people. He said that in England that was a most important matter for prohibition, because alcohol it was one of the greatest things he had ever seen in the world. Every day we talked over the drink problem, and I had the very opportunity of studying something of the movement in the world. He was in every way a most valuable man, especially as a child in his own father's and with a commanding depth in God. He said one time that was nothing that he would like to do better than to come to India over seas—One time as a matter in order to do all he could to help in the great struggle against drink and drugs which was really depending in the East.

I now tell, in a few words, the way in which he continued to be good in London during an earlier visit to England. The London medical students, in a pleasant mood, attacked him. A man dressed in white with great knee boots his character. A walking



of glass mirrored his eyeball, the lay in intense agony for three days. At last when his very life became in danger a drastic operation was performed. The eyeball itself was extracted. He then lost one of his eyes altogether. Yet, even in the midst of his agony of suffering pain, he dictated a letter to the London students telling them that he bore them no ill-will at all and saying that he wished to be friends with them again. The British Government, hearing political complications, owing to the injury inflicted during a riot on an important American citizen offered him \$5,000 dollars as compensation, but he refused it immediately and said that this was a matter between him and the students, which had all been forgotten and forgotten. Such a deed of true non-violence deserves to be remembered!

One point that he mentioned impressed me with its serious importance. He said that the drink issue was no longer American, but world-wide. The great capitalist liquor interests were now engaged in a world campaign of profit and it needed a world campaign of righteousness to meet them and to defeat them. During the next ten years, the whole world problem probably be settled. When I considered the matter carefully and methodically, I could see how true this was, for since the time when America had gone dry, Great Britain had become the centre of the traffic in intoxicants, and India had become her hand-maid. Great Britain had determined everywhere to continue to make revenue out of them. Her great world Empire was to no small extent dependent on the profits made. It was easy to verify this. There was the drink revenue for Great Britain itself. There was the revenue in British India amounting to 25 crores of rupees. There were the options reserved in the Far East which frequently paid half the expenditure of those rich British possessions. There was the vile traffic in West Africa which had not even yet been brought to an end, in spite of every moral protest raised against it. By West the same liquor traffic had diminished and degraded the Indian industrial life and had driven it into their back into a fresh lull after the first lull since was over.

Already, while studying the morphia traffic, in connection with opium, I had heard out how the manufacture of this drug on a large scale had led to the same world ramifications. All the great work of opium prevention done at Geneva under Sir John Jordan and his able band of scientists had been directed with a view to stop this in its very source. So also with these great alcohol capitalist companies. They make their huge profits by a world business. Therefore, they must be stopped at the different sources of their traffic. Every country that 'grows dry' stops up one of the sources. Sir Johnson warned me that the British liquor interest was now directly and indirectly connected with India. India had now its immense material resources marshalled against her, not just as the more British liquor traffic had upon millions amounts in order to prevent Prohibition in America, so in the same manner, now that these British liquor interests realised that their own monopoly was in danger in India, they would bring every

influence to bear, politically, economically and financially, to prevent the spread of self-government and keep India in chains.

It was not long before I found out many of these wheels within wheels by which commercial and financial life I was told on good authority how the 'Trade' (i. e., liquor traffic), as it is significantly called, had been working with resources the secret. Very detailed campaigns. It had outwitted Dryden and held in its small measure led to Mr. Montagu's downfall and defeat. It may not be yet well known in India, that the 'Trade' in Great Britain given by for the strongest financial backing to the party heads of the reactionaries in British politics. Just as American political life was corrupted by the 'Saloon' vote, so British politics to-day are corrupted by the corrupting financial influence of 'Trade'.

But it is good to turn away from these moral details of evil and reaction, and to realize the commanding beauty of the prospect of a clean and sober India. Great encouragement, for instance, may be gained from the sight of what has already been accomplished within a single generation in the United States of America, owing to organized and united effort. Mr. Johnson gave me some of the latest figures which he had reached concerning the moral effect of the first four years of Prohibition in America. He warned me that these early years, under the Volstead Act, were by far the most difficult to get through with success, because the machinery to enforce Prohibition had to be built up from the very beginning. He told me also, how he regarded it as very good, that over a million lives had been saved owing to abstention from alcohol since the law had been passed. The arrests for drunkenness have decreased by over 2 millions in the same period. What this means, for peace and comfort, is nothing of American homes, may be well imagined by any one, who has seen a man or a woman dangerously and violently drunk. The experience, which I had in England, in my earlier life, as a clergyman, can never be forgotten. Certain streets were a veritable hell on Thursday nights and the little innocent children, who grew up amid such scenes, hardly ever had a chance of escaping from the vicious circle. Other figures were given to me concerning the arrests, in every district of America under Prohibition, of Church members, of church benefactors, of life insurance policies, and the like. It was equally encouraging to be told of immensely increased school attendance, of Colleges and Universities crowded with students to the moral and social change which had taken place in every part of the United States, especially in the Middle West.

We, in India, who have looked on records of sobriety and temperance, during many centuries, can well rejoice as we behold this young western nation, solidifying with high enthusiasm its new-found freedom from the alcohol poison. In our present deplorable condition, we look eagerly to them for brotherly help; as we watch their achievement



of the great world-famous. We can understand more clearly what we mean, because we ourselves have not yet attained them.)

When I was in England recently, one of the Bishops of the Anglican Church professed before the public that if the people of India were allowed to have their own voices in their own affairs they would pass by an overwhelming majority a Union Prohibition measure. This was undoubtedly correct.

It is somewhat odd, in answer to this, that India, both of cloth and colour, has now been made a "Prohibition" subject. But those, who know the facts, understand only too well, that the prohibition is in substance Union; and that Prohibition today could not be enforced in India by a popular vote however unanimous. To take one test—in there any sign whatever, that the British Government in this country would be willing to longer their own supply of foreign liquor in order to help our step towards Indian Prohibition?

In ancient times, India cherished her own ethno-theologically-scientific Drags and Alasas by the method of religious restraint. This was one of the noblest exercises of religion that brought her out wholeness. It preserved a humane and civilized life in the East by very many centuries. To-day there is a troubled road, if humanity in Eastern lands is to be rescued from disintegration. On the one hand, the old methods of religion must be re-balanced and revived, —not dogmatically, but with the living message of power and love. On the other hand, the new political movement must be rightly and wisely used, when at last it comes into our own hands. It must not be expressed merely by others on our behalf, but actually by ourselves. It must not be merely a "transformed" subject,—as though our spiritual life could be cut up into separate compartments. It needs to be wholly and genuinely the expression of the united will of the people.

On the very day when I finished this article at John, two different vessels came over from Bombay by separate lines. Both of them had met, on the journey, with the fatal catastrophe of a drunken man travelling in the railway compartment. In each case, the drunken man was so calm and so happy, and his companions were so kind that they were obliged to leave their part of the train. The growth of the terrible liquor evil is a strange symptom in Indian life. It is tending to become a growing cure of our modern ills. The time has now arrived to make an organized and united effort in the direction of Drink Prohibition.

#### Intending Subscribers

are requested to send subscriptions by Money Order or cheque and not to send us to send the first number per V. P. as we do not receive subscriptions by V. P. System.

—George, Young India

### 'The Whisper of the Wheel'

The following mathematical character of the possibilities of the spinning wheel cannot fail to be of general interest. The writer is a U. S. graduate and at himself a practical spinner. He does not wish his name to be advertised.

"I am a simple thing and anybody can understand my mechanism. I can be bought for a rupee or two. I am portable and easily accessible to all. I am much lighter than the grinding stone, therefore I am more popular with the poor man. I am in demand at the time of marriage. My production satisfies the religious want of the Pandits because I am always sacred. I am given bread to the millions of starving villages of India, and cloth for farmers, and give a livelihood to beggars, and give a degraded profession to the Indian soldiers and those whose country is otherwise exposed to the assaults of hostile powers. I am in the habit of diminishing "devils' workshops" by keeping busy all the man's hands, if they take to him me. I feed the weavers, the carders, the combers and the spinners, I can save the heavy drainage of India that has been sucking her very life-blood. I can effect real unity between the different communities of India by making them interdependent. I can moderate the violence of the water-wheel by making it easy to find a market for the yarn produced by them. I can establish real peace in India by teaching its inhabitants self-respect and self-reliance and thus render it absolutely impossible for other nations to come in India with the idea of exploiting her. I can introduce simplicity in life and make the poorest contented to talk with the rich hand. I can destroy the evils of the capitalist by abolishing the factory system and thus putting an end to the ever multiplying number of the labourers, and by being a means to reduce our loss of unemployment. I can find a harbinger of peace and restorer of financial health in India and superior distributor of wealth.

But to school students I am something more. I am an exponent of their studies, I am a harbinger to their future. Give me to a task boy and I will tell all at once that he is rich because his yarn will be unbroken and long-lived. Place me in the hands of a woman boy, I will at once know that he is growing because his yarn will be regular, and indicative of a balanced hand.

I am not merely an exponent; I am an instructor too. I can teach the wheel of a boy till he turns an adult; so well that he will be a good spinner. If he goes to the George Hospital, Lucknow with a certificate from me. His operation will surely be successful and his judgment most accurate. I myself a regular spinner can be a good mathematician because the more he knows both the science. It would be no exaggeration to say that spinning is practical mathematics. If you are, your studies will at once be directed.







apologies on this, I agree. I will be sure to try to do better, and I hope that you will be able to help me. I am sure that you will be able to help me. I am sure that you will be able to help me.

I have repeatedly observed that in school of thought can claim a monopoly of its judgment. We are all liable to err and are often wrong, it is reasonable judgment in a vast country like this, there must be room for all schools of honest thought. And the least therefore that we owe to ourselves and to others is to try to understand the opposite viewpoint and, if we cannot accept it, respect it as fully as we would expect him to respect ours. It is one of the indispensable tests of a healthy mind, his well-thought-out for Dumas. If we have no quality, and no tolerance, we shall never with our differences reconcile and meet, therefore always schools to the supremacy of a Ford over a to for Ign. Augustine. I in the the reader, then, to share with me the mutual Ford aside to the show set forth by my correspondent and if he belongs to the correspondent's school of thought, how much more so though I cannot see how to deal with him.

In my opinion, the largest of schools and the most important have both a fellow and a master. It has been largely, not wholly, a failure in that educational law courts have not been effectively or even adequately directed. But it has been a success in that by being surrounding Government schools and law courts has disappeared. People believe much more now than they did in the necessity of independent national schools and emphasis of the state by its citizens. Law courts and Government schoolmasters have lost much of the artificial prestige they enjoyed five years ago. I cannot share as my small gains. Let me not be misunderstood. I do not undervalue the sacrifices and devotion in the country of schoolmasters and teachers. Swadeshi and Gokhale were schoolmasters. Phule, Mahadevi Lal and Balakrishna Tyagi were lawyers. But I could not have seen these feelings and the consequences of men in whom the student is a monopoly of wisdom or ability to guide. The student, the teacher, the lawyer, the statesman, the statesman have lost as much right to shape the destiny of the country as the members of the so-called liberal professions. As the latter have relinquished the airs of authority, we have been freed by them and to that extent they have accomplished what I think that we can safely say was only, though the Government instead of teaching us that the Government is a creation of the people and merely an instrument for giving effect to their will. This alone passage of privileged classes has a good deal to be said for it. I hope it will meet success.

That natural science and pure art be a not separated, as they might here, is due to a variety of causes, some inevitable and others avoidable. We have here now to the work and therefore we

by a lot of new low wages about it. For me, however, the priority was maintaining a more- or less disappointed but nevertheless more enlightened effect. Our belief was we were creating jobs to move them to success.

The village was big enough. We were surrounded and I tried to take to the village life. But I find in every case do not respond to the habit of life as a difficulty which we have to face boldly, even bravely. If our desire is to establish peace for the people, not violence anywhere else by another, which may be even worse. Whether the villagers have died in their thousands so that we might live. Now we might have to die so that they may live. The difference will be indistinguishable. The former have died knowingly and involuntarily. Their cultural heritage has degraded as if now we die knowingly and willingly, our sacrifice will enable us and the whole nation, let us not flinch from the necessary sacrifice, if we will live as an independent self-respecting nation.

The difficulty with the non-cooperating lawyers is greater still. They have voluntarily been asked to a highly artificial life totally out of harmony with their national surroundings. I hoped of an attorney that any lawyer or doctor should charge as yet say \$10-1500 per day or for that matter even \$100 per day. It is an answer to the indictment that it is the married men who pay and their own lives here, but it may be all to the good of lawyers who worry themselves and people and are a part for the public good in the end were disappointed and charged only enough for maintenance. The married men would also be able to serve their beds. As it is we seem to be run out of a narrow circle.

If under "setting" we shall have to make the town life correspond to the village life, we shall be bound to simplify the town mode of life. The beginning has to be made now. They should hang on but not actually happen as they were to do now. Is marriage the only alternative if they can't remove prostitution? Is it impossible for a powerful lawyer to turn his attention to making an appropriate housewife life?

It is difficult for me to advise non-respecting laymen and schoolmasters. If they believe in the boycott they should face all difficulties and continue the boycott. If they do not believe in it, they can witness any degree attending to their own jobs. The problem is: As I do not believe in the complete boycott, I do not consider it to be obligatory on any individual writer or lawyer to refuse from signing the boycott notice. As a lawyer, I am not a part of the anti-boycott movement. I would still act as the friend of the boycott, as he worked out his personal grounds for supporting the boycott movement and work. (What was done and had to be done during 1910 and 1921) but by the constructive method of establishing and promoting medical schools and research etc.



## Notes

## Madama Shantabai Ali's Illness

The readers of Young India will be sorry to learn that Madama Shantabai Ali, who has been waiting for some time and is being treated by Dr. Yashwantrao Chavan, is not making much progress as yet as on two occasions both Madama Shantabai Ali and Dr. Chavan say in their letters just received that the patient is feeling very weak and requires more careful nursing. I trust the readers to join me in the prayer that our distinguished countryman may soon be restored to complete health.

## Talks with Leaders

Statements being appended in the Press about the talks between the Congress leaders and myself. I ask the readers to discount them as altogether premature. The first conferences have been reached Mr. C. K. Das has not even been able to attend these talks and as he has been asked by his medical adviser to take prolonged rest, he may not be able to come at all. In no case is it possible to make any statement before the views of Mr. Das and other present are known.

I understand that the workers are impatient because of the weakness caused by the strike and the confusion caused by unauthorised pamphlet ventures. I would ask the workers not to worry over for month of the talks. I can give them one assurance that there is not the slightest likelihood of any change being introduced by me in the constructive programme. Any one therefore depending his activity to that direction will make a ghastly blunder and retard the progress of the constructive work. With regards all the rest of all the workers that can be put together for the work.

## For Workers

A friend has suggested that I should convene a meeting of workers as to confer with them even as I am conferring with the leaders. At one time I thought it was a good plan but I see that it is not feasible. But what has finally decided my against such a conference is my own physical condition. I can hardly bear the strain of a prolonged sitting at an early hour. Any such conference to be useful must be called as soon as possible and not later than the end of this month. But I see that I shall not be equal to the task by that time. And after all what will such a conference do? I am gathering all the information I can. I shall soon reach conclusions on the varied questions of the day. Whatever opinion may attach to my opinion, it must remain the opinion of an individual and therefore have no authority. The only authoritative scheme for Congressmen can be that of the Working Committee and the All India Congress Committee in the absence of the whole Congress. My tentative opinions may have a fit subject for discussion when the All India Congress Committee meets. The Working Committee meets too early for me and is at any rate laid down my own policy or programme without reference to the A. I. C. C.

What therefore there need be no expectation of workers of this will give me as truly as possible some opinion on all the questions that may be arising. There will be all the more of assistance to me in having my own judgments. Any such arrangements should work out before the end of the month and events of Post-Annual Bombay.

## The Gandhara Movement

Another July of 1933 has surrendered peacefully when it was welcomed in its progress to the Congress Gandhara and placed under arrest by the British authorities. If we had not become used to such arrest and the like, they would create a sensation in the country. Now they have become ordinary occurrences and about life casually and less serious or pain. Their real value however in the same time as popular interest in them seems to have died. These arrests when they come to be announced also serve to check information. People also sport about in the absence of movement, allow themselves to be arrested because of their unpopularity both in effect but without efficacy of suffering indignities without movement and in a just cause. The strike have been weakening the Gandhara movement by the betrayal which came in the last four years. Their real is apparently unshakened heads of the fact that most of their leaders are in jail. Their weakness has been intense. They have got on with leading, they have stood without rebellion, shower of leaders and leaders have been imprisoned. Victory therefore is a matter only of time. An offensive has been discussed on behalf of the Government. They are impressing discontent men who are waiting in prison of a religious day. They have declared their association illegal. One wonders what further steps they can take to fight to the bone. This the latter's answer to my offering on the part of the Government is not difficult to guess. They will meet each programme step in complete and equally progressive determination to do or die.

## Vijaya Satyagraha

Victory of which all India is now waiting. The success at once the Madras Presidency, have nothing as ordinary kept to some extent it has become the test of Satyagraha. The Press continues to follow the daily progress of the movement from day to day. It has been undertaken on behalf of the establishment of the success. The movement has given no member need to describe the conditions of the suppressed classes. It is unrepresentative. These own consciousness of our may not only not touch any other work. Hence, they may not even approach them in a total distance. The leaders of the movement with a view to remedying the evil have taken up only a fragment of the evil, leaving no doubt that if they deal with it successfully, they will have done a great deal. At least in that part of India in which direct action is now going on. In the prosecution of the campaign some of the staunchest workers of Malabar have been captured including my predecessor George Joseph.



An most of the leaders have been imprisoned, an appeal has been made to the leaders all over India to come to the rescue. Whether such an appeal can or should be met or not need not be considered for the moment, as Madras seems to be responding wholeheartedly. There can now be no receding. The struggle may last long if orthodox Hindu opinion is actively hostile to the movement. The Satyagrahis are certain to break down the wall of prejudice in either long strong and cold it may be if their numbers grow big, peaceful and non-violent. They may have lost enough in these qualities to know that they will meet the steeled hearts.

Mr. Andrews has endeavored to answer the query of the Secretary of a General French League as to how to combat the drink evil. His answer is to follow in the footsteps of President Johnson. When he was trying to convert certain English students, he was stoned. The stone resulted ultimately in the loss of one eye. He pardoned the offenders, would not prosecute them and would not take compensation offered by the British Government. That was an instance of non-violence in thought, word and deed. If such non-violence can be shown here, I would not hesitate, in making the idea of phasing liquor shops again. But we stand defeated. In many places our phasing in 1911 was less than non-violent. The official idea of embarrassing the Government was predominant with us. That of reforming the drunkard was a very secondary consideration. In the struggle of non-co-operation politics are made to subserve the moral end. If we can reform the drunkard, we reform also the administration and the administrators. Whereas we improve the drunkard by force, we may deprive the Government of the liquor or the drug revenue for a time but in the end the suppressed drinking or smoking will raise its head and the Government will make an increased revenue. But could we have men and women enough who would carry on resistance for the love of the drunkard even at the risk of their lives, can we dream of reviving phasing? I am afraid we all deserve the praise given to us by Dr. Johnson. I want however to propose the passage in question from Mr. Andrews' article before setting it. But I have intended it to remind us of our duty and urge us to direct enough to achieve such things.

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A friend in a letter mentioning a Rs 10 note writes "The denning of Khadar without the use of any of society's party, self-conquest etc., amounts to a warlike" and he adds that as he does not possess these qualities in that's nature, he has not the courage to wear Khadar garments. I wish it were possible to associate all these qualities with Khadar garments. But in this case very few of us will be able to use Khadar at all. The other two questions compromised the merits of Khadar. In one great merit is that it solves, as nothing else can, the seasonal problem of India and answers it perfectly. The other would be of refusing to picture high and low

wear and use handspun Khadi as the exclusive of every other cloth. We want all, irrespective of the character, to wear Khadi. *Non-cooperators*, drinkants the very sores of the land, must clothe and feed themselves. I would not hesitate to urge them to wear Khadi even though I cannot induce them to change their mode of living. We must cease to attribute to Khadi virtues which it cannot carry.

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A correspondent has written a friendly critical letter for publication. If I thought it necessary. With due respect to the correspondent, I think it necessary to publish the letter. But I am prepared to let the reader judge what it is all likely to be from the following extract.

"If you will not condemn the past and present actions of the Peasantry Party in the strongest terms then you shall fail in your duty towards Truth and these thousands. If you will not condemn them ... then I will issue a death-sentence to your movement itself, ... I shall do and create a new one. Good-bye."

I am going to above extent in order that I may present the greater to my self and then break no more words: Whatsoever may be the action of the nation, I am made regarding the Councils. I know this night that I am not going to continue the necessity in my country whatsoever any express no difference among different languages, but I cannot comprehend the language they may hold different words in them. Therefore their words are at least as much related to a respectful hearing as mine is here at the table, saying to them: "What thing may you desire from us here any manner?" But he called them there as an danger to be taken as long as I was not there. While there I answered, by consequence, easily to me, I could tell him as well as well as my words for me as I can come there without danger yet, but as a condition. "What then is your heart? I will before your words, but when I am so proud of me, gathering to a thought that there is only, without of me, saying to the class of people, and all in the same manner and use a word, just as a person said to me: "We believe that I did not mean good to them. That opinion is not in the way of a person who is about to be a man of words in nothing else could have I am therefore I only to repeat words as often as the common word and that I shall be seen at the risk of being, how it is a matter of one. I should be an anti-matter in the nation if I continued to tell the truth and do it for fear of being cowardly. What will be the result when I have lost the only thing to which I live."

M. K. G.

[illegible]

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### Abstract

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in several cases, I may inform Mr. Chaudhary that shortly before I was in prison a Hindu woman a latter strongly protesting against my being converted to Krishna and Rama. I certainly agreed with my correspondent that such comparisons should not be made. I was fully sympathetic with anybody who was feeling offended at conversions which outrage their religious sense. What I plead for is tolerance and tolerant consideration for the feelings and sensitivities of others. If in the name of tolerance we begin to permit our neighbor's doings, we would be covering the failed convert who killed the goose that laid the golden eggs. (M. K. G.)

## Young India

24.4.24

### What is Hinduism?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A dear friend writes me a letter (published elsewhere) greatly criticizing the manner of my defence of Hinduism. Mahomed Ali's own famous speech regarding his conversion of faiths. The friend says that I have not been fair to Hinduism as that I have said a Hindu will live no better than the Mahomed. He quarrels with my distinction about quarters and then goes on to show me fragments of Hinduism. Another friend too, has made a similar remonstrance and added that many more should be added.

These friends have, in my opinion, missed by the question of propriety of comparing words with that of the allocation of their respective merits. Indeed as a convert, that Hinduism is not like Islam and that a Hindu would not think like the Mahomed, the friends remark is very ill-founded to the Mahomed's remark that a word only perfectly correct but it is a dogmatic exposure of truth assuming a particular belief to carry other than the remark that particular belief which held it, a bad form of exposure to that of another however valid. I adhere to the contrary distinction chosen by me, though I now see that it would have been better for me to have avoided it. It is not a conclusive distinction. Then too, I dealt with the correct many reasons for rendering the change of a husband in a particular case. But I do claim that the predominant reason for choosing the best man is his hypocritical looking, so he often does in another class of case is his creed. A Hindu will never choose a Hindu as a husband for his daughter because he looks the general body of women which may be called even held by his own wife. Defying the preference is to deny the belief that acceptance of a creed automatically generates perfection in accordance with it. A narrow creed if it is honestly believed has necessarily a Hindu. Held for progress. A creed or doctrine that makes it obligatory to other human creatures will never drive the believer from the land of religious murder unless he gives up the creed. Thus it is that we find people otherwise most loyal disappointed so when they fall short of the highest horizon of their master creed, they desert and

otherwise noble-minded Hindu converts to Christianity as a part of the Hindu creed and would therefore regard the reference as narrow. If convertibility was a part of the Hindu creed I should have to call myself a Hindu and must directly condemn many other folk if I admitted my highest conviction. Fortunately for me, I hold that convertibility is no part of Hinduism. On the contrary it is a serious blot upon it, which every part of it must sacrifice itself to remove. Suppose, however, I discovered that convertibility was really an integral part of Hinduism, I should have to wonder in the wilderness because the other words as I know them through their accepted interpretation would not retain my highest aspirations.

My correspondent accuses me of the crime of using the ambiguous words so that I have rendered Truth and conversion with the Hindu creed. The crime is deliberate. It is the good fortune in the nature of Hinduism that it has no official creed. In order therefore to protect myself against any mis-understanding I have said Truth and non-violence is my creed. If I were asked to define the Hindu creed I should surely say truth and other Truth through non-violent means. A man may not believe even in God and still call himself a Hindu. Hinduism is a religion not merely after truth and if today it has become material, creature consciousness in practice it is because we are fatigued and as soon as the fatigue is over, Hinduism will look back upon the world with a brilliant vision unknown before. Of course, therefore, Hinduism is the most tolerant of all religions. Its creed is all-embracing. But he says that it is close proximity for the Hindu creed over all the other creeds of the world. As I write these lines I feel a great deal of nervous self-doubt to me. That is, to Mahomed you are different, come to us and we will show you the Truth." I am conscious of this. I suppose by saying "Myself" or "my" my friends not doubt and the who continue were well needed for "I am" with all this, my "I" that was that." But will another word answer to me? Why all this doubt—the war of words? I can change my way out of it. It has through all my life. For the moment I mean to leave a clear word, and choose alone and ask my "I" to do better. Possibly I have failed to convince them and their confidence in that opinion if I have failed to convince it is because I have not seen the light. I can give my assurance that I have not adopted in recent thinking in order to defend "Hinduism Mahomed Ali." If I discover my error I hope I shall have the courage to own it. The Western world is a lesson from me. And I should be a false friend. It is often to defend his I sacrificed an aim of truth. It is the sacred privilege of a friend to own the other's truth and welcome his admission in case of truth.

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## My Jail Experiences

(By B. K. Ghosh)

2

### Some Officials

It was on Saturday the 15th March that the trial was finished. We were looking forward to a visit soon to the Subarnal jail at least for some weeks. We had expected that the Government would not let us remain in that jail for any length of time. We were however not prepared for the very sudden removal that actually did take place. For the matter may recall that we were removed on Monday the 20th March to a special train which was to take us to the Yamuna Central Jail. We were made aware of the proposed removal only about an hour before departure. The officer in charge was all politeness and we were enabled to feel perfectly comfortable in the journey. But immediately on alighting at Khatwa we observed the difference and were made to feel that we were prisoners after all. The C. S. and two officers were awaiting the train. We were put in a motor police-van which had perforated the windows. But for its bulky appearance it could well be a perfect cage. Certainly we could see nothing of the outside world. For the story of our reception at the jail the leading story of Mr. Basu's book on, his interview, the first interview, and almost interesting details, I must refer the reader to my letter to Bhramp Agastha-Sarkar, already published in these columns. After the first unpleasantness the relations between the then to police trustee Col. Dalziel and ourselves rapidly improved. He was most considerate regarding our creature comforts. But there was a certain something about him which always jarred. He would never forget that he was Superintendent and we were prisoners. He would not let it be pointed out that we were better treated than we were prisoners and he was Superintendent. I made bold to say that we never once forgot that we were prisoners. We showed him all the deference due to his rank. The relations were so unnecessary. But he had the needlessly lengthy discussions which one often repeatedly notices about so many British officials. This weakness of his made him dependent on the prisoners. Let me give a short but illustration of what I mean. He was most anxious that I should not work. Then I was telling. He wanted me to talk better. I told him I could talk only post's with better. He gave special orders that it should be procured at once. Well, it came. The difficulty was what to ask it with. I suggested that some flour might be loaned to me. It was given. But it was too coarse for my very delicate digestive apparatus. Indeed what flour was ordered and 20 lbs. was loaned to me. What was I to do with all this? I cooked or Mr. Basu's cooked for me day by day. After some time I told I needed another four or five hundred. I asked that the flour may be removed from me and the loan of better milled Col. Dalziel will not know. What was loaned was loaned, I might

feel loathed later. I pleaded that it was all waste of public money. I gently suggested that I was an advocate about the use of public money as I would be about my own. There was an immediate smile. I then said, "Surely it is my money." "How much have you contributed to the public treasury?" was the quick reply. I humbly replied, "You contribute only a percentage out of the salary you get from the State, whereas I give the whole of myself, labour, intelligence and all." There was a loud burst of merriment and laughter. But I did not collapse as I believed what I said. A Labourer like me who labours for the State for a mere maintenance contributes more to the State than a Vizier who more as Rs. 25,000 a year with royal rank and confidence to the State, if his salary be not income tax free, a certain percentage of his salary. It becomes possible for him and those who belong to the system of which he is the chief to receive what he does out of the labour of millions. And yet many Englishmen and some Indians honestly believe that their name the State (whatever the word may mean to them) more than the labourers and in addition contribute from their very nature a percentage towards the upkeep of the State. There were, then a grosser fallacy or a more absurd assumption than they had made bold to self-righteousness.

But I am not alone in the perfect Ordeal. I have others. The planter's example of Col. Dalziel's lengthy dinner. Will the reader believe that I had to carefully preserve the food all the extent of Major Jones who took Col. Dalziel's place when the latter went for the Inspector General of Prisons?

Major Jones was the very reverse of Col. Dalziel. From the very first day of his arrival, he became friends with the prisoners. I have a slight recollection of our first meeting. Although he came with Col. Dalziel with becoming concern, there was a refreshing absence of officiousness about him. He greeted me handsomely and talked about my fellow prisoners in Subarnal and conveyed their regards too, which he said they had sent. Though a most disciplinarian, he never acted as a disciplinarian. I have rarely met an official whether European or Indian so free from bias and or false notions of caste and dignity. He was ready to confer prison's diagrams and was patient with Government officials. He once accepted punishment not to a "political" prisoner but to a Hindu's benefits criminal. He volunteered to come to learn that the punishment was not deserved. He sympathized and without any pressure from outside cancelled it and made the following was his reply. "I repeat of my decision" in the prisoner's honourable letter. The concrete reason in which the prisoner was my sympathizer was truly causing Major Jones was that he said. They had obtained the very one of the officials.

To finish however the story of my attempt to save the flour and other experiences



offices of Dist. At Mr. Meade's very first visit of inspection I requested that what I did not need should be cut off. He immediately gave orders that my request should be complied with. Col. Dabell disapproved my method. He suggested that, out of my word and be allowed me to make all the changes I wanted in the interest of economy, or, at once something that I could be guilty of some 'retardation'.

Another official with whom we only came in contact was of course the Inspector General of Prisons. He was stiff, unsympathetic and gave me the impression that he was serious. His office was particularly his own and most uncomfortable for over prisoners. Most officials being deficient in imagination after its educational neglect. They were to see the other side. They will not have persons to listen to prisoners and expecting from these prison-related topics and feeling to get them, instead of giving wrong directions. Years of ignorance are often therefore a false and almost insurmountable road in the wrong way—false or spontaneous—being followed. The right way, the effect of the prison will not be heard. Indeed most of the officials hardly admit that their duty is confined to keeping the prisoners quietly down, preventing prisoners from fighting one another or from escaping and leaving them healthy.

I must conclude in the next chapter one of the end results of this mentality.

### The White Man's Trust (By G. R. Andrews)

Mr. G. G. Vane of the Forewards of India Society has recently rendered a service in the cause of truth by exposing the mistakes in the speech made in the House of Commons by Mr. J. T. Thomas, the Colonial Secretary, concerning the 'White Man's Trust' in Africa.

The facts were these. Mr. E. D. Morel asked a question in Parliament as to whether, in the light of the treaty-making of the African natives, laid down in the Kenya White Paper, set out in the 111th of the direct native trustees could be returned to the natives in educational and medical aid. The Colonial Secretary replied, that a voluntary aid was given into account, more than one fifth of the direct native trustees was actually sent to the natives in Kenya, in the year 1921-22. He, then, went to the Kenya records and found that the Secretary of State's figures were so outrageously wrong, that instead of more than one fifth being spent on the natives, the amount spent was barely one-sixth of the fifth.

An interesting incident has attracted notice in London, last year, that one of the private members of the House of Commons asked this very question. 'How much was spent on direct and indirect trustees of the natives, and how much was spent on education and medical aid?' Mr. Meade Cressy Cox, the Liberal Member, replied in the House of Commons last June, giving the correct answers. I have not the exact figures with me, but I can quote with certainty in round numbers as follows—

Native direct trustees	£ 285,000
" indirect trustees	215,000
" educational aid	75,000
" medical aid	5,000

[The voluntary aid for the whole Colony came to about £1,000.]

From these figures, quoted in the next House of Commons only a few months ago, Mr. Thomas's inaccuracies may be judged. It was an error that the Secretary of State could have corrected. Secretary so seriously in the course of a few minutes.

That point needs to be added, that a very few years ago the native educational grant came to only a little more than £1,000.

There it, as I have also pointed out, one would agree among the writers on the Highlands of Kenya. They have not yet heard the art of standing over their own chest with plain pleasure. It is true that Lord Delamere, in England, became prejudiced in the art and brought it back as an object to Kenya from London. What, for instance, could be more wasteful than this, from one of his recent speeches?—'Lord Delamere tells that the Portuguese settlers, who lived along the coast and whose interest lay in their appreciation of and working of the natives' words, were gradually qualified in advice on the progress of the natives and the basis on which it should be judged.'

Lord Delamere was one of those who helped to introduce into the Kenya administration a 'mixed labour settlement,' which Sir. Winston Churchill, as Colonial Secretary, was obliged to discuss. This is only one example of his 'appreciation of the natives' words.'

But the average settler is much blinder than that. He foolishly denies the fact that 'mixed labour' has been forbidden, and he is always out to get it back in some other form. One of these methods has been to collect a heavy hut and poll tax in silver, but in gold. This tax, amounting to the savings of three months' labour, as the natives have no coin of their own, they are obliged to go out to earn the hut and poll tax for themselves and their family. A better method of keeping them on the plantations is to reward them. Every white settler is rewarded by him to be replaced by means of funds and sugar and corn. Moreover, he is obliged to carry everywhere about with him his registration paper, which records all his 'desertion.' If he leaves an estate without notice, he can be a severely punished, and the Government pays the expenses of the settler who prosecutes successfully. The aid to the Government, in these proceedings, came exactly in the same amount as the sum spent on native education. There are more ways than one of 'seducing the natives' in Kenya, and colonial protection for 'desertion' seems to be a common method. It is a school through which some natives pass, but those who seek to learn their alphabet.

Yes, even with all these weapons, time still appears to be a shortage of labour. Quite recently, in an Editorial of the *East African Standard*, a novel method has been devised for 'speeding up' labour on the plantations. The leading newspaper of Kenya, which is a strong supporter of the administration,



upon upon the Government the need to collect the taxes from the natives in each district, every day of the year when the plantation work is in progress. The natives may stop or be cheaply lured out to work in order to get the money to pay the taxes. 'We can,' it states, 'overcome the difficulties of Government, because nothing in the way of forced labour will be commensured; but we are again put forward the perfectly feasible suggestion, that but and poll taxes should be collected in the several districts at the time when employment was to place in every active delivery of We believe that much good could be done. If the Civil Service Commissioners were to call a meeting of representative officers such a case to consider the merits of the proposal before us clearly required them this date, he could arrange the period of taxation accordingly" (The Native are now)

So far the *East African Standard* has carried its suggestion. The corresponding columns, however, throw light upon the objection of labour from another angle. 'We English write that the real reason why labour is extremely short, on certain plantations, is because other planters in the country have raised very slightly the wages given to the labourers. This is an unreasonable idea in Kenya, because when once the unemployed natives has reached a higher wage, he would rather starve, or do not work at all, than go back to the earlier and lower wage. Therefore, the native wages have hitherto been kept down to a figure which is hardly above starvation; and heavy taxes and regulations and criminal provisions have all been used in order to make the native work at the lowest possible rate. This 'oppression of the weak of the natives' has been displayed in every meeting of the Kenya Legislative Council ever since it was founded. In 1912, on a strictly European register of votes

A short saying from Mr. Topley's letter is worth quoting, for the insight it gives into the Kenya situation generally. He says:

"My information is that certain planters have had to pay 10 cents a day (1/- a week) to get their coffee picked. It is obvious, therefore, that the well-being of these planters are unreasonably protected, for as the natives need a wage, he or she thinks at once that if one planter can pay it so can the other, and if the selected planter says 'No', he put no labour at all. I am a native personally and I have studied the reason I was, at the moment, suggest nothing better than the remedy advocated by the C. of S. Standard, but the limit lies with the kind of people I mention, and it has to be smashed, and that quickly, or great loss will ensue."

I would sincerely welcome a Commission of Enquiry into native affairs in Kenya, if it can be appointed by the present Labour Government and can consider the views of those friends of Labour who are also friends of Africa. For, every principle of free labour is being vigorously misapplied in Kenya, and the trouble declines in the native population in Kenya by twenty or one per cent, between 1911 and 1921, both as men and. The *East African Standard*

of Friday Dec. 7, 1923, declared, "Mostly, usually, and perhaps probably as well, the African people are taken for our money." The facts in the contrary are so glaring, that no Commission, from outside, of material men could fail to check them.

### Interesting

Mr. Macfarlane sends me the following interesting information.

"Twelve and a half pounds of yarn is being sent to port by Railway Parcel to-day. This yarn was spun during the last National Week extending from the 24th to the 11th April, by

1. The boys of the National High School,
2. The girls of 'Tish Kenya State',
3. The 'Gladys Pather's' of 'Karatika Bala Sana' (Karatika Day school),
4. The members of Shikany's family.

Two Christians were spinning day and night continuously and five were being washed for twelve hours every day for a week. Thus the seven wheels were busy for a total of seven hundred and fifty to hours.

The total production is about 500 yards. This means 2 1/2 lbs. of a mile (approximately) for an hour. The production is poor for the amount represented below. The yarn also has doubt inferior in quality owing to the same reasons.

1. Carding was defective.
2. Spins were not prepared well.
3. Equipment was worn at work on the machines.

The work of equipment of members and collection of Tish 'Young' Fund was also done during that week. The experiment gained with working there.

1. That native men of influence take an active part and themselves labour for the betterment of the masses on matters now being considered.

2. That educated natives being desired results.

3. That young folk do respond if properly approached, guided and helped by the leaders.

4. That unless the question of workers' education is solved by the Congress, no substantial amount of work can be accomplished, however active the handful of workers may be.

But the death of the work of ability and organizing capacity has made the work rather haphazard. The indifference of the leaders towards the movement has disappointed the young workers who are one by one forsaking them."

The parcel containing yarn has also been received. It shows good though somewhat wet. This indicates that everything involves labour, thought, method and concentration. An accomplished spinner must know carding, must be able to make his or her own spindles. The movement are not difficult but they do require application, and unless the workers take a lively interest in their work, and refuse to sell yarn that will not weave just as we refuse to sell a rope, ropes if it does not reach certain standards, proper spinning is impossible. I hope that the boys and girls who did all that continuous spinning for a period will spin dolls for a short period even if it be half an hour. They will be amazed at the result of such methodical and sustained effort.







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## My Jail Experiences

(By M. K. Gandhi)

III

### Some Terrible Results

In this chapter I propose to discuss the results of the officials thinking that their duty ends with caring for the health of the prisoners, providing light, saving them or absconding. I do not think I am overstepping when I say that the jails need be described as well as ill managed institutions. A superintendent who ensures good food for the prisoners and does not punish without cause, is considered lucky by the Government and the prisoners as a model superintendent. Neither party expects more. If a superintendent were to bestride the real human world in his relations with the prisoners, he is highly likely to be misjudged by the prisoners and will very probably be dismissed by the Government as being unsympathetic, if not worse.

The jails have therefore become hotbeds of vice and degradation. The prisoners do not become better for high life in them. In most cases their bodies were thus before. Perhaps all the world over the jails are as institutions the most detested by the public. The result is that there is little or no public check on their administration. It is only when a political prisoner of some high rank is sold within the walls of a prison, that there is any public curiosity about the happenings there.

What classification there is of prisoners is regulated more in the interests of the administration than those of the prisoners. Thus for instance, one would find habitual criminals and persons who have committed not a moral but a merely material offence are put together in the same yard, in the same block and even in the same cell. Twenty forty or fifty persons of varying types being locked in the same cell for night after night. An educated man who had been convicted under the Stamp Act for having used an officially declared stamp, was put in the same block as habitual offenders regarded as dangerous characters. It is no unusual thing to see murderers, defectors, thieves, and mere material offenders locked together. There are some jails which can only be seen profitably by aerial view, such as capturing the view. Also-bodied men there can be put on to such facts. These highly sensitive men were included in one work gang. Now the ordinary prisoners in such a gang will use language which no decent man would care to hear. The men who

use indecent language have no sense of indecency in the language they use. But a sensitive man will find most uncomfortable when such language is used in his presence. Government-makers are in constant charge of such gangs. In the discharge of their duty, it is customary for them to speak all prisoners in the dialect of the language. And when they are collectively worked as they do not speak but not differ, Government to say both the parties were not only misjudged but they are mistaken. I should however permit quite a decent catalogue of things observed that happen in jails to the knowledge of, and sometimes even with the connivance of, officials. In the case mentioned by me the sensitive prisoner could not put up with the foul language. He therefore refused to work in the gang where it was stopped. It was due to the prompt intervention of Major James that a most unkind station was started. But the jail was necessary. He had no power to stop a recurrence of the work; for it would be too late as long as prisoners who are classified as accessories who are of standard and will appeal to their human requirements rather than administrative convenience.

One would have thought that in a jail where every prisoner is under surveillance night and day and can never be out of the sight of a warden, crimes will not be possible. But unfortunately every considerable offence is possible, it is really possible but is considered almost impossible. I need not mention small pilferage, deception, petty and even serious crimes, but I wish to refer to a serious crime I will not shock the reader with any details. In spite of my many jail-experiences, I did not think that such crimes were possible in jail. It is the Government's experience there no more than one parallel shock. The discovery of the existence of criminal crimes produced one of the greatest of shocks. All the officials who spoke to me about these and I put under the existing prison system with its regulations. Let the reader understand that it is a very big crime the moment of the crime is feeling. It is my deliberate opinion that it is possible to prevent such crimes if the administration of jails is humane and can be made a matter of public concern. The number of prisoners in the jails of India must be several hundred thousands. It should be the concern of public workers to know



what happens to them. After all, the media helped punishment is information. The legislature, the judge and the jury are believed to expect that the punishment would act as deterrent, not really for the physical and mental but they come, but for the resistance that prolonged isolation was bringing about. But the fact is that punishment only breaks the prisoner. In the jails they are never given an opportunity for repentance and reform. The human touch is lacking. Thus, there is a weekly visit from religious preachers. I was not permitted to attend any of these meetings, but I know that they are mostly abuses. I do not wish to suggest that the preachers are stupid. But a religious service once a week for a few minutes can produce no impression on those who actually see nothing wrong in prison. It is necessary to provide a responsive atmosphere in which a prisoner unconsciously starts his own and cultivates good habits.

But such atmosphere is impossible so long as the system of separating inmates with most responsible work is continued. By far the worst part of the system is the appointment of convict-officers. These men are necessarily hard-core prisoners. They are therefore men who have committed the most serious crimes. Especially the butlers are chosen as wardens. They are the most ferocious. They started by pushing themselves to the front. They are the instruments for the commission of almost all the crimes that take place in the jails. A few light meetings in one death cell and one place because one such visitation was concerned in the same prison who was a victim of their unbridled lust. Every one knew what was happening in the jail. But the authorities intervened only to pour oil further lighting and further bloodshed. These convict-officers recommended tasks for the other prisoners. They supervise the tasks. They are responsible for the good behaviour of the prisoners under their charge. In fact the will of the prison-officers is expressed and carried out through these convicts who are degraded as officers. The moral to me was that under such a system things were not much worse than they actually were. It once more demonstrated to us how superior men were in a critical system as they were inferior in a good one. Human beings were naturally to seek the middle path.

The whole of the cooking too is entrusted to prisoners. The result is tasteless cooking and uncleaned hygienism. It is the prisoners who grow corn, stored vegetables, wash food, and serve. When complained as to them and badly cooked ration were voluntarily made, the inevitable answer was that the remedy was in their own hands as they cooked their own food, as if they were related to one another and understood mutual responsibility. Once when I pushed the argument to its logical extent, I was told that no relationship would exist after the next. I differed from the view in the case of argument. Further observation has confirmed me in my contention that under a well-ordered system just administration can be made self-sustaining. I hope to devote a chapter to an examination of jail management. For the present I must satisfy myself with saying that no question of cost can possibly be advanced as obstacle in a reconstruction of prison system.

## Notes

### A Catalogue of Crimes

1. Contributing to Theft (Stolen Food);
2. Association with Non-co-operatives;
3. Subversive in N C O papers;
4. Standing for Non-co-operation;
5. Working Khaddar.

There was actually reported an crime by the Post Master General of Madras in April 1948 and were the only grounds for dismissal of Mr. Subba Rao, a servant in the Postal Department, after 17 years' service. Let not the reader imagine that even Mr. Subba Rao has been rehabilitated. Nothing of the kind has happened. The poor dismissed servant of the Government petitioned the Viceroy and on the 2nd October 1948 he received a reply saying that Mr. Subba Rao had 'declined to accept your (His) pardon'. The order of dismissal contains the details as I have given above. The result of each crime is followed by a description. The contribution to the Theft (Stolen Food) for instance, is stated to have been given in the name of the minor daughter and amounted to Rs. 3. Viceroy could not go any further. The logical result of such dismissal should be a regulation making it penal for a member of the legislature to work Khaddar. By a stroke of the pen we should thus have domestic peace. The Government would be happy and so will the pro-convict men and the neo-convict men. As it is there can be no peace so long as men like Mr. Subba Rao have real grievances against everybody against the Government for manufacturing crimes against the pro-convict men who because of their conscience wear Khaddar with respect and yet afford no relief to Mr. Subba Rao and work officers, and against the neo-convict men for trying to make Khaddar universal and thus making the demand for Strong Irresistible.

### What is Violence?

A copy of my article in *Young India* (April 10, 1948) entitled, "What It Is Not" a correspondent regarding the ingredients of violence wrote:

"I had been in no short pain to myself, wondering as with how out of balance our mind can be disturbed, and by reference to the grounds on which it is established, but by reference to the means to which it attains the party against which it is directed, and the effects which it produces generally. Inquiries of violence and non-violence are not mere philosophical questions but are of vital import. It is just some one violence the nature of a remedy why should it justify a person simply only and human suffering? It is non-violence (N.C.O.) is equally justly the use of a sword. What moral dilemma should follow us to adopt N.C.O. and should the sword? We are concerned therefore not of the result is a way of violence. Why is that so? The remedy is clear that it means pain and suffering to our adversary. Thus, let N.C.O. do the same? In this way it is a means between the two? Let only difference is that while a sword does the sword would mean a feeling of pain and suffering due to a disturbance caused directly to the central person (the body), while N.C.O. and therefore the, the possibility of N.C.O. would mean pain and suffering by a disturbance in the previous working outside the body in the economic, political and political spheres—persons with no such responsibility for the preservation of life as those working inside the body."

The argument is clever but it does not take up very far. The writer suggests two goods, pain and violence, and regards them as synonymous. A











in order to be a subordinate. Let the rule of racial difference I reserve under the relevant part.

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1. Is it completely and utterly clear at Teluk or it passed throughout Kuala?

2. If it is passed, then what is the appeal made for entering Teluk in preference to other within the British colony in Kuala?

Did the entrapment policy in Kuala, the 1st of January 1924?

3. Did they account the entrapment system?

4. Is not the use of the road the same and in the 1st of January 1924, the abolition of the entrapment?

5. Is not the road a private road?

The first entrapment was made on 1st of January 1924, and immediately, have to be taken up, and the road. However, the entrapment was made on the road, and the 1st of January 1924, by entrapment or other legislative means.

6. What was the result of the entrapment system?

7. What was the result of the entrapment system?

8. What was the result of the entrapment system?

9. What was the result of the entrapment system?

10. What was the result of the entrapment system?

11. What was the result of the entrapment system?

12. What was the result of the entrapment system?

13. What was the result of the entrapment system?

14. What was the result of the entrapment system?

15. What was the result of the entrapment system?

16. What was the result of the entrapment system?







Things to God,—made to be stretched forth, & to  
 reach forth to others, and uphold by service.

When the student strikes reflect is better us, and we are afraid to teach him for fear of inhibition, let us not to ourselves. This poor man or woman, striking down with silence, is the divine held in human form. It is the same Self that is in me. It is myself. "I'll come, I'll come," "They are They"

When the stranger comes to us—the foreigner from another country—when we may not instinctively and naturally love at first sight, let us try to ourselves the same thing: 'Get over Axl—Then sit Tim.' Then let us go to him and love him and welcome to his needs, so that he may be a stranger no longer. Just a friend.

When the moment came to us—the introduction, the introduction, the push—let us say to ourselves, as we fear to approach him, the same thing,—“*Tot treue Ad!*” And then our feet and shivering will vanish, and His Chakras, we shall be able to embrace him and to see in His the image of the Lord.

For all we know He is one. The Catholics make this perfectly clear to us, when they tell us that the *Adversus* is *apud* the *Adversus*. He is without doubt, in subject distinction, the *Contra* One.

There is a beautiful resemblance, in this ultimate truth of the Upanishads to the teaching of the Ved Poets—especially in those writers who loved to find connection with the Indian saints and sages. For all divine truth is one. There is a poem, which I have always remembered since the day when I first heard it told me by Master Keshu Ghosh of Delhi, in his old age, but before he died. The Ved was never

<sup>100</sup> Included in the list of the laws of the Federal Republic of Germany, 1974, No. 10.

[illegible]

That this is a common view, and that there are no significant differences, was shown by a series of experiments (see below).

2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 2680, 2681, 26

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Here, the same truth of the Transcendental, the truth of the Advaita, is expressed in a symbol known by the Eastern People, with a beautiful symbol that can never be forgotten.

In my own Christian faith also, we have a well-known parable, where Jesus shows Jesus: his true character in the midst of the poor and the needy. His power and the strength, the skill and the wisdom He says in their name, "I was hungry and you did not feed me; I was thirsty and you did not give me to drink; I was a stranger and you did not take me into your home; I was naked and you did not clothe me." Here, again, we have the *Practical Vedanta*,—the *Adeshana*,—the identification of each one with all with all of the world.

There is a very beautiful fresco-painted roughly on a masonry wall during the Middle Ages in one of the old abbeys. It represents all the scenes of the monastery, with the abbot at the head, going out to monachy a poor stranger, a beggar in rags, who had come to the monastery door. They are really worshipping God, whom they have seen in this

Report in reg. Show adequately close to Teller  
 (thought that is.)

I know well how *WILLIAM FOXMANN* had tested to live out these great truths in action; how he had made his whole life one long act of loving service to humanity; how he had identified himself with the poorest, the weakest and the lost. It was to him also an intense joy to strive after that higher teaching, which is contained in the *Kingdom of God*, and is called '*Sublime Karma*,'—work without desire for reward. There is a great difference of *Chitta*, when it is said— "He that breathes his own life shall lose it; but he that breathes life for life, the same shall attain it." It is the true passion of unselfish service, that it brings with it the greatest joy that man can experience in this world,—the joy of the realization of the *Advaita*, whose name is *Shreevatsa*.

It is desirable for us all to not become overcast the ideal of service; as dreams and would our lives live in the presence of the Advertiser, being widely scattered with others in love. There was a group of young Hindu disciples at Pondicherry, near Aurore in M. K. Nagar, who came from an Ashram which was situated in Assam. The M. K. Nagar Ashram was, where we were working, was almost entirely composed of Mohammedan villagers. I cannot tell you what a happiness it was to me to see these young Hindus, from a Hindu Matru, ministering with perfect devotion to the needs of their Mohammedan brothers and sisters, and also to see these doctors and those Mohammedan daily remember such affection.

The same spirit of pure devoted service shines in every part of India. In Madras, during the district races in the English arena, while bloodshed was all going on outside the camp, we have seen food and drink together in a Congress convocation.—Muslims and some Hindus, mahatmas and writers—Chitambar and Muralidhar,—eating our simple meal together in love and unity. It was a living exponent of that United India, which is certain to rise out of the blood shed, when the truth of the Advaitism is fully realized and the spirit of love prevails.

Then, in the second place, these Indians, from the original truth of the *Advaita*, the complementary truth, 'Ahamam Paramam Dharma', 'The *Advaita* is also the *Dharma* and the *Dharma*, the *Paramam* is the Good. The supremely humane principle of *Ahamam*, the refusal to take life, the practice of *Ahimsa* and harmlessness to all living creatures,—the most impossible to translate into English, but it means all that and much more,—induces as clearly as possible one of the original principles of the *Advaita*. How should I begin that which is universal? While *Paramam* had learnt in a wonderful manner to think as *Ahamam* have thought for ages past in this respect. It has the words in South India he said, "It has been quite easy and natural for us to understand Mahatma Gandhi's Passive Resistance Movement. Because my own ancestors belonged to the Society of Friends who practiced in their lives the teaching of the Sermon on the Mount—"The Sermon on the Mount which Christ preached,—'Harm not evil,' 'Love your enemies'—to name only two of the most











be released and responsible member. This may be a her-off event. If we were not under the spell of a long-lived custom we should not find it difficult now to turn our prisoners into responsible men.

Let me quote here a pertinent remark made by one of the jokers. He says well, "When I asked words or representations, I often asked myself whether I am a better man than most of those I had known. I have been guilty of worse crimes than what may have come here for. The difference is that these were more have been detected whereas I am not." Is not what the good police continued, "one of many of us is it not true that there are more undetected than detected crimes?" Society does not point the finger of scorn at them. But what has made us look on these men as not smart enough to escape detection. Imprisonment often makes them hardened criminals.

The actual treatment meted out to them. The accused are in their prisons to be humiliated unless they are found guilty. In practice the innocence of them is cheap. If there is one of harshness and restraint. A convicted man is left to rot. The atmosphere in the prison makes him in the position of helplessness.

The political prisoners do not as a rule succumb to this humiliating atmosphere because they, instead of responding to the depressing atmosphere, it created in and therefore even refuse it to a certain extent. But, too, refuse to regard them as criminals. On the contrary they become braver and braver. Their refusal to be all are compensated by the public. And such behaviour in many cases even stimulates the political prisoners. But unfortunately, society is propensities to the indulgence of the public, in the activities, mostly unimpaired, of the officials. The Government regard the political prisoners as more dangerous to society than the ordinary prisoners. An official seriously apprehended that a political prisoner's crime placed the whole society in danger whereas an ordinary crime harmed only the criminal.

Another official told us that the reason why the political prisoners were released and decanted newspapers, magazines etc., was in taking the guilt from them. Political prisoners, in fact, seemed to glory in 'imprisonment.' The deprivation of the liberty, which afflicted the ordinary criminal, left the political prisoner unmoved. It was therefore, he added, not natural that the Government should detain some after method of punishment, hence, he said, the denial of facilities which otherwise such prisoners should undoubtedly have. The remarks were made in connection with my request for the issue of *India Weekly*, in the *Indian Social Reformer*, or the *Journal of India* or *Indian Review* or *Indian Echo*. Let the reader not regard this deprivation as a light penalty for those who regard the acceptance of a society as no way inferior to freedom. I dare say that Mr. Majumdar not have suffered mental demoralization, if he had been allowed the use of newspapers. It is equally dangerous for one who is not like me a reformer. In all occasions, to be

put up together with dangerous criminals as almost all the political prisoners were put in Yarnworth. It is no light thing to be in the company of those who never speak but in other and language, or whose conversation was a rule violent. I could understand political prisoners being put in such surroundings, if the Government really took care in their confidence and used them to exercise a wholesome influence on the ordinary criminal. This however is, I think, not a practical proposition. My contention is that the placing of political prisoners in unwholesome surroundings is an additional and an unwarranted punishment. They ought to be put in a separate division and given a treatment in keeping with their surroundings.

I hope old relations will not misinterpret this or any other chapter in which I have advocated release of prisoners. It would be because a civil society to reject whatever harshness is may be subjected to. It is not to put up with the roughest treatment. If the treatment is humane, it is well; but it is also well if it be otherwise.

## Notes

### The Late Mrs. Ramabai Kanade

The death of Ramabai Kanade is a great national loss. She was the embodiment of all that a Hindu widow could be. She was a true friend and helpmate to her distressed husband in his life-time. After his death she changed her life-work out of her husband's writings. Mr. Kanade was a reformer and deeply interested in the rights of Indian womenhood. Ramabai devoted many hours' hard work and went into the Government, she conspired her whole energy upon it. The result is that the Government has become an institution without a second of its kind throughout all India. It educates nearly one thousand girls and women. Col. Maitland told me that it was his hospital that turned out the best and the largest number of Indian nurses. All these alone being in the Government. In short, Ramabai led in Mrs. Jyoti's a matter of devotion, energy and great capacity for detail. But it only enhanced Ramabai's merit that she had capable and devoted co-workers. The Government will always remain a living monument to her sacred memory. I tender my humble sympathy to the deceased's family and her many children of the Government.

### Principal Gilman

Mrs. Gilman in the course of a letter in reply to my inquiry writes

"When I was in my last years two ago, I noticed that the talk often was talking roughly towards my husband. He was old. He often was shy. He had a weak mind as he had lived for many days. I noticed when at the time of Christ Church in India in my own mind noticed. He was the man that in the other persons. All kinds of difficulties are placed in the way of reform. His husband has written letters about talking but he had no confidence. But I do not worry. His difficulty only through difficulties."

This is a pathetic letter from a woman passionately devoted to her husband. Mrs. Gilman's letter is not intended for publication. The letter is a domestic letter written to a constant friend whom I



had asked to explain of Mrs. Gilman as to the condition of her husband. If the facts are as stated by Mrs. Gilman, that is no credit to the present administration in Nakhia. Principals Gilman's secretary being treated as a common felon although he has not been tried. He entered the "New Democracy," as Mr. Gilman described, purely in the same self-interest, I believe the Nakhia administration to deny or explain the foregoing statement and I promise to give the same publicity to their explanation as I have given to Mrs. Gilman's statement.

#### Journalistic Language

A friend writes: "Have you read the Chinese leader 'Address to Mahabar?' The writer says therein 'the opposition, if we may take the reporter the speeches made by one or three appear as an indication, was for opposition's sake and was confined to the professionally conventional and those whose blood has turned to reason in their veins through jealousy of the success of the Mahabar's movement.' When the Chinese writes about Mr. Mahabar Ah, you believe to it. Have you nothing to say to the Chinese which differs in its pure follower and which uses conventional and conventional language towards political opponents?"

I am conscious of having "betrayed" to the Times I would not have the courage, even if I were so inclined. The writer critically refers to my remarks about the campaign of "betraying" that is at present going on in certain vernacular journals. As it is happened, I read the translated extracts in the Times of India columns and was obliged to take to it. But the advice I received was, as the writer may verify for himself, not to the Times of India. Not to the vernacular journals in question. But though I disclaim the charge of having "betrayed" to the Times I am prepared to say that the writer in the Chinese should have, consistently with his pretensions of non-violent non-co-operation, avoided the imputations against the opinions of the address I must confess to my correspondent that I have not read the article he refers to. As a rule, I do not read columns in the Indian press about me whether they are laudatory or condemnatory. Perhaps I do not need, as I am sufficiently proud of myself without outside help. Confession that I refuse from reading that the Hyde is no get the better of the Jekyll and do violence to my non-violence. My remarks about the Chinese writing is subject to such correction as may be provided by a reading of the whole article. I promise, however, that the remarks refer to Mahabar. J. B. Pitt and Kailash Deshastha. I have the honor to know both of them well. The relations between us are as friendly as they were before the birth of non-co-operation. I cannot imagine it possible for either of them to have reason against me. They hardly dislike my ways. They at least will not oppose the opposition's side. What I have heard from those who voted for the address is that Mr. Pitt spoke well for him, regarding Mahabar. I have no one but himself go when he wishes to. But he refused that he had a related duty to perform as it was in

connection with a friend. As an old member of the Corporation he felt that the Corporation was deriving from its traditions in giving an address to a person whose suitable views could not be raised from him in Mr. Pitt's considerable politics. In my humble opinion, Mr. Pitt and Kailash were justified in regarding their opposition against what they honestly held was a wrong step being taken by the Bombay Municipal Corporation. There is absolutely no work entering of motives in my public life at the present moment. No thought but about the co-operation is safe from temptation by Mr. Deshastha. The latter was equally rapidly handled by the Deshastha. And the Liberals by both. Why should men who were supposed to be honest before suddenly become dishonest on changing their political colors? Non-co-operation have special reason for caution because they have changed, not their opinions. It cannot be the latter's fault if they do not see eye to eye with us. I would therefore transfer all my wrath against the views rather than against their holders.

#### Valkens Satyagraha

The Valkens Satyagraha is, I fear, crossing the Rubicon. I do hope that the Sikh free kingdom will be withdrawn and that the movement will be confined to Hindos only. Its inclusion in the Congress programme is more makes the movement of Hindos and non-Hindos than the Khalistan become a Muslim and non-Muslim movement by reason of its inclusion in the Congress programme. Moreover the opponents of the Khalistan movement were non-Muslims represented by the British Government. It would be an intrusion, which Mussolman would rightly regard as imprudent, if Hindos or other non-Muslims intervened in an inter-denominational religious dispute among themselves. Similarly would orthodox Hindos meet heartiness by others in what is purely Sikhism again. The Hindu reformers of Mahabar will encourage the entire Hindu sympathy if they expect an encourage non-Hindu interference to substitute beyond sympathy. I am sure that the Hindu reformers who are leading the movement in Valkens do not want to convert their orthodox brethren by compulsion. In any case let them recognize the boundary line which a Satyagraha must not cross. I respectfully urge the reformers not to assume the orthodox. I dissent from the view that once the disputed road to Valkens is free the problem of responsibility is solved even in Mahabar. Victory in Valkens, if non-violent, will no doubt shake the shield of ecclesiastical superstition in general, but the problem will have to be everywhere newly tackled whenever it arises. Because a wall in one place in Gujarat is thrown down for the use of the unfatherhood, it does not follow that all the walls in Gujarat will be opened for their use. And how would it fare with Khilafat if the Christians, the Muslims, the Sikhs, and other non-Hindu friends of the Hindu reformers made a demonstration against the orthodox Hindos, forced the reformers and finally converted the orthodox into religious? Will that be Satyagraha, will it include that by voluntary, will it be a reform in Khilafat?







program towards our goal. We must dare to act according to our honest convictions even though there may be danger of our making terrible mistakes. There is a way of questioning by tests, trials and mistakes. It is a thousand times better that we are wrong through our mistakes than that we avoid them through the paralyzing guidance of a man to look out for us. It has become a serious question with us whether it would not be in the best interests of the country for us to retire altogether from all public activity and simply devote oneself to my own chosen profession of schooling and teaching and playing with the children at the Telegraph Avenue or here or around Alameda even to support the Red Cross. And may my strong desire to friends and fellow-workers at least to accept my word as how fully I believe in always at their disposal, but even that should be most sparingly sought.

A careful perusal of the foregoing letter shows that the writer has himself suggested the best remedy for the ill by as positively as possible. It looks-city, hypocrisy and guile have come into our ranks one must weed the close out and we can do so only by withdrawing while ourselves. Give good honest self-sufficient workers with both are very far better than fifty thousand mediocre, selfish workers without both. They had better work even at the line.

Now for the concrete case!

As for the district boards and area municipalities, enter into them by non-cooperation can only be justified if they further the Congress aims and help the organization. If one cannot wait for the Kladdie programs or Hindu-Muslim unity or help non-cooperation or national schools through these bodies then we must certainly waste and drain them; much more so if the entry gives rise to struggles between non-co operators and others had blood generally.

As to workers' satisfaction, I have no doubt that it must come from practical organizations. The central organizations will never be able to control, regulate and pay pro-facial services. When a capitalistic organization fails to find local support it deserves to die, for want of support shows that it never was popular in the province in question. And what is a local Congress organization if it is not popular? The fact that even now per head by itself should make a Congress organization self-supporting if it has a large membership. If it has not it shows again that it is not popular. It is my certain conviction that whatever good Kladdie work is done by the Congress its organization is popular and in one fair way to becoming self-supporting. If it has not done that already but my faith in the "Charles" were the second either already created by us, or at the best, make-work today it is impossible for a while with the class likely to submit to the Charles only, especially when it is more than obvious that any such "make-work" would mean the elimination of all other activity. And it seems better to waste and prevent economy to "let race-b men to plough" as the Chinese say. "This statement is not true because of the fact that the claims of the Charles are much louder than the writer attributes to it. He was told even more suggested that the Charles, i. e., hand-reading can sustain a whole self-sufficient

body. It is not claimed that it alone can support even the poorest family. But it is claimed that it can and is today entirely supporting many starving men and women who have been otherwise satisfied even with one glass per day. It is claimed that it is that it can completely maintain the survival of millions of peasants. To the middle class it is recommended as a daily practice for the sake of health, for the sake of practicing a Christian atmosphere and for the sake of making it possible to give higher wages to those who rely on him. Lastly the middle class people see that no working as thousands of workers are today doing. Finally it is not a small thing if a middle class family can earn three to four times per day. What is meant by "all other activity", I do not know. It means all other public activity. I wish it could be eliminated for the time being. It is just the thing wanted to bring this being an organization that would be impossible to be done by myself. It will not then be "putting responsibility to the plough" but it will be bringing up the other horses to the level of the race-horse. When a ship is on fire, the captain is the first one to stand at the pump and he keeps up the work in the same life-saving operation. Imagine the tale of a ship which where it is burning the captain is playing table and regards the sailors and the rest to take up buckets and put out the fire in the best way they can.

M. K. U.

## Is it Non-cooperation?

(By H. F. Smith.)

The argument has been advanced that with the failure (in our opinion wrongly assumed) of the boycott of films, schools, law-courts, and Councils, non-cooperation is dead. The critics are nothing of non-cooperation in the slow and unending Kladdie programs. They forget that the last-aid boycott is like a seedling which is absolutely necessary till the whole structure is ready. It does not matter that the institution, which are the symbols of the authority we seek to destroy, continue to exist as long as we do not make use of them. The fact is that we cannot erect our structure without the withering of the last-aid boycott. And we must succeed if we can work the Congress organization without the aid of these institutions and even be made of them. However, let us not forget that our boycott is not finished, but finished. The fight is by far the most important, i. e. boycott of films, (not merely British films).

The boycott is the negative, though as that is not time for the finished, part of our programme. Kladdie, national schools, institutions, Hindu-Muslim unity, and spirit of the unshakable, the downward and the other side, is the positive part of our programme. The greater our progress in it, the greater will be the progress towards the boycott and therefore towards films. Nature abhors a vacuum. Therefore come: there must keep pace with destruction. Even if all the tribal rulers gave up their titles, and if schools, courts and Councils were entirely destroyed, and being thus emboldened the Government attacked it in anger, and if we had no other thing to work in our cities, we could not withstand them.



We should be ardently helping I often wonder whether it is sufficiently realised that our movement is not one for mere change of personnel but for change of the system and the methods. Full Khaddar programme is, therefore, to us full Swaraj. The English interest in India is selfish and in conflict with the national interest. It is self-organised, because of the illogically wrong interest. To boycott, therefore, foreign cloth, is to destroy the English and all other foreign interests depend entirely of British cloth may leave the British, but can lead to no commotion in India. Boycott of British cloth will be a jump out of the frying pan into fire. You believe the foreign goods made in India are entirely replaced by home-goods, will the booting process cease. Boycott of foreign cloth, therefore, is the basis of our boycott programme. This central boycott cannot succeed until we universalise Khaddar. In order to achieve the desirable end we will need to employ all our resources to the fullest extent. We shall need men, money and machinery. I, a propagator, We cannot universalise Khaddar without Khaddarisation only, without removing unsuitability. To make Khaddar successful is to demonstrate our capacity for self-government. Khaddar is a people's programme, for success is within all. High and low, rich and poor, Hindu and non-Hindu, must take part.

But say the sceptics, "How can Khaddar bring Swaraj? Will Englishmen then bring in our freedom? My answer is,—yes and no. The Englishmen will then find that their interest must be coincident with that of India. They will then be content to remain in India as her servants, for they will have then found that they cannot enjoy their position upon us. Then, therefore, Khaddar becomes successful, Englishmen's hands will have been changed. They will regard it then as an honour to be our allies instead of regarding it as they do now their right to be our masters. My answer is 'No', if we intend to drive out Englishmen and rule over English interest, legitimate or otherwise. Such is not the goal of the non-violent movement. Non-violence has its limits. It refers to hate or personal hatred. Induced by its very nature, it is incapable of no defence. But the question further arises, "Would the English refuse to make their system and hold upon holding India, by the sword, what can universal use of Khaddar do?" In time denoting the efficacy of Khaddar, they begin that Khaddar has incomparably prepared for Civil Disobedience. And this, every one admits, is an inevitable fact. Without the universal adoption of Khaddar, I see no chance whatsoever of universal civil, i.e. non-violent Disobedience. Any single district that can be fully organised for Khaddar is, if it is also induced for collecting, ready to Civil Disobedience. And I have not a shadow of doubt that even one district thus organised can make itself invulnerable even though the whole might of the Government may be stretched against it.

"Who shall lead the way?" is the last question. That question is, however, irrelevant to the present inquiry. The question I set out to answer was whether constructive programme, i.e. Khaddar, could be considered part of non-cooperation. I have attempted to prove that it is an integral part of non-cooperation in its positive aspect.

## Shantam, Shivam, Advaitam

(By G. P. Ashram)

II

I know that the answer I have given in my former article to the questioning of the students, who have come to me and talked to me about nationalism, will not altogether satisfy the present mood of the country. A strong sentiment movement against oppression and a perfectly intelligible determination to be free, which have our sincere sympathy, are now shaking the whole and hearts of the young men of India. It is, therefore, difficult for them to seek a road to look beyond their own country and to think of universal brotherhood and the realisation of the human race. Yet, however difficult the task may be, it is absolutely necessary as unfortunate. It is here for India is to come forth out of the struggle, troubled and broken, self-seeking and selfish; it is also of vital consequence, if India is ever able to become, as in the past, a spiritual leader of humanity.

It is also said, that these larger thoughts of universal brotherhood may find a welcome among deep peoples, but not among nations in chaos. In a striking article, which I recently read through, I came across this passage:—"Aggressive nationalism is only pardonable in subject peoples. It is the one force, which will help to carry them out of their subjection." Now for a moment, my mind went out to consider that phrase I thought to myself that, when any part of the body is hurt, it sends out strongly the sting of pain to the other limbs. Aggressive nationalism might perhaps be this pardonable cry of pain, in the body of humanity, denoting the agonies of peoples in subjection, as they awake from sleep to realise their own condition. But on second thoughts, I could not accept the phrase even in this limited sense and I could not also be satisfactorily.

For unless the law of country which we invoke is such an assumption, however correct, of the Shantam, Shivam, Advaitam, it will not bring either to a nation, or to our country, that lasting freedom, whose other name is Anantam,—that freedom, which is a higher thing than worldly political success. If it be not in agreement. Let us win political success first, and then we shall have leisure to think to spiritual freedom! The answer is, that if we fail to learn the deeper truth of human life, when troubled by subjection, we are not likely to comprehend it when we are troubled by material prosperity. The present material advances in human history have not made, not in prosperity, but in adversity.

It is at this point also that the vulgar doctrine of Advaita, comes in to subvert the teaching of the Upanishads, its official exponent in Indian religious thought came probably later than the Upanishad teaching, but it reverted on such universal principles to an inevitable conclusion.

We cannot wonder the One Paramahansa, who is the All-Power and the All-Good, and yet at the same time keep steady and kind to others in our hearts. It is not a consistent position to profess to observe



Address as the sovereign rule of his and his's conduct, and yet to cultivate at the same time a multifarious that believes in individualism. The man, indeed, is the truest spirit of love, whose is co-existence with what we know to be evil, we may also suffer for doing so with a dignified reserve and a calm reliance, that will win at last the hearts of even our strongest opponents; but we shall never, if we are true to the Christian, whose love is love. We shall never seek to win a hollow victory by obscuring personal names. Actions that have their basis in love will always conquer elements of material and law, or anger and hatred and pride.

I agree here, in reply to this, it will be said that such high standards as these are only possible for saints, sages and sages, who have not yet to live in the world; that it is not practical to think for the sake of the sake of the sake in the daily affairs of ordinary life. Men who are householders, it is said, are obliged to tolerate and let their consciences, they would be no justice in the world.

In answer to this, I would ask the stark question, whether a household himself can get on peacefully in his own family, if the law of retaliation is continually brought into force, to set the least law of all family life, and especially of the larger family comprising many households, the law of bearing and forbearing, rather than that of revenge? Does not the head of the family himself exercise his authority, but by means of infinite patience and good will,—explaining, reasoning, persuading, seeking always to win by love, rather than to coerce, in order to get the wrong done to do what is right in the ultimate resort, it is the true will of the ruling member of the family, which is the greatest asset in self-discipline. If that true will is not won over to goodness, an irreparable loss is incurred, and the whole family suffers. God Himself, we may truly believe, waits in patience for our heart's love. Even He, although He has the power, does not compel us by force. He is one in spirit with us and we are one with Him, and He wins us by the sweet inner conviction of His love.

It might be in very truth and healthy, if we all proceed from the Adhama; if we are all tending towards the Adhama in our path, then an aggressive individualism, that comes back by means of the daily food of selfish rivalry with other people, and is answered by a passionate desire to frustrate its own self-importance, can never help forward this divine communion. Such rivalries are like wars, multifarious, on the Body of Humanity, tearing it in pieces, and making it weaker. In contrast with this the most is happening every day to learn by heart the deepest lesson of Humanity, as a whole and wider unity, which says:

"When our member of the Body suffers, all the members suffer with it, and when our member is honoured, all the members rejoice with it."

England is suffering terribly, though unconsciously, even in our own times, because of her treatment of subject peoples. Every sin that she has committed in her national code, in making back upon her own head, France is suffering. Today we live in a world

or Germany, Italy is suffering, Belgium is suffering. Creators and creators alike are suffering for wrong committed; and every one of these wrongs has to be atoned for. The late war has shown unambiguously how the matter of self and corruption has come into the very soul of Europe. The greatest thinkers are declaring, with a singular unanimity, that the millennium of national selfishness has been Europe's greatest curse, and has led to Europe's greatest sin. India also is suffering today, because of sin committed in a more distant past, which have not yet been expiated in full.

It will be asked again, by those who are struggling to think out the problem, whether the immediate need in India is not to arrest the disintegration which has already taken place. Undoubtedly, no step forward can ever be taken without that. Yet again and again I would urge, that this cannot be done by exaggeration of differences, but only by harmony of men, along unity in the past. 'Evil cannot be destroyed by evil, but only by good.' India will have nothing to give to the world, if she merely produces another band of modern politics and democracy and national self seeking on her behalf than that of Europe and the West. What is needed surely is this, that there should be those who have become deeper rooted for every fibre of their moral being in their own country's soil, in that language, literature, art, home life, and religious background of their country, are their deepest possession, but who can, at the same time, always beyond that national and particular devotion for their country to a love for all mankind.

The eternal love of the One and the Many is made up of these two forces, the centripetal and the centrifugal, the home and the world.

If I may venture, as a student of history, to offer one reflection, it would be this. The spirit of exclusion in India, which has resulted in the doctrine of un-brotherhood, and also in the excessive anti-divisions of caste, appears to me to point to the fact that the centrifugal forces have grown too strong in this country to-day: the balance between the home and the world has not, therefore, been preserved. It will not help to insist that balance if we throw off every restraint, dropping our own country's concerns, neither will it prove a remedy simply to cry 'brotherhood' and neglect the visible world altogether. The pathway of adjustment is indeed difficult, because the moral evils that have to be overcome are great. But the way forward lies in harmonising opposite forces.

The lowest Adhama of Ancient India was the centre of an intense local patriotism, if the word, 'patriotism' may be used in such a restriction. The love of the beautiful Angkor the continued to inspire the dream-visions right up to the end of that line. At the same time these Adhamas were never made exclusive. They always welcomed, as a first religious duty, the guest who came from the visible world. They were radiating centres of the most expansive and wide embracing thoughts that the world has ever known. Not because the Adhama life had won so dear and so precious, the spirit of men overwhelmed by its sense of universal joy, and could find no resting place with all humanity was



















# Young India

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Environ Canada Downwind

1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 26

It is curious how the question of the Senate vote against confirmation is changing our attention at this time. From the standpoint of individual non-cooperation I want to say to be wholly indefensible. It is certainly just and simple and as such positive. In long, therefore, as the Congress holds its announced non-co-operation, so long must I abstain of course, as distinguished from other lawful goods, he said out. And if I am the only Congressman holding the view, I must leave a resolution at the next Congress regarding the resolution at the matter carried at the last Special Session.

But for the managers, I propose to distrust not the ability but the ability of the regulatory buyers. The knowledge that even the Liborists placed the Regulators' knowledge cannot make one slight, from the topology. On the contrary, it they want to believe with me that the regulatory buyers that they and the Congress look up, was not only ineffective but was one more demonstration of our ineptest, rage and waste of resources country. I would appeal to them to take up with real and determination the hopes of all foreign and replacing more not with India will still be a business. Whether

I have had the pleasure of reading the report of the Ryerson Commission. I want to be understood, the last word on the subject that can be done in the shape of boycott of British or Empire goods. The Report, in my opinion, presents a formidable case, not far but against such boycott. It frankly states that the bulk of the Empire goods, such for instance as railway material is supplied by the Government or English firms, that the tribes such as Burma, Nepal, Nepal, etc. are mostly concerned by these day-to-day, luxury-loving Indians who are never likely to take in the boycott. It will be found on a close consideration of the Report that even if the boycott of the tribes was completely carried out by every Congressman and every Liberal, the amount would not be at the outside more than one crore of rupees per year. He must be a brave optimist who could believe that the Empire Englishman in England in general, would be made to change their policy for reason of such boycott.

But even the critic, who asked a letter was written in Chesapeake when the Hughes goods became members of the Sunday Municipal corporation was called free of charge by Reuters' Society we know enough of the British trade methods not to be easily closed by such letters. They are often put on in order to influence the public's public against the newspapers. Indian agitators who are best upon across England. When the movement is not put on, it is a mixture of the British and the

"Henceforth, we intend an overall direction or compass, if you may, indicating that it goes beyond the traditional boundaries of every country and city, it points only to public, therefore, never on religious, by comments or appraisals from England, as the first matter here and foreign state. There has in order of our action can never come to our position of our action which is either forced or desired to be, in short, religiously, religiously."

If our saga did not blind us, we should be ashamed of the boycott socialism when we realised that we depended upon British goods for some of our national requirements. When my car will do without British books and English medicines, should we boycott English watches because we can produce Chinese watches? And if we will not do without English books because we need them, how shall we resist the boycott of British watches or perhaps to further ask itself? My very English officer once when I tried to call "typist" because she hesitated in all living ways on my talking more foolish and more sleep than I did, with a ready earling raised her lip and mouthman visible on her open, pretty mouthed after I was safely rendered to a private word, greeted by the housekeeper and herself. "And was chiding you with my mistress I could not help sending her you, a housekeeper of everything British probably owed your life to the skill of a British woman handling French musical instruments and playing British songs, and to the construction of a French motor. Do you know that as we brought you here, the mistress that should you wear of British make?" The gentle voice as she finished the last unpleasant sentence evidently expected my complete collapse under her long sentence. But happily I was able to comfort her self-confidence by saying "When will you people begin to know things as they are? Do you know that I do not boycott anything merely because it is British? I simply boycott all things evil because the changing down of tough cloth or India has reduced millions of my people to poverty." I was even able to interest her in the Khaddar movement. Probably she became a convert to it. Anyway she understood the propriety, the necessity and the utility of Khaddar, but she could only laugh (and rightly) at the whole business and wondering how long of British goods.

If the champions of the statutory boycott will look at their homes and their own belongings, they will, I have no doubt, discover the indignities of their position even as our sister found it, under the assurance that I believed in that New York school.

I plead to no one in my desire to see justice done to our countrymen in Korea or to win sharing at the United Nations Council. But I know that every injustice can only frustrate the very ends we have in view. What is it then to which all parties—Liberals, pro-Communists, No-Chinese and others—can successfully combine to enable us to achieve our end? I have already given the answer. But I must emphasize it fully in the next issue and show why it fulfills the only possible solution.



## My Jail Experiences

(By M. E. Gandhi)

V

### Possibilities of Reform

It has been my invariable experience that good makes good, evil, evil; and that therefore, if the evil does not receive the corresponding response, it ceases to act, dies of want of nourishment. Evil ceases the more that I begin to contemplate this law. Instead of punishing evil for evil deliberately returned good for evil and killed it. I kill three nevertheless, because many have not taken advantage of the discovery, though the law underlying it acts with scientific precision. We are too late to turn evil to terms of the law the problems that face us, and therefore later that we are too weak to set up to it. The fact is, that the moment the tooth of the law is needed, nothing is so easy as to turn good for evil. It is the one quality that distinguishes men from the brute. It is man's natural law not to retaliate. Though we have the human form we are not truly human till we have fully realised the tooth of the law and acted up to it. The law abhors of no escape.

I cannot recall a single instance in which it has not occurred. Other changes have—while my experience inevitably suspended to it is all the South African jails, through which I passed, the officials who were at first most unfriendly to me, became gradually friendly because I did not retaliate. I answered their bitterness with sweetness. This does not mean that I did not fight bravely. On the contrary, my South African jail experiences were a continuous fight against it, and in most cases I was successful. The larger Indian experience has but emphasised the truth and the beauty of non-violent conduct. It was the smart thing for me to combat the authoritarianism of Yarrowood. For instance, I could have answered the Superintendent in his own cell when he made the insulting remarks described in my letter to Mahatma Babu.<sup>1</sup> I would have been very strongly upheld by my own estimate and confirmed the Superintendent in his opinion that I was a cruel, stubborn and uncooperative prisoner. But the experiences related in that letter were invaluable compared to what was to follow. Let me recall a few of them.

A European warden I have respected me. He thought it was his business to protect every prisoner. As I did not want to do any the slightest thing without the knowledge of the Superintendent, I had told him that if a prisoner coming by released, I would return the release and that I was giving to the warden warden in charge of me all the food that I could not eat. The European warden knew nothing of the conversation with the Superintendent. He soon saw a prisoner release me. I returned the release. He saw me leave in the net, but only took him the prisoner left alone. It meant that the poor man would be reported. I at once told the warden to report me too, as I was equally guilty, with the poor man. He shortly told me he had to do his duty. Instead of reporting the matter for his

efficiency, but in order to protect a fellow prisoner, I merely mentioned in the Superintendent the incident of releasing without the conversation I had with the warden. The latter recognised that I meant to tell whatever to him, and from that time forward ceased to suspect me. On the contrary he became very friendly.

I was subject to much like the other prisoners. I never slept. And so, daily before the lock up, a regular march took place for many months. Gradually a jailer used to come who was exceptionally nice. I had nothing but my job-stick as there was therefore no occasion for him to touch my person. But he did touch the grates. They he began to whispering the prisoners and other things. He looked my cell with his beam. All this was going too much for me and my anger was about to get the better of me. Fortunately I applied self-possession and said nothing to the young jailer. The question, however, still remained whether I should or should not report him. This happened a long time after my admission to Yarrowood. The Superintendent was therefore likely to take some notice of the jailer's conduct if I reported him. I decided in the contrary. I told that I must pocket these personal references. If I reported him the jailer was likely to lose his job, I feared therefore, of reporting him, I had a talk with him. I told him how I had felt his treatment, how I had at first thought of reporting him and how in the end I decided merely to talk to him. He took my conversation in good part and left grateful. He admitted too, that his conduct was wrong, though he said he did not act with the intention of wounding my susceptibilities. He privately never related me again. Whether he improved his general conduct in regard to other prisoners I do not know.

But what was most striking was perhaps the result of my intervention in connection with the Europeans and the European-aided. The first European was that of the Sikh. His conduct was atrocious. They would not eat food without the permission of their master, his knowledge and without the permission to them to cook their own food. As soon as I came to know of these strikes, I asked to be allowed to meet them. But the permission could not be granted. It was a question of principle and not discipline. As a matter of fact there was no question of either, if the prisoners could be regarded as human beings not as unmanageable to keep forces as their species outside. My seeing them, I feel sure, would have saved the authorities a great deal of trouble, worry and public expense, and would also have saved the Sikh prisoners the painful prolonged fast. But I was told, if I could not see them, I could send them 'wireless messages'. I must explain this word's expression. Wireless messages in prison parlance means something sent by one prisoner to another without the knowledge of the officials. Every official knows and most certainly of such language

<sup>1</sup> See Young India, Vol. VI, No. 11, p. 11.



of messages. Experience has shown that it is impossible to guard against or to detect such breaches of prison regulations. I may say that I was comparatively exact about such matters. I cannot recall a single occasion when I sent a "whistle" for my own purpose. In every case it was in the interest of prison discipline. The worst was, I think, that the officials had ceased to discuss me and if they had it in their power, they would have avoided themselves of my office of intervention in such cases. But the superior authority, as holders of life's privilege, would not hear of it.

In the above instance I did not in violation the whistle apparatus, but it was hardly effective. The last was broken after many days, but I am unable to say whether it was at all due to my message.

This was the first occasion when I felt that I should intervene in the interest of humanity.

The next occasion was when certain Mahdi Pits prisoners were flogged for short work. I need not repeat the painful story at length. Some of these prisoners were prisoners. It is likely that there had withily done much less work than they could have. They were not as grinding. Somehow or other these prisoners were not classed political as the French prisoners were. Whatever the cause, they were mostly given grating as their task. Grading has no necessity had about about it. I am aware that all labor is known when it has to be done as a task and under supervision and always grating for a prisoner who wants movement for conscience's sake, should look upon his task as a matter of pride and pleasure. He should put his whole soul into the labor that may be allotted to him. The Mahdi Pits prisoners, or for that matter the others, as a body were certainly not of this type. It was a new experience for them all and they did not know what was due to an *Entrepreneur*—whether to do the work or the least or not at all. The majority of the Mahdi Pits prisoners were perhaps half-bred. They had a shape and given a struggle in the shop. But they were mostly high-spirited men and youths. They would break up "P.T.I." and therefore there was constant friction between them and the officials.

The whole case at long days later became angry. He thought they were withily not doing their task. He wanted to make an example of them and ordered all of them to receive stripes. The flogging created a sensation in the prison. Everybody knew what was happening and why. I noticed the prisoners as they were coming by. I was deeply touched. One of them remembered me and bowed. In the "superior", the "political" prisoners intended to strike me a punch. I have paid my tribute to Major Jones. Here it is my painful duty to criticize his action. In spite of his sterling good nature, love of justice and even partially for prisoners as spoken officials, he was hard in action. His decisions were sometimes therefore erroneous. It would not matter, as he is equally able to repeat, if it was not for sentences like flogging which were administered as beyond doubt. I discussed the matter quietly with him, but I know that I could not persuade him that he was wrong. A punishing prisoners for short task. I will not

persuade him to think that every short task was not proof of inefficiency. He did indeed think that there always was a struggle for order, but his experience was that it was negligible. Unfortunately, like so many officers he believed in the efficacy of flogging.

The political prisoners having taken a serious view of the case, went on the crest of hunger-striking. I want to know if I felt that it was wrong to hunger-strike without an actual court case being made out. The prisoners could not take this law in their own hands and claim to refuse every case for themselves. I asked Major Jones every case for permission to not them. But that was not to be allowed. I have already published the correspondence on the subject which I hope the student reader to consult at the time of reading these notes I had, therefore, again to fall back upon the "whistle". The hunger-strike and a rift were started as a direct result of the whistle. But there was an unpleasant accident even from the strike. Mr. Jaramides had delivered my message contrary to the regulations. Mr. Jaramides saw, as he had to see, the political prisoners concerned. They were purposely kept in separate blocks. He therefore "transferred" from his own to the other block with the knowledge of the convict officers and one of the European police. He told them that he knew that he was breaking the regulations and that they were free to report him. He was reported in due course. Major Jones thought that he could not let this strike of the "breath" although he knew that it was by a good cause, and although he even sympathized Mr. Jaramides' work. The punishment awarded was seven days' solitary confinement. On my coming to know of this, I asked Major Jones to send at least the same penalty to me as to Mr. Jaramides. For he (Mr. Jaramides) had broken the regulations in my cause. Major Jones said that in the interest of discipline he was bound to take notice of an open defiance towards authority in his block. But he was not only not displeased with what Mr. Jaramides had done, but he was glad that even in the risk of being punished he was the prisoner who was about to become strike and thus saved an ugly situation. There was no sentence, he saw, to punish me as I had not let my hostility and as my confession of Mr. Jaramides was not officially brought in his notice. I accepted the loss of Major Jones's argument and attitude and did not further press the punishment.

I need consider in the next chapter another question will more fully and important from the geographical standpoint and then consider the moral results of non-violent action and the status of India.

\* See Young P.T.I. and David White, p. 175.

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while, French is allowed for Portuguese, though the number of French traders is infinitesimal. But Goparala, with whom has nearly 90 per cent. of the trade, are not allowed to see Goparala. As soon as the news came, I put all the facts before the 'Colonial Committee' and I am certain that they will do their very utmost to get this monstrous injustice righted. I have also written to the League of Nations Union in London, putting the whole case before them. In London, last year, I had already considered them, and had received the answer, that if the point actually came forward before the League, we had a very strong case indeed. For, it would be impossible under the Mandate to treat India in a different manner from any other nation. Already this has been proved in other ways. For no attempt was made to prevent the purchase by Indians of landed estates in the Transvaal Highlands. But this was not possible under the Mandate. From all that I can gather, if the Colonial Office does not give way, they will be made to do so, at the next annual revision of the Mandate by the League of Nations. G. F. A.

#### Indians in Rhodesia

Very serious news has come from Southern Rhodesia. The new Governor, Sir Charles Gifford, has taken the first opportunity, after assuming office, to declare that the vested rights of those already in residence will not be taken away. We have seen in South Africa how much trouble can be put in such declarations! He states that restriction of any future Indian immigration will be decided later either by legislation or soon as possible. The next place to follow suit is almost certain to be Nyasaland. The new draft of the Kenya Immigration Regulations Bill is already before the Colonial Office, and the 'Colonial Committee' have India. We have yet to see what alterations have been made in the original Draft, but the only tenable position is that there is no need of any alteration in the existing law at the time.

The contact with Indian-born Indians, from Indian territory, every effort is being made by British residents at Delagoa Bay and Durban to get the Portuguese to put restrictions on Indians in their territory also. I have had recently many letters which show that the racial issue at those two ports, among Portuguese towards Indians, owing to Indian presence, is changing rapidly, and here all that I have to say, I can quite believe it. Where is this all to end? G. F. A.

#### The abandonment of B

Two questions of importance have come before the 'Colonial Committee' in London. (1) It seems to emerge from the being put upon the Indian delegates to consider favourably what is called the Frederick Lugard's Scheme. This was put before us last year and every one of us reacted a violent & conscious reaction. Otherwise it might have been embodied in the White Paper. The scheme is to make a private purchase of the Kenya Highlands and to turn it to quickly as possible into a White Dominion. As the number of Indians in the Highlands at present is

not great owing to the refusal of local purchase; and as complete restriction of Indians would be possible as soon as the Highlands had been given Dominion Status, the tempting bait was offered of allowing some thousands to those who are already there. A further bait was offered of allowing what might be called as 'Indian Dominions' in the Lowlands, where no white man should be allowed to purchase land.

Despite the abandonment of all this, in the light of the White Paper principle, that Kenya is "held in trust for the African peoples" and that "the interests of the African peoples must be paramount."

I do not think that there is any need to argue out, in these Notes, why such a scheme should be immediately rejected.

(2) A full-scale Debate has been held in the House of Commons, which was opened by Sir Sydney Begg, and attended by Major Oswald Gore, proposing the following resolution:—

"That, in view of the desirability of unity of policy both in administration and development of the territories of Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Zanzibar, Nyasaland, and North-Western Rhodesia, and the necessity for a comprehensive scheme of transport development throughout East Africa, this House urges the Secretary of State for the Colonies to send out to East Africa this year a special commission to report to him on the practicability of co-ordinating policy and services throughout the territories, and to advise on the programme of future economic development, especially cotton growing and railway construction."

Very much there is something concealed that is abundant. Tanganyika is a 'Mandate', Zanzibar is under a Sultan, who is "protected" by Great Britain. Other territories have different forms of administration. The aim is, to form an East African Federation under the Central Government. The only result of this would be, that all the independent rights in Zanzibar, Tanganyika, which Indians now possess, would be limited down to the Kenya standard, where the white race in every particular was predominant. The last words of the resolution before the intention of the mover. He is at the head of a capitalist company formed for East African production. I have seen the prospectus and the policy. Under the cover of 'development' the capital is collected, which will very very soon many millions of pounds and may be indefinitely extended. Then and more the hand of the capitalist will be felt on the whole case. Modern capitalism must work on a large scale. Therefore, the preliminary step of collection of these territories is considered necessary. Treaties and mandates can be easily disregarded. They are only one abominable barrier in the way—the Indian Race, after all, what does the Indian count for? When the White Paper showed away his legal rights in Kenya Highlands, he only presented and made another Colonial Committee in London can be talked round, and even if it shows, it is easy to register the objection, and go forward with the scheme. When there are more than a million & a half in England and this scheme will make new British trade and provide Lusitania with raw cotton, even a Labour Government finds it hard to turn to the voice of conscience. Mr. Thomas on behalf of the Labour Government has accepted the proposal for the commission. We shall now await further developments. G. F. A.











## Mrs. C. F. Anthony

(By C. F. Anthony)

A missionary has written to me and to give my opinion with regard to some conversion to Christianity from the lower caste of the Hindoo religion. This question of the conversion of large masses of people from one religion to another has been the subject for a long time. On the one side it is held that by dog of the future, however, of religion as we know it, what I am about to describe, I shall deal chiefly with my own Christian faith, but I have a hope that some of the things mentioned will be of use with regard to other religions and religions also. To the missionary, I replied as follows:—

"In such a question as this, we need help only such as Christ's own words. We should not be content with copying the conventional missionary ideas of the day; for there may be coming to the very end of Christ. There is one thing which stands up at the very beginning of his teaching. 'Who? He said, 'in my father and my self and my brother.' He that dwells the will of God, the same is my brother and my self and my mother's. We have many examples given us showing how Christ acted this truth out to daily life. He kept the faith of the Roman Catholics, the Greek Orthodox, the Jews, and the Samaritans. Yet all of them were conquered by the revelation for Christ did not try to convert people and then into Jews. He was content to leave them where they were, but first having been made aware by His message. With regard to conversion, as Jesus said I carried on to His own time by seeking Jews. He took us to a different conclusion. 'Who were you, Greeks and Hebrews, but to convert us we tried to make one people and where he is made, ye make the world one a child of God then promised. Furthermore, there are recorded Christ's final words about the Day of Judgment. He said to those who were going to believe in Him but where there was a feeling, 'I never knew you.' For he says to those who had never even heard His name, but who have been given and that of it is for themselves and finished themselves. 'Come, ye blessed children of my Father, for I have heard and ye gave me rest; thank and ye come in to drink and ye clothed me, and ye and ye place and ye clothed me. I have said to ye that I was one of the least of these, ye have said, 'I was one.' This, as far as I am able, represented Christ's final attitude towards those who are converted to Christianity with the intention of seeking glory for the Father, who says, 'There will be before me God and I shall be able to show the fullness of His will in their life, and to keep myself satisfied from the world.'"

"It, therefore, you will study very carefully Christ's own attitude to missionary propaganda, you will find that He was altogether against compulsion, and that He would not give Himself up to 'mass conversions.' He went deeper and deeper in the heart of man. He said, 'But every one that will come to me, Lord, God shall take him into the Kingdom of

Heaven, for as many shall be will of my Father which is in Heaven.' That is to say, anyone who comes into the heart and be drawn in power of His own possession of a word is of as value as all."

In this manner I appeared to write to my missionary correspondent. I told him of an experience of my own, which had come to me so frequently in faith that it had become quite familiar. It was this: I have found Christ in the heart of those whom I have met—Hindoo, Mohammedan, Christian—and I have watched the Christ-like work in their lives. This has been my greatest joy. It has brought me to the close connection with those to which I came out to preach such people—"in faith," as Christ said, "in a promise." These days are over, never to return. I look back in love on them and I trust that the corresponding light has dawned. I can now look in the face of every man I come across as Jesus. He, more deeply and naturally, than I could ever do before. There is a new religion, as well as a new life.

In earlier days, I used to think that every I have seen be brought to him to help to induce such action. I used to become a student and learned the law. Now I can see that this was contrary to the will of Christ himself. Indeed, even in those early days I instinctively shrank back when the law came close, for instance, I remember how my eyes and forehead were so strong upon a young Jew. He had asked me only to say the word and he would become a Christian. But I found that I could not say it for it seemed to be taking an entire advantage of a personal affection. It was making use of a love of sympathy. It seemed to come to the life, it was along up from within, it came upon him without Christ's suggestion in the building on shifting sand. The law without the heart he built upon the rock of inner conviction.

The end of the day, which I write will explain this to a great many people.—"The path is," I wrote, "that it is always the path of which that comes. God deals with millions of years, not with the present moment. 'Improvement' of a day is not, but the day, the one body among Christ's, that has been our real refuge, has been the Son of a Father." Yet it is wrong the mission of the conversion. It is really an entirely wrong conception of Christ's idea of a conversion. The man with Christ is always the individual and that comes. It is the personal inner spirit which must be reached. But how can this be done in 'mass conversions', where people have suddenly come over to the Christian Church for baptism because they have expected some material benefit to come after taking such a step? Christ's own test of true discipleship, as you know very well, was altogether different. 'I say unto you, He that will follow me, let him deny himself and take up his cross daily. So shall he be My disciple.' This is Christ's own moral test and every one is prepared to take Christ in that way, by all means encourage him to do so. But all that this implies is regularly leading in those 'mass baptisms' that are being spread forward by means of the various churches today in different parts of India."











place to me is in my rough statement by the jail authorities or somebody else, although he had an opportunity of doing so as I interrogated him alone.

You seem to be under some misapprehension as to the significance which Jai and Gauri have impressed. He was sentenced under Section 177 and 143 of the Indian Penal Code. In October last together with Pandit Jashraj Lal Mehta and Mr. Sarwanan, L. an Advocate, represented the petitioners in those cases in connection with those sentences. But the State would not release Gauri without conviction. Mr. Gauri, broke the operation of the suspension of the sentence when he appeared in Kishna State on February the 21st. He is now in jail undergoing the sentence that was passed upon him in the first instance. There is no intention of trying Mr. Gauri at any or further charge.

That Pandit Gauri is in jail is the one and two part of him as regards his being arrested in the Kishna State border, in Mr. Gauri's opinion, is the interest of himself. Pandit Gauri does not concern because he never asked for his release in the first instance. But what is the point to think of an administration under which a man is imprisoned for doing what he considered as an act of humanity, and which is a matter or has too involved in an injury to anybody if he seemed to be followed. Personal Gauri had no intention of entering the State in the company of the Jains. I do not suppose it is intended that Pandit Gauri leave upon reaching in the Kishna State if he is left free. It would therefore seem that he is being made to serve the sentence without any further whatever.

Are Kishna Hindus?

A Hindu from the Punjab writes:

"The Kishna have no name or have secured at your rate about Varanasi which you can find with Hindoos and Chakras in your Kishna. I have had many people complaining to me that the Kishna never formerly disowned their place from Hindoos. And as far as some people talking to be called Kishna, it is pointed out at several Hindoos. Hindoos are called again took strong in order to be called a Hindu. Several prominent members of the G. C. P. C. are members of the Kishna Kishna and though undoubtedly there is a living source of matter of Kishna that it is better to establish all connection with Hindoos, there was equally strong matter which is common to this matter. Of course they want their temples separated from general Hindu temples and to be and to be well treated. But the is the same with all Kishna state. The Jains so far as I am told, have the same rights and it is pointed out to me that the Kishna are including no more than the Aryas, Brahmins and others are belonging to the orthodox Hindu traditional claim. After close negotiations with the Kishna leaders here and with a view study of the Kishna movement I myself feel that to class Kishna as non-Hindu is not entirely fair to them."

I am very glad to find that Kishna friends want my sharing them with non-Hindus. I sense them that I had no such intention whatsoever. During my first tour in the Punjab, I happened to see in speaking of the Kishna that in my opinion they were a part of the Hindu community. I did so, because I knew that millions of Hindus believed in Gauri and that the Gauri Kishna was tied with the Kishna spirit and Kishna leaders. But a Kishna Hindu who was present at the meeting took me aside and told with the greatest pleasure that my inclusion of the Kishna in the Hindu community had given offence and the Kishna asked me to return never to speak of the Kishna in the same breath as Hindus. During my tour in the Punjab I found that the opinion given by the Kishna was widespread. For I noticed that many Kishna regarded themselves as belonging to a religious class from Hindoos. I observed the Kishna never spoke to refer to the Kishna as Hindu. During my trip, however, please me better than to find that the opposite tendency is confined only to a very few Kishna and that the general body regarded themselves as Hindus. I have met with the same thing here Arun Kishna. An important relation to them as being part of Hindu, was also treated. One gentleman left me with the highest intention of border his temple. I returned to him as a Hindu. I noted this by immediately asking I have not been acquainted better with some Jain. During my tour in Maharashtra, I found many Jain telling me that there was a community apart from Hindus. I have never understood the Jain objection, because there is as much an opinion between Jains, Hindoos, and Hindoos. I could somewhat understand the Aryas being, however, the Jain spirit, it was very not so different giving offence. Sometimes people in this country and possibly in some and everywhere about the Vedas and the Upanishads for Jains, and Hindoos have as far as I know no such quarrel with Hindoos. Indeed Hindoos and Jains are rightly related in the same. Hindoos rightly treated as human party in regard with thought to the heart. It broke down ancient assumption of superiority. Jains represents the highest type of life. It has taken nothing for granted and has endeavored to prove metaphysically to be, although the matter. In my opinion we have lately reached the last Kishna that shows two distinct movements have produced.

Referring to the class I do I hope my Kishna friends will appreciate the fact that if I have shared them as non-Hindus it is not of debate report for their leaders and against my own inclination. So far as the Kishna is concerned it is a matter whether the Kishna may be regarded as Hindus or non-Hindus. All the correct hindoos who I can see and is saying being mistaken as part of the orthodox hindoos and as the difficulty of the Kishna. And now that I have heard the facts were fully about the Kishna Kishna I cannot help saying that it concerns the self respect of the Kishna people. They are not trying to conversion. If I was a volunteer, I would rather share than be led by outside clerics whether Hindu or non-Hindu. Surely the Kishna people must be treated to say in the feeling of their volunteers.



### Virtues Perverted

'The master's explanation for not working the shop and for not tapping and drawing toddy from the trees for the shop-proprietary. He declared Rs. 50'

is his share in the proceedings of the Revenue Derived Office at Mambidi in the Madras Presidency. The master knows that the shop is a drink shop. The master's explanation was that the old men had decided not to drink and therefore he was not to be tapping the shop again. He was however willing to pay the rent. This explanation was not a defeatist cry. For was it enough that the old men and villagers were ready to pay the Government the whole year's stipulated profits from the drink trade for the luxury of indulging in their newly acquired virtue of abstinence? That was not to be for the law was against them. If the whole of the proceedings were legally examined it will probably be found that the officials concerned could give no other decision. They are not at fault. It is the system that is bad, for so that system rewards the primary consideration, not the health of the soul or the body. Had it been otherwise, the drink and the opium traffic would have gone long ago. Our blessing conferred upon the people by the reform is that the drink and the drug revenue is earmarked for the education of our children. I believe that the village and the poor man will have the strength to withstand all these and other pressures for the reform they have inaugurated.

### Khidai Unhindered

A correspondent who is a thorough believer in khidai asks what one should do for kashidai. I do not regard kashidai as evil and personally I should not hesitate to give a foreign kashidai. But I have seen kashidai covered with khidai. I know too that it is so often by covering khidai with anti-good propaganda to make it widespread. It may be an expansion process but a determined man will not count the cost. I know where most men's kashidai, Princes are not allowed the use of kashidai except merely within the court-door duty. We had in Mysore very good and well effective protection against this by making one corner into an area of a corner house and kashidai is freely on the land.

The correspondent is also puzzled over the use of kashidai for sacred wars. For the khidai is more sacred than all its signs or homages for the simple reason that all manufacturing is confined to a few thousand yards manufacturing outside to millions. But the movement does turn out to be homages khidai. Many again come under khidai, are regarded as a perfect substitute for kashidai. It is not without difficulty that one can procure kashidai and then there is always doubt whether the kashidai is kashidai or homages.

### Purity of religion

A Delhi correspondent writes:—

"There are about fifty houses of Chetani in Delhi in the district of Rohat. There are all

observed and have no property debts in the village land. They used to take water from the village pond so long as it was available. But after that supply failed they were at the mercy of the Zamindars for the well water. The latter would keep them waiting for hours before commencing to draw from the well water. Later on in order to avoid this delay a committee was organized with a view to draw a remedy. This committee consisted one Chetani. It decided that the Chetani should appoint a member of the Mall (zamindar) caste to draw water for them and pay him Rs. 10 per month. The Chetani were disposed to agree but now they feel that they ought not to pay what is called a heavy and burdensome monthly tax upon them. What is one to do? Should the Chetani approach the Government officials for a piece of land to dig their own well? Will that be in conflict with Non-cooperation?"

The answer to the question asked is exceedingly simple. The Chetani are no Non-co-operators. They have no politics. But the staunchest Non-co-operators are not precluded from buying or getting land from the Government for necessary purposes. The law has done so, undoubtedly the better. But there is no law against it in the Congress resolution. A Non-co-operator who understands the spirit of the resolution will certainly not buy land from the Government for profit. In the case in which the land is needed for the necessities that nature has imposed upon us. And if the Chetani can get land from the Government in this way, the staunchest Non-co-operator in our country need not hesitate to assist them to get it.

But the answer to the question is the least difficult part of my task. What is to be said of the Hindu reformers who would not have the divorce and the ordinary humanity to have women in dress that is more becoming to their own religion and who are then in hundreds of ways? And all this enthusiasm in the name of religion? If their will is truly to be guided by the Chetani, why will they not pay the preference for the luxury of enjoying their unhappiness? Why will they not give them a plot of land for digging a well to it? Every correspondent knows whether the Chetani have been approached for a plot of land? If a desperate man or woman, they will perhaps not only grant a plot but have a well dug at their expense. If the attempt has not been made, it should be made. Immediate relief may be obtained by securing a piece of land from the Government. But the complete spiritual unhappiness is an attempt to cut out from Khidai the members of separate wells will do it. Hindu reformers have therefore a definite task before them to secure what are the suffering brethren, and to change, by a proper appeal to them, the hearts of those who believe in the evil and unchristian system of regarding one one's life and life as unhappiness.







# Young India

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## Hindu-Muslim Tension Its Cause and Cure

(By M. K. Gandhi)

### Hindu Indictment

Twelve hours after Laxman's tragic death from a Hindu wronging a Mussalman in Tanjore is the following letter. "Tell Gandhi here is my thanks for the Muslim statement in *Millat*." I did not print the message before, as I was not ready to write then upon the question of questions. But many letters have since been received by me, from some well-known friends telling me that I was upon the track for the alleged 'Muslim statement', in fact for all the noise in which Hindus have on account to have suffered since the Khilafat agitation. The argument is somewhat this: 'You asked the Hindus to make common cause with the Mussalmans in the Khilafat question. Your being identified with it gave it an importance it would never have otherwise received. It unified and awakened the Mussalmans. It gave a prestige to the Muslims which they never had before. And now that the Khilafat question is over, the awakened Mussalmans have proclaimed a kind of Jihad against us Hindus.' I have given the purport of the charge in readable language. Some letters contain unspeakable abuse.

So much for the Hindu part of the indictment against me.

### Musalman Indictment

A Mussalman friend says:

"The Muslim community being a very simple and religious community were led to believe that the Khilafat was in danger and that it could be saved by the united action of Hindus and Mohammedans. Some ignorant people believing your very eloquent words showed great enthusiasm with the result that they were the first to lay out schools, law-courts, Congress, etc. The most famous instance of Aligarh, which has died had been by the labour of his life-time, and which was really the first institution of its kind, was nearly again I shall be very much obliged, if you will kindly point out that the Hindu community had a similar institution, and it went with the same tale. I know of scores of boys who could have taken the University degree with credit in the sciences and the community to which they belonged, but they were induced to leave studies on religious grounds, with the result that they were utterly useless. On the contrary very few Hindu boys left, and those who did so in the time being instantly joined, as soon as they found that the movement was tottering to pieces. Hindu was the case with lawyers. In those days, you brought about a sort of union between the two communities and advised them and said that it was a solid one. The shute-outed Mohammedans again followed it with the result that they were totally ruined at Aligarh, Lucknow, Meerut, Agra, Saharanpur, Lahore and other places. Sir Mahomed Ali, who was a born journalist of a very high type, and whose wonderful paper 'The Cause' was doing such solid work for the Muslim community, was won over to your side, and he is now a loss to the community. Your Hindu leaders in the guise of Swaddish and Congress are trying to weaken the Muslim community. Your short-sighted decision to prevent people from entering the Congress has acted most unhelpfully on this community as the majority of able men withdrew from entering the Congress because of the so-called *Jahid*. Under the circumstances, do you not honestly think that you are doing a great harm to this community by keeping the Mohammedans, a large number of them of course, still in your camp."

I have not given the whole of this letter. But its content represents the gist of the Muslim indictment against me.



## Not Guilty

I must plead not guilty to both the charges, and add that I am totally unimportant. Had I been a prophet and foreseen all that has happened, I should have still thrown myself into the Khilafat agitation. In spite of the present strained relations between the two communities, both have gained. The awakening among the masses was a necessary part of the training. It is itself a tremendous gain. I would do nothing to put the people to sleep again. Our wisdom consists now in directing the awakening in the proper channel. What we see before us is sad but not-dismouraging, if we have faith in ourselves. The storm is but the forerunner of the coming calm that comes from a consciousness of strength, not from the stupor of exhaustion and disappointment.

The public will not expect me to give judgment upon the facts in the different places. I have no desire for giving judgments. And even if I had, I have not the facts before me.

## Moplahs

I will say a word as to the Moplahs.

The Malar happened- undoubtedly despoiled the Hindu land. What the truth is, no one knows. The Hindus say that the Moplah atrocities were indescribable. Dr. Mahmud tells me that these have been greatly exaggerated, that the Moplah too had a grievance against the Hindus, and that he could find no cases of forcible conversions. The one case that was reported to him was at least 'non-proven.' In his findings, Dr. Mahmud says, he is supported by Hindu testimony. I merely mention the two versions to ask the public to conclude with me that it is impossible to arrive at the exact truth, and that it is unnecessary for the purpose of regulating our future conduct.

## Multan etc.

In Multan, Sahiwalpur, Agra, Ajmere etc. it is agreed that the Hindus suffered most. In Faisal it is stated that Hindus have prevented Mussulmans from turning a Sarkhi mosque into a public one. They are said to have pulled down part of the public wall, driven the Muslims out of the village, and stated that the Hindus could not live in the village unless they promised not to build any mosque and any such. This state of things is said to have continued for over a year. The driven Mussulmans are said to be living in temporary huts near Rohialk.

In Buda in Dharwar District, my informant tells me, on Muslims objecting to music being played before their mosque, the Hindus desecrated the mosque, beat the Mussulmans, and then got them persecuted.

Here again I cite these two instances, not as proved facts, but to show that the Mussulmans too claim to have much to complain of against Hindus.

And it can certainly be fairly added that when they were actually weak and Hindus stronger as in Kanpur and Amrah years ago they were mercilessly treated by their Hindu neighbours. The fact is that when blood boils, prejudice reigns supreme, race, whether he labels himself Hindu, Mussulman, Christian or what not, becomes a beast and acts as such.

## The Seat of the Trouble

The seat of the trouble however is in the Punjab. The Mussulmans complain that the Hindus have raised a storm of protest on Mr. Fazl Hussain trying very mildly to give a few propositions of Government employment to Mussulmans. The letter, from which I have already quoted complaints bitterly that whenever a Hindu has been the head of a department, he has carefully excluded Mussulmans from Government posts.

The causes for the tension are thus more than merely religious. The charges I have quoted are individual. But the mass mind is a reflection of individual opinion.

## Tired of Non-violence

The immediate mass is the most dangerous. The thinking portion seems to be tired of non-violence. It has not as yet understood my suspension of Satyagrah after Abroadabad and Virangpur tragedies, then after the Bombay tragedy, and lastly after the Chauri-Chauri outrage. The last was the last straw. The thinking men imagined that all hope of Satyagrah, and therefore



of Swami] too in the new letter, was at an end. Their faith in non-violence was deep. Two years ago a Mussalman friend said to me in all sincerity, "I do not believe your non-violence. At least I would not have my Mussalmans to leave it. Violence is the law of life. I would not have Swami] by non-violence as you define the latter. I must have my sword." This friend is an honest man. I entertain great regard for him. Much the same has been reported of another very great Mussalman friend of mine. The report may be untrue, but the reporter himself is not an untrue man.

## Hindu Repugnance

Not is this repugnance to non-violence confined to Mussalmans. Hindu friends have said the same thing, if possible with greater vehemence. My claim to Hinduism has been rejected by some, because I believe and advocate non-violence in its extreme form. They say that I am a Christian in disguise. I have been even seriously told that I am distorting the meaning of the Gita, when I ascribe to that great poem the teaching of unqualified non-violence. Some of my Hindu friends tell me that killing is a duty enjoined by the Gita under certain circumstances. A very learned Shastri only the other day scornfully rejected my interpretation of the Gita and said that there was no warrant for the opinion held by some commentators that the Gita represented the eternal dual between forces of evil and good, and incited the duty of smothering evil within us without hesitation, without tenderness.

I state these opinions against non-violence in detail, because it is necessary to understand them, if we would understand the relation I have to offer.

What I see around me today is, therefore, a reaction against the spread of non-violence. I feel the wave of violence coming. The Hindu-Muslim tension is an acute phase of that driftiness.

I must be dismissed out of consideration. My religion is a matter solely between my maker and myself. If I am a Hindu, I cannot cease to be one even though I may be disowned by the whole of the Hindu population. I do however suggest that non-violence is the end of all religions.

## Limited Non-violence

But I have never presented to India that extreme form of non-violence, if only because I do not regard myself fit enough to deliver that sacred message. Though my intellect has fully understood and grasped it, it has not as yet become part of my whole being. My strength lies in my asking people to do nothing that I have not tried repeatedly in my own life. I am thus asking my countrymen to-day to adopt non-violence as their final creed, only for the purpose of regulating the relations between the different races, and for the purpose of staining Swami]. Hindus and Mussalmans, Christians, Sikhs and Parsis must not settle their differences by resort to violence, and the means for the attainment of Swami] must be non-violent. This I venture to place before India, not as a weapon of the weak, but of the strong. Hindus and Mussalmans prize about as competition in religion. What is it but competition, if Hindus will kill a Mussalman for wearing a cow? It is like wanting to convert a Mussalman to Hinduism by force. And similarly what is it but competition, if Mussalmans seek to prevent by force Hindus from playing music before mosques? Virtue lies in being absorbed in one's prayers in the presence of din and noise. We shall both be voted unrighteous swarms by posterity if we continue to make a feeble attempt to compel one another to respect our religious wishes. Again, a nation of three hundred million people should be ashamed to have to resort to force to bring to book one hundred thousand Englishmen. To convert them, or, if you will, even to drive them out of the country, we need, not force of arms, but force of will. If we have not the latter, we shall never get the former. If we develop the force of will, we shall find that we do not need the force of arms.

Acceptance of non-violence therefore, for the purposes mentioned by me, is the most natural and the most necessary condition of our national existence. It will teach us to husband our corporate physical strength for a better purpose, instead of dissipating it, as now, in a useless fratricidal strife, in which each party is exhausted after the effort. And every armed rebellion must be an immense net unless it is backed by the truth. But almost any form of non-cooperation fully backed by the nation can achieve the aim without shedding a single drop of blood.



I do not say I mean violence in your dealing with rulers as there is with rulers that may well be said. But surely that we are better able to do so we must learn to restrain ourselves. It is a sign not of strength but of weakness to take up the pistol on the slightest provocation. My mind is surely not a training not in violence but in non-violence. My method of non-violence is never lost in loss of strength, but it alone will rule if possible, if the victim will it or the oppressor and a certain violence in the end of things.

### Not Truly Non-violent

If those who believe that we were moving up and down because of the training in non-violence, will first reflect a little, they will discover that we have never been non-violent in the whole sense in which the word must be understood. Whilst we have refrained from causing actual physical harm, violence in our hearts. If we had honestly regulated our thoughts and speech to the utmost harmony with our outward act, we would never have experienced the things we are doing. Had we been true to ourselves we would have by this time evolved invincible strength of purpose and will.

I have said that I talk up as the last view of non-violence, because I am sure that if we can but return to our truly, if we can but say, in non-violence, limited only to the two purposes above stated to, the present tension between the two communities will largely subside. For, in my opinion, an attitude of non-violence in our mutual relations is a不可-potential condition prior to the removal of the obstacles for the removal of the tension. It must be some time since between the two communities - the mother party - which take the law into its own hands, but that all parties in dispute should withdraw wherever their just, shall be decided by reference with respect to arbitration, or to the law courts if they wish. This is the whole meaning of non-violence, so far as communal matters are concerned. To put it another way, just as we do not break one another's heads in respect of civil matters, so may we not do even in respect of religious matters. This is the only part that is non-violently proceeding between the parties and I am sure that everything else will follow.

### The Bully and the Coward

Unless this elementary condition is recognised we have no atmosphere for considering the means and means of settling our differences without resorting to an unreasonable, lasting settlement. But, assuming that the acceptance of the elementary condition will be common cause between the two communities, let us consider the current disturbing factor. There is no doubt in my mind that in the majority of cases is the Hindu even our second best. My own experience has confirmed the opinion that the Mussalman is a rule is a bully, and the Hindu as a rule is a coward. I have noticed this in railway trains, on public roads, and in the quarters which I had the privilege of visiting. Need the Hindu blame the Mussalman for his conduct? Where there are cowards, there will always be bullies. They say that in Maharashtra the Mussalman looked down, broke upon safe and in our case a Hindu woman's modesty was outraged. Where truly was this? Maharashtra can offer no defence for the cowardly conduct, it is true. But I as a Hindu am more ashamed of Hindu cowardice than I am wary of the Mussalman bullying. Who did not see the cowardice of the Hindu looked down in the attempt to defend their jurisdiction? Where were the bullies of the outraged order at the time of the outrage? Have they no account to render of themselves? My non-violence does not consist of running away from danger and hiding, that was unprotected. Between violence and cowardly flight, I can only prefer violence to cowardice. I can no more preach non-violence to a coward than I can expect a blind man to enjoy healthy vision. Non-violence is the science of bravery. And in our own experience, I have had no difficulty in demonstrating to men trained in the school of violence the superiority of non-violence. As a coward, which I was for years, I practised violence. I began to give non-violence only when I began to shed cowards. These Hindus who ran away from the post of duty when it was attended with danger did so not because they were non-violent, or because they were afraid to fight, but because they were unwilling to die or even suffer any injury. A soldier that runs away from the battlefield is not particularly non-violent, the poor thing trembles at the sight of the sword and runs for very life. These Hindus who ran away to save their lives would have been truly cowardly and would have covered themselves with glory and added honor to their faith was the friendship of their Mussalman cowards, if they had



stood here longest with snakes on their legs, and died at that time. They would have done less well though still well, if they had stood as they past and remained there for hours. If the Hindus wish to convert the Mussalman both into a respecting friend, they have to learn to die in the line of the bravest slave.

## The Way

The way however does not lie through Ahimsa, not that I mind them. On the contrary, I want them for physical culture. Then they should be for all. But, if they are united as a population for self-defence in the Hindu-Mussalman conflicts, they are foredoomed to failure. Mussalman are glib the more peace and such preparations secret or open do but make weapons and violence. They can provide no present remedy. It is for the thoughtful few to make quarrel impossible by making arbitration popular and obligatory.

The remedy against cowardice is not physical culture but the knowing of danger. As long as parents of the middle class Hindus, themselves timid, continue to treat their children by keeping their grown-up children in cotton-wool, so long will there be the desire to their danger and run to safe. They will have to dare to leave their children alone, let them run risks and even at times get killed in so doing. The parent individual may have a stout heart. The most cowardly Zaka cover before English kids. Each village has to find out its stout heart.

## The Goondas

It is a mistake to blame the goondas. They never do mischief unless we create an atmosphere for them. I was eye witness to what happened in Bombay on the Purna's day in 1922. We visited the seed and the goondas reaped the harvest. One man went at their head. I have no hesitation in holding the respectable Mussalman (not all in any single case) responsible for the murders in Madras, Schimpor and elsewhere, as I have none in holding respectable Hindus responsible for the murders in Katarpur and Amra. If it is true that at Purna we have prevented the creation of a public mosque in the place of a Hindu one, it is not the goondas who are doing it, it is the respectable Hindus who must be held accountable. We must resolutely discontinue the practice of sheltering the respectable class from blame.

Therefore I hold that Hindus will commit a grave blunder, if they organize Hindu goondas for defence. From the frying pan they will jump into fire. The Hindus and the British were born to defend himself even valiantly, if not non valiantly, or surrender his womanfolk and possessions to the goondas. They are a disgraceful, whether they are labelled Mussalman or Hindu. It was said with gusto that protested by untouchables (for they feared not death) a Hindu procession (playing triumphant music) quite recently passed a mosque unharmed.

It is a very dangerous way to make of a sacred cause. Such exploitation of our untouchable brothers can neither save Hindum in general nor the suppressed classes in particular. A few provocations or absolutely provoked may pass a few innocent safety. But it can only aggravate the growing tension, and degrade Hindum. The middle class people must be prepared for a testing, if they wish to play none in the teeth of oppression, or they must believe Mussalman in a self respecting manner.

The Hindus have to do penance for the past and will continuing disabilities imposed by them upon the suppressed brothers. There can be no question therefore of expelling any person from them for a while or even them. If we use them to cover our cowardice, we shall ruin in their false hopes we shall never be able to fulfil and if the revolution comes, it will be a just punishment for our infamous treatment of them. If I have any influence with Hindus, I would beseech them not to use them as a shield against anticipated Mussalman attack.

## Growing distrust

Another potent cause of the tension is the growing distrust even among the best of us. I have been warned against Purat Madan Mohan Malaviya. He is suspected of secret motives. It is said that he is an friend of the Mussalman. He is even accused with being jealous of my influence. I have the privilege of knowing him intimately ever since my return



to India in 1911 I have had the privilege of closest communion with him. I regard him as one of the best among Hindus, who though orthodox hold most liberal views. He is no enemy of Mussulmans. He is capable of jealousy of any one. He has a heart large enough to accommodate even his enemies. He has never aimed at power. And what he has, is due to a long period of selfless service of the motherland, such as very few of us can boast. We and I are temperamentally different but love each other like brothers. There never has been even so much as a jar between us. Our ways being different, there can be no question of rivalry and therefore of jealousy either.

Another one detested is Lala Lajpat Rai I have found him to be frank as a child. His record of sacrifice is almost unparalleled. I have had not one but many a chat on the Hindu-Muslim question with him. He is no enemy of the Mussulmans. But I confess that he has his doubts about the immediate attainment of unity. He is looking light from an High. He believes in that unity in spite of himself because, as he told me, he believes in Swaraj. He recognises that without that unity there can be no Swaraj. He only does not know how and when it can be attained. He likes my solution but he doubts if the Hindus will understand and appreciate its nobility (as he calls it). Let me say in passing I do not call my solution noble. I hold it to be strictly just and the only feasible solution.

Sriura Shridharanandji is also detested. His speeches I have often imitated. But even he wants Hindu-Muslim unity. Unfortunately he believes in the possibility of bringing every Muslim into the Aryan fold, just as perhaps most Mussulmans think that every non-Muslim will some day become a convert to Islam. Shridharanandji is untiring and brave. Single-headed he turned a wilderness into a magnificent boarding college on the banks of the sacred Ganges. He has faith in himself and his mission. But he is hasty and easily swayed. He inherits the traditions of the Arya Samaj. I have profound respect for Devarand Sarawati. I think that he has rendered great service to Hinduism. His history was unquestioned. But he made his Hinduism narrow. I have read "Satyarth Prakash" the Arya Samaj Bible. Friends sent me three copies of it whilst I was sitting in the Yerwade Jail. I have not read a more disappalling book from a reformer so great. He has claimed to stand for truth and saying less. But he has unconsciously misrepresented Jesus, Islam, Christianity and Hinduism itself. One having even a cursory acquaintance with these faiths could easily discover the errors into which the great reformer was betrayed. He has tried to make narrow one of the most tolerant and broad of the faiths on the face of the earth. And as wonderful though he was, he has succeeded in outwitting idleness in the widest form. For he has stolen the letter of the Vedas and tried to prove the existence in the Vedas of everything known to science. The Arya Samaj flourishes in my humble opinion not because of the inherent merit of the teachings of Satyarth Prakash but because of the good and lofty character of its founder. Whoever you find Arya-Samajists, there is life and energy. But having the narrow outlook and a paganistic belief they quarrel with people of other denominations and faking them, with one another. Shridharanandji has other share of that spirit. But, in spite of all these drawbacks, I do not regard him as past paying for it is possible that the death of the Arya Samaj and the Swaraj will come from. Needless to say, I mean no offence. I love the Samajists far I have many co-workers from among them. And I learnt to love the Swaraj, even while I was in South Africa. And though I know him better now, I love him no less. It is my love that has spoken.

The last among the Hindus against whom I have been warned are Jaramdas and Dr. Chittharan. I cross by Jaramdas. Twice now I have not had the honour of meeting. His conduct in the jail was the envy of us all. He was true to a fault. He is not anti-Mussulman. Dr. Chittharan though I began to know him earlier I do not know so well. But from what I do know of him, I decline to think of him as anything but a promoter of Hindu-Muslim unity. I have by no means exhausted the list. All I feel is that if all these Hindus and Samajists have will to be won over to the side of unity, the word unity has no meaning for me, and I should despair of achieving unity in my life-time.



## Bari Sahab

But the suspicion against these friends is not its worst part. I have been warned against Mussalman just as much as I have been warned against Hindus. Let me take only three names. Mashura Abdul Bari Sahab has been represented to me as an anti-Hindu fanatic. I have been shown some writings of his which I do not understand. I have not even worried him about them. For, he is a simple child of God. I have discovered no guile in him. He often speaks without thinking and often embarrasses his best friends. But he is as quick to apologise as he is ready to say things offensive. He means all he says for the time being. He is as sincere in his anger as he is in his apology. He once fared up at Mashura Mahomed Ali without just cause. I was then his guest. He thought he had said something offensive to me also. Mashura Mahomed Ali and I were just then leaving his place to return for Calcutta. After our departure, he felt he had wronged us. He had certainly wronged Mashura Mahomed Ali, not us. But he sent a deputation to 'us' at Calcutta asking us to forgive him. He was in my estimation by this act. I admit however that the Mashura Sahab can become a dangerous friend. But my point is that he is a friend. He does not say one thing and mean another. There are no mental reservations with him. I would trust such a friend with my life because I know that he will never stab me in the back.

## The Ali Brothers

A similar warning has been given to me about the Ali brothers. Mashura Shaukat Ali is one of the bravest of men capable of massive sacrifice and equally capable of loving the moment of God's favour. He is passionately fond of Islam but he is no hater of other religions. Mahomed Ali is his brother's elder son. I have not seen such implicit faithfulness to an elder brother as in Mashura Mahomed Ali. He has reasoned out for himself that there is no salvation for India without Hindu-Muslim unity. Their pan-Islamism is not anti-Hindu. Who shall quarrel with their intense desire to see Islam united against attack from without and purified from within? One passage in Mashura Mahomed Ali's Coomra's address was pointed out to me as highly objectionable. I drew his attention to it. He immediately acknowledged that it was an error. Friends have told me there is something to object to even in Mashura Shaukat Ali's address to the Ekkhala conference. I have the address by me but I have not had time to study it. I know that if there is anything offensive in it, he is the man the readiest to make amends. The brothers are not foolish. Being full of faith myself, I have not hesitated to seek and cherish their friendship. If they have some faults, they have many virtues. And I love them despite of their faults. Just as I cannot break the Hindu friends I have mentioned above and effectively work among Hindus for Hindu-Muslim unity, neither can I work to that end among the Mussalmans without the Mussalman friends, such as I have mentioned. If so many of us were perfect beings, there would be no quarrels. Imperfect as we are, we have to discover points of contact and with faith in God work away for the common end.

In order to purify the atmosphere of distrust of even the best of us, I had to deal with some of the principal characters. I may not have convinced the reader of the correctness of my estimate. Anyway it was necessary that he knew mine even if his was different from it.

## Illustration from Sind

This intense distrust makes it almost impossible to know the truth. I have received from Dr. Goelstman the alleged facts of an attempted forcible conversion of a Hindu in Sind. The man is said to have been done to death by his Mussalman neighbours because he will not accept Islam. The facts are ghastly if they are true. I straightaway wired to Shakh Niaz Abdulla Hanum inquiring about the matter. He very kindly and promptly wired to say that it was reported to be a case of suicide but that he was making further inquiries. I hope that we shall succeed in knowing the truth about it. I simply point out the difficulty of work in the midst of suspicion. There is one other Sind incident which I hesitate to report till I have fuller and more authentic particulars. I simply touch those who hear about my such incidents, whether against Hindus or Mussalmans, to keep themselves cool and pass on simply facts which can be sustained. I promise on my part to keep out of the least trifling of cases and do whatever is possible



for a single individual to do. Before long I hope we shall have an army of workers, whose one business will be to investigate all such complaints and do whatever is necessary to see that justice is rendered and causes for future trouble are avoided.

### From Bengal

The tales that are reported from Bengal of outrages upon Hindu women are the most disgusting if they are even half true. It is difficult to understand the cause of the eruption of such crimes at the present moment. It is equally difficult to speak with restraint of the cowardice of Hindu protectors of these outraged sisters. Nor is it easy to characterize the lot of those who become so mixed with it as to take liberties with unwed women. It is up to the local Mussulmans and the leading Mussulmans in general of Bengal to find out the reasons, not necessarily with a view to getting them punished but with a view to preventing a recurrence of such crimes. It is easy enough to dig out a few criminals from their hiding places and hand them over to the police, but it does not protect society against the repetition of them. It is necessary to remove the cause by undertaking a thorough process of reform. There must arise in Islam as well as in Hinduism men who being comparatively pure in character would work among such men. Much the same may be said of the Kafir's terror. There has no bearing on the Hindu-Muslim women. But we have to deal with such cases too if we are not to be helplessly passive, purely upon the police.

### Shuddhi and Tabligh

That however which is keeping up the tension is the manner in which the Shuddhi or conversion movement is being conducted. In my opinion there is no such thing as proselytism in Hinduism as it is understood in Christianity or to a lesser extent in Islam. The Arya Samaj has I think copied the Christians in planning its propaganda. The English method does not appeal to me. It has done more harm than good. Though regarded as a matter of the least purity and one between the sinner and himself, it has degenerated into an appeal to the selfish instinct. The Arya Samaj preacher is never so happy as when he is telling other religions. My Hindu friend told me that all religions are more or less true. All proceed from the same God but all are imperfect because they have come down to us through imperfect human ministrations. The real Shuddhi movement should consist in each one trying to arrive at perfection in his or her own faith. In such a plan character would be the only test. What is the use of crossing from one commitment to another, if it does not mean a moral rise? What is the meaning of my trying to convert to the service of God (for that must be the intention of Shuddhi or Tabligh) when those who are in my fold are every day denying God by their actions? "Physicians heal thyself" is more true in native religions than elsewhere. But there are my views. If the Arya-Samajists think that they have a call from their conscience, they have a perfect right to conduct the movement. Such a heralding call commands no time limit, no checks of expenses. If Hindu-Muslim unity is endangered because an Arya Samaj preacher or a Mussulman preacher preaches his faith in obedience to a call from within, that unity is only skin-deep. Why should we be vexed by such movements? Only they must be genuine. If the Mahatma wanted to return to the Hindu fold, they had a perfect right to do so whenever they liked. But no propaganda can be allowed which reviles other religions. For that would be negation of toleration. The best way of dealing with such propaganda is to publicly condemn it. Every movement attempts to put on the cloak of respectability. As soon as the public hear that cloak done, it dies for want of respectability. I am told that both Arya-Samajists and Mussulmans virtually kidnap women and try to convert them. I have before me volumes of Aga-Khan literature which I have not yet had the time to study carefully, but I am assured that it is a detraction of Hinduism. I have seen enough of it to know that it describes it as the Agrikhan as a Hindu master. It would be interesting to learn what the Aga Khan himself thinks of all this literature. I have many Khaj friends. I commend this literature to their attention. A gentleman told me that some agents of the Aga-Khan movement had money to pay illiterate Hindus and then tell them that the debt would be wiped out if the debtor would accept Islam. I would regard this as a conspiracy by nefarious movements. But the worst form is that preached by a gentleman of Delhi. I have read his pamphlet from cover to cover. It gives detailed instructions to preachers how to carry on propaganda. It starts with a lofty proposition that



Islam is merely preaching of the unity of God. This grand truth is to be preached, according to the writer, by every Mussalman irrespective of character. A secret department of spies is advocated whose mechanism is to be to pry into the privacy of non-Muslim households. Prostitutes, professional slayers, mendicants, Government servants, lawyers, doctors, artisans are pressed into the service. If this kind of propaganda becomes popular, no Hindu household would be safe from the secret attention of disguised misinterpreters (I cannot call them missionaries) of the great message of the Prophet of Islam. I was told by respectable Hindus that this pamphlet is widely read in the Mussalman dominions and that the methods advocated in it are extensively practiced in the Mussalman dominions.

As a Hindu I feel sorry that methods of such doubtful morality should have been seriously advocated by a gentleman who is a well-known Urdu author and has a large circle of readers. My Mussalman friends tell me that no respectable Mussalman approves of the methods advocated. The point however is not what the respectable Mussalmans think. The point is whether considerable number of Mussalman masses accept and follow them. A portion of the Panjab press is deeply corrupted. It is at times even filthy. I have gone through the columns of reading many extracts. These extracts are collected by Arya Samajists or Hindu and Mohammedan writers. Each side with the other is using abusive language and reviling the religion of the opponent. These papers have, I understand, a fairly large circulation. They find place even in respectable reading rooms.

I have heard it said that the Government emissaries are at the back of this campaign of calumny. I hesitate to believe it, but even assuming the truth of it, the public of the Panjab should be able to cope with the growing danger.

I think I have now examined all the causes, both original and continuing of the tension between the two communities. It is now time to examine the treatment of two constant causes of friction.

### **Cow-Slaughter**

The first is cow slaughter. Though I regard cow protection as the central fact of Hinduism, central because it is common to almost all sects as well as castes, I have never been able to understand the antipathy towards the Mussalmans on that score. We say nothing about the slaughter that daily takes place on behalf of Englishmen. Our anger becomes violent when a Mussalman slaughters a cow. All the riots that have taken place in the name of the cow have been an issue of effort. They have not saved a single cow, but they have on the contrary widened the backs of the Mussalmans and resulted in more slaughter. I am satisfied that during this more crisis were saved through the voluntary and generous efforts of the Mussalmans than through the Hindu effort during all the previous twenty years (say). Cow protection should commence with ourselves. In no part of the world perhaps are cows more treated than in India. I have went to see Hindu drivers guiding their poked carts with the iron points of their road studs. The half starved condition of the majority of our cattle are a disgrace to us. The cows find their necks under the butcher's knife because Hindus sell them. The only efficient and honourable way is to forbid the Mussalmans and leave it to their honour to save the cow. Cow protection societies must turn their attention to the feeding of cattle, protection of cruelty, preservation of the fast disappearing pasture land, improving the breed of cattle, buying loose poor sheepskins and turning paragonades into model self-supporting colonies. Hindus do an agent's bid and more when they come to do any of the things I have described above. They commit no sin, if they cannot prevent cow slaughter at the hands of Mussalmans, and they do no grievance when in order to save the cow, they quarrel with the Mussalmans.

### **Music**

The question of music before mosques and now even at the Hindu temples, has occupied my powerful attention. This is a sore point with the Mussalmans as cow slaughter is with the Hindus. And just as Hindus cannot compel Mussalmans to refrain from killing cows, so can Mussalmans not compel Hindus to stop music or work at the poles of the sword. They must trust to the good sense of the Hindus. As a Hindu, I would cordially advise Hindus, without any lingering qualms, to invade the continent of their







I believe in a more sincere Hinduism may have much to answer for. I have written in detail much with even what now is considered a "bad lot." I cannot recall a single occasion when I had to regret it. The Hindus are brave, they are generous and trusting, the moment their suspicion is allayed. Hindu living as they do in glass houses have no right to throw stones at their Musselman neighbours. See what we have done, we still doing, to the oppressed classes! If 'Kafir' is a term of opprobrium, how much more so is 'Musalmān'! In the history of the world religions, there is perhaps nothing like our treatment of the oppressed classes. The pity of it is that the treatment still continues. What a fight is Valmiki for a most elementary human right! God does not punish directly. He waits and punishes. Who knows that all our woes are not due to that one black sin? The history of Islam, if it brings illumination from the moral height, has many a brilliant page. In its glorious days it was not intolerant, it commanded the admiration of the world. When the West was sunk in darkness a bright star rose in the Eastern Firmament and gave light and comfort to a groaning world, Islam is not a false religion. Let Hindus study it reverently and they will love it even as I do. If it has become gross and decadent here let us admit that we have had no small share in making it so. If Hindus set their house in order, I have not a shadow of doubt that Islam will respond in a manner worthy of its past liberal traditions. The key to the situation lies with the Hindus. We must shed slinkiness or cowardice. We must be brave enough to trust, and all will be well.

[The student of Young India will pardon me for diverting partially the wheels of Young India to the question of Hindu-Muslim unity. He will readily do so if he holds with me that there is no question more important and more pressing than this in my opinion. I think all progress I therefore make the reader to prove the statement most carefully and know me with vision or imagination (not necessarily by calculation) that may throw additional light on the question or correct any errors of fact or opinion.]

M. K. Gandhi]

### Congress Organisation

(By M. K. Gandhi)

As I have said in my statement to the Press on the question of Congress unity, it is not complete without an explanation. In the light of my views, of the working of the Congress organisation, the difference between the two camps and myself is honest and vital. I believe that the frank recognition of honest differences will accelerate the country's progress as a political organisation designed to settle differences would have benefited if each party is now free to give the fullest play to its views unobscured by any consideration save that of the common good.

It is, therefore, necessary to consider the way the Congress organisation is to be worked. It is clear to me that it cannot be partly worked for as a government cannot be partly and efficiently worked so by two parties with opposite views. I hold the benefit of this also to be an absolutely integral part of the Congress programme. The benefit has two objects: first to persuade those who hold false aims to give them up, secondly, to keep the Congress pure from the influence of the minorities boycotted. If the first had been immediately successful, we should have attained our goal at once. But the second is equally necessary. If we are ever to reach our goal through the programme of non-violent non-cooperation, for so the boycott is defined so long as the National Congress endorses it as an own organisation, it cannot withdraw the influence, the pleasure, and the prestige of Government institutions, if it cannot be free without the presence

in it, an administration, of education, lawyers, school-masters and councillors who represent as it were, the voluntary branch of the Government administration. The idea running behind the programme of non-co-operation was that if we could honestly, non-violently and peacefully work the Congress organisation without such influence, and, say, even in spite of it, that last by itself would be enough to give us freedom. Our numbered superiority is so great that an effective boycott issued out by the National organisation would make the Congress an irresistible power. It follows, therefore, that the executive organisation of the Congress must not contain those persons, Government school-masters, working lawyers and members of legislative bodies and persons who are familiar with such a Government even in our midst, and those who do in such cases such persons can become Congress-men, but cannot and should not become members of executive organisations. They can become delegates and influence the Congress constitution, but only the Congress policy is fixed. Those who do not believe in that policy, in my opinion, should stand out of the executive bodies. The All India Congress Committee and all the local executive committees are such bodies, and they should contain only those members who whole-heartedly believe in and are prepared to carry out the policy. I am the author of the introduction into the Congress organisation of the system of single transferable votes. But experience has shown that so far as the executive



resolutions are concerned it cannot work. The idea that all resolutions should be represented on these bodies must be abandoned if the executive committees are to become bodies for the purpose of carrying out the Congress policy for the time being.

One of the most important reasons why we have not been wholly successful is that the members of these executive bodies have not behaved even in the Congress itself. I stand where I did when I made my impression of the All India Congress Committee, which met at Delhi soon after the finished resolutions were passed by the Working Committee. I saw then as clearly as possible that some members, if not indeed the majority, did not believe in non-violence and took it as an integral part of the Congress creed. They would not allow that 'passive' meant 'non-violent' and that 'firmness' meant 'truthful.' I knew that today there is more of the violent and the untruthful spirit in us than we had in February 1951, I would, therefore, say that those who do not believe in the firm backbone and non-violence and truthfulness should resign from the Congress executive bodies. That is why I have said in my statement on the Council entry that the constructive programme should be worked by different people through their respective organisations. The thorough believers, if there are any, in the firm backbone and non-violence and truth, have no organisation other than the Congress. The most natural thing in my opinion, therefore, is for the Members to work the constructive programme through their own organisations. So far as I can see, this method of working must be different from that of the boycotters. If they are to make the Congress entry meaningful, they must devote the whole of their energy to that purpose, and therefore they can help the constructive programme by working it mainly through the Councils and the Assembly!

I for one can be no party to a tag of war in which each party tries to capture the Congress executive. That war may be fought out at all quarters without heat and bitterness at the forthcoming session in December. The Congress is the debating and legislative body. The permanent organisations are purely executive bodies to give effect to the resolutions of the Congress. I am in a desperate hurry, I believe emphatically in the full and realisation non-violent non-cooperation programme as urged by the Congress and no other. If I can get really non-violent and truthful workers who claim my belief in the boycott, in the strategy of Gandhi, in Hindu-Muslim unity and in removal of untouchability, I would again feel bound coming to me much earlier than most of us think possible. But if we wrangle on in the All India Congress Committee, we can only discuss and discuss one another's job party leadership and without ordinary and honest working separately (because they cannot do otherwise) can hold one another.

I trust that all the members of the All India Congress Committee will attend the forthcoming meeting. If we can discuss the plan of action in a

calm manner without keeping motives and make the composition of the All India Congress Committee homogeneous, we can do a tremendous amount of work during the forthcoming six months. I would respectfully invite each member to consider for himself or herself where he or she is in respect of the programme. If they do not believe in the programme as it is and do not equally wish to revise it, and if they really value the feelings of their electors, I would not hesitate to advise the Committee even to take the risk of working and realising during the programme in anticipation of independence next year. No doubt for such a drastic change there must be a clearly made and clear, there must be real public opinion behind it. Granted these two conditions, I have no doubt that in spite of anything to the contrary in the constitution, it is the duty of the All India Congress Committee to reverse the Congress policy at the risk of launching condemnation and substantial work at the end of the year. Stagflation must be avoided at all cost.

After I had finished the foregoing, it was pointed out to me that it was possible that my views might tend to make the Congress appear weaker than it is before the No-Changers in the estimation of the masses. Nothing can be further from my thought than any such idea. There is no question of quality. It is purely a question of temperamental differences. I have written simply with an eye to effective working of the Congress executive. That working is possible only if the executives are not only for one party. If the Congress does it more popular, the executive bodies should be solely in their hands. The Congress must always represent the popular view whatever it may be, whether good or bad. And it is the duty of those who hold executive view not necessarily weak or inferior, to stand out and work on the popular side from outside. The No-Changers will be helping their love, if they regard Pro-Changers as, in any way, inferior to them by reason of their holding different views.

It has been further pointed out to me that in urging for exclusive control of the executives, I am departing from the spirit, if not the letter, of the Delhi resolution reaffirmed at Coimbatore. I have read both the resolutions carefully. In my opinion the Delhi resolution and more specially the Coimbatore resolution does not contemplate joint control of the executives. The Coimbatore resolution is not a mere affirmation, but it emphasises the principle of non-violent non-cooperation. But even if my reading of the resolutions is incorrect, my argument remains unshaken. Mine is only an opinion to be accepted or rejected by the members of the A. I. C. C. And it is accepted by the sole consideration of expeditious working. I feel that both the parties can effectively help each other only if they work separately.



# Young India

A Weekly Journal

Edited by M. K. Gandhi

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## Notes

### Varnashrama Satyagraha

I have received various telegrams in the fortnight of June. Two of them write me to go there and advise. My going is out of question, I only because I am too weak yet to undertake Satyagraha journey. But what I have said and generally what I am inclined to think is this. There should be no haste nor show of it for the purpose of taking possession. The work of ending war and thus making the progress in the task of the State expected are best if we not only use Satyagraha but the thinking was to say the least desirable. But even a Mahatma expected to be somewhat way to, humbly and heavily demanded from his possession.

### Digging my own grave

This is the expression that has been used about my article on Congress expression. I like it. For nothing will please me more than to dig my own grave than that I should say that of truth for which and which alone I want to live. An interested English friend who helped me in South Africa once told me, "Do you know that I have three times been hurt and into your movement because you represent a minority. For I believe that truth alone has with majority. You should not therefore be surprised at my expressing you, friends though we are. I have said you representing a majority." I have often wondered and even more so this week, whether the friend was not right and whether he would not have come to the conclusion that I must be in the wrong as I am at present supposed to be representing a majority. But whether the friend was right or wrong, I hope that the A. I. C. C. will not hesitate to put me in a minority and I shall also hope that I shall not be found untrue in my faith. I assure those that I shall not, manfully under attack or perhaps I have worked with the tide flowing with me. If we want to save India we must put ourselves before men. The latter may well go, but must never retreat even to the ground of fear.

### An Agra Samaj Protest

I have received the following note from Agra Agra Samaj. "Agra Agra Samaj protest against resolutions made by you regarding Agra Samaj, Hindu Separation, Hindu Hindustani, Rajput Protest and Hindia movement which it feels have been made unnecessarily because of lack of full acquaintance with Agra Samaj teachings. Respectfully propose to reconsider your notes and remove misgivings likely to be produced."

I publish the telegram of Agra Samaj. The Agra Samaj represents a considerable body of Agra Samaj opinion. All I can say is only is that I have not written a single

word in the reference to the Samaj or Hindu Separation or Hindu Hindustani without deep consideration. It was very enough for me to suppress my opinion. But consistently with truth I could not do so when it became relevant. Hindu-Muslim tension is a grim reality. Because of it is a stern national reality. It cannot be brought about by ignoring or suppressing facts. Truth on such occasions must be told as matter how acceptable it may be. But I share no infidelity. As yet I have seen nothing to make my views I must place ignorance. I share in love with Satyagraha Protest. I have the privilege of having Hindustani solidarity. My writing therefore a deliberate list of my Agra-Samajist views are evidence that I have used a very single paragraph I shall gladly refuse to say even, apologize and withdraw the erroneous statement.

### Parliament or Revolt?

Thomas has said that under a Satyagrah government plenty is a state and poverty a work. In other words the removal of such a government will not be millions, then he is to without about the under. There is this light the proclamation of the "Gandhi" of Mahatma may be treated as a record for public opinion. I am therefore only surprised that the Parliament upon his paper being the first to be on the track, but at the Mahatma Government. That the Indian members of that Government are responsible for the record does not surprise me. They could do no better. They must either realize that Government or resign. They believe in their Government being for the good of the country. Non-violent and co-operation is intended to question the process of disintegration. This process has been also because we have believed only non-violence is non-cooperation and all but a non-violence.

### Luxury not Power

Kindly write to this from Gandhianism.

"The more you know about it is concerned all our energy on the Government (Parliament) is simply this, how much we can spend by our own hands the possession of life, and thereby give power. If we can get the Hindu power deeply to live, we can probably give more power to the community elsewhere. But it is not only that which Government power to give us, we will get something to do, but will not give power, and then will become weaker and weaker every day. For, as long as we are friends with the Government, we will be of the money. It is natural that the Government will take what we can give them and we will not after we are in it. It is likely to expect that the Government will give us power in reality. The more power of doing anything is there. It is likely to give us the materials of living when the great nation and reflecting from want of food and clothing. It will not part with the least of its power, unless forced by circumstances. That power is enjoyed mainly by the few leaders and by all means for the rest will be left at the Indian power."







have put in every waking minute of the control of my thoughts. They do not come and go at my bidding. My control is then necessarily in a state of inoperative against itself.

In my waking moments, however, I am doing my thoughts from walking with one another. I say my that is the willing state the mind is in, as against the approach of self thoughts. But in the hours of sleep, mental ones the thoughts are not less. When asleep the mind would be completely free of thoughts, by unperceived desires, and by desires for things done and enjoyed by the flesh alone. Such thoughts or desires when asleep are followed by the mental consciousness. Whilst such impressions are possible a person cannot be said to be free from all passions. The dreamer is, however, disinterested, but has not yet wakened. If I had complete mastery over my thoughts I could not have suffered from the dreams of pleasure, sporting and apprehensions that I feel during the last ten years. I believe that a healthy soul should retain a healthy body. To the extent, therefore, that the soul governs his body and his body does not, to that extent the body also governs that state. The dream state, that a healthy body should be necessary along a flesh. A body and often retains a lean body. After a certain stage the flesh diminishes in proportion to the growth of the soul. A perfectly healthy body may be very delicate, a muscular body it also has to stay on it. Some of it consequently free from disease, it is not immune from sickness, contagion and the like. A perfectly healthy body, in the ordinary, is proof against all these. Incomprehensible flesh has the inherent virus of retaining all sicknesses.

Such an equilibrium is subject to effects of attachment. Otherwise I should have reached it, because myself as a witness is the fact that I would open up space to attach to this perfect state. No outward obstacle can stand between me and that state. But it must say for all, at least for me, in this past existence. But the delay has not in the least damaged me. For I have a mental picture of that perfect state. I have seen the glimpse of it. The progress achieved till now with hope, rather than despair. But even if I depart from this body before the hope is fulfilled, I could not think that I had failed. For I believe in rebirth as much as I believe in the continuity of my present body. I therefore know that even a little effort is not wasted.

I have said so much about myself for the simple reason that my correspondence and others. The theme may have guidance and self-mastery. The soul is one in all. The possibilities are therefore the same for every one. With some, it has manifested itself, with others it has yet to do so. Patient striving would carry everyone through and to the same experience.

I have hitherto discussed Bhakti-yoga in its outer meaning. The ordinary accepted sense of Bhakti-yoga is the control of thought, word and action of material nature. And it is again proper that to maintain its meaning. It has been thought to be very difficult to practice the Bhakti-yoga. This control of the mind, desires has been so very difficult, has become nearly impossible, because equal stress has not been laid on the control of the palate. It is often the perpetration of one physician that a body subjected by disease is always a favourite. Aids of moral diet, and Bhakti-yoga by an established man is difficult to practice naturally.

I have taken about of a lean but healthy body. Let me now recommend that to have experienced ripened wisdom, I have talked of Bhakti-yoga in its present aspect in my very early language. It is likely therefore to be misunderstood.

But one who would practice complete control of all the senses must needs reform the meaning of the flesh. With the relaxation of attachment to the flesh, comes the extension of the desire to have invincible strength.

But the body of a true Bhakti-yogi, is bound to be exceptionally weak and very thin. The Bhakti-yogi is necessarily weakly. He who is not moved by sensual desires even in his sleep is worthy of all elevation. The control of every other sense shall be yielded unto him.

Such reference to the restricted Bhakti-yoga, another broad writer. 'I am miserable. I am haunted by cruel thoughts once whilst I am in my office, in the road, by night and day whilst reading and writing, even whilst I am sleeping. How can a weakling need to be controlled? How is one to learn to look upon every woman as one's mother? How is the eye to retain forth power? How are one's thoughts to be controlled? I have before me your article on Bhakti-yoga, (written years ago) but it has failed to help me.'

The weakness is heart-breaking. Many suffer from it. But so long as the mind is engaged in a spiritual struggle against self thoughts, there is no reason to despair. When the eye objects, it should be closed. When the nose offends, they should be stopped. It is best always to walk with downcast eyes. They will then have no reason to go wrong. All business of talking talk or making sense should be stopped. There should be full control of the palate. I know that he who has not mastered his palate cannot master the moral domain. It is very difficult I know to master the palate. But mastery of the palate means automatic mastery of the other senses. One of the rules for control of the palate is to abstain completely, as much as possible all rudiments. A more difficult rule is to substitute the feeling that the food we eat is in nature the body, even to study the palate. We take our food for the pleasure of it but to breathe. We drink water to quench our thirst, and we should be able food to study our hunger. But from childhood onwards we are brought up to a different habit. Our parents make us cultivate all sorts of tastes, and with a view to our nourishment, but for satisfying their wishes for us. We thus get spoiled. We have therefore to struggle against the results of our own upbringing.

There is however a golden rule for gaining control of the moral desire. It is the repetition of the dream word 'Thou' or such other words. The Danish word 'du' also serves the same purpose. Keep one word when the senses other has been. I have suggested the word 'Thou' because I was brought up to repeat it in my childhood and I have ever got strength and courage out of it. Whenever nature is inclined, one should be identified with it, when repeating it. I have not the least doubt of ultimate success as a result of repetition of some such mantra is complete such, even though other thoughts disturb the mind. The source will be the light of one's life and will keep one free of desires. Such help means death. Strongly never to seek for material ends. If there are a strongly extended to the preservation of one's, the mental strength will be striking. Of course a more repetition of such a mantra person-one would be it no one can should there be whole and into it. The great reason is like a machine. We should repeat it with a view to preventing the approach of wandering thoughts and with full faith in the efficacy of the mantra in that act.



# Young India

No. 4-31

## Hindu-Muslim Unity

(By N. A. Chaudh)

Let me commence this long statement issued last week on this the greatest of all questions to the Indian nation. The primary will judge both the fulfil by the manner in which the followers of each accept themselves in the matter. Neither good Muslims or Indians may be in the abstract, the only way each can be judged is by the extent produced by each on the subject considered as a whole.

The following then is the summary of the statement.

### Causes

1. The remote cause of the section is the Moslem rebellion.

2. The strength of Mr. Patel's attitude to encourage the distribution of posts in the education department consistently with the number of Moslems in the Punjab and consequent Hindu opposition.

3. The Shikhar agreement.

4. The most potent being feelings of non-violence and the fear that the nation might be a long period of training in non-violence except the law of resistance and self-defence.

5. Moslem non-cooperation and Hindu return.

6. Hindu opposition and consequent Hindu distrust of Moslems.

7. Moslem jealousy.

8. Moslem distrust of Hindu leadership.

### Causes

1. The master-key to the solution is the replacement of the rule of the sword by that of a character.

2. Hence, public opinion should make it impossible for aggressive parties to take the law into their own hands and every case must be referred to private arbitration or to law-courts if the parties do not believe in non-cooperation.

3. Ignorance but of mutually non-violence should be called, taking the place of violence should be dispelled.

4. Growing mutual distrust among the leaders must, if they believe in truth, give place to trust.

5. Hindus must come to know the Moslems fully and the Moslems should consider it beneath their dignity to tell their Hindu brothers.

6. Hindus must not imagine they can force Moslems to give up non-violence. They must trust, by understanding Moslems, that the latter will, of their own accord, give up non-violence out of regard for their Hindu neighbours.

7. Nor must Moslems imagine they can force Hindus to stop violence or even believe non-violence. They must understand the Hindus and trust them to pay heed to reasonable Moslem demands.

8. Hindus must have in the Moslems and vice versa authorities the qualities of representatives as elected leaders, and generally and wholeheartedly give effect to the feelings of non-violence. If that day may I should support Balraj Sahas Agarkar as the sole person having him over to convert Moslems, Hindu, Christian, Hindu etc. as to members both.

9. Employment under colonial governments must be according to merit to be decided by a board of members representing different communities.

10. Shikhar or Talghat as such cannot be discarded but other must be considered honestly and by men of proved character. It should avoid all attack on other religions. There should be no covert propaganda and no other of mutual enmity.

11. Public opinion should be so cultivated as to put under the law all the persons who propagate in a section of the Punjab Press.

12. Nothing is possible without the Hindus shedding their disability. There is the largest stake and they must be prepared to sacrifice the same.

But how is the case to be cleared? Who will convince the Hindu masses that the best way to save the cow is to let her do the thing by her and not graduate Moslem brother? Who will convince the Moslem masses that it is not religion but religion to treat the head of his Hindu brother when he plays music in front of his mosque. Or again who will make the Hindus see that he will be nothing by the number being even over-represented on the district police boards? There are few questions and show the difficulty of working out the solution.

But if the solution is the only true solution, all difficulties must be overcome. In reality the difficulty is only apparent. If there are even a few Hindus and a few Moslems who have a living faith in the solution, the rest is easy. Indeed, even if there were few Hindus only, or a few Moslems only who had both the solution would last long. They have but to work away single-heartedly and the others will follow them. And the conversion of only one group is enough because the solution requires no coercion. For instance, Hindus should come to every Moslem and show the way without regarding any consideration even the latter. They should talk to the Moslems demand wherever it may be regarding representation upon without requiring any return. And if the Moslems insist on stopping Hindu work or work by force, the Hindus will continue paying it although every single Hindu should do it his part but without compulsion. The Moslems will then be shown what doing the right thing or its cowardly short-cut of force. Moslems too do likewise, if they change, and show the Hindus how doing the right thing. One has but to follow.

But is justice it will not be then—on the contrary both will not simultaneously as soon as the workers become true to themselves. Unconsciously they are not. They are mostly ruled by power and prejudice. Each tries to take the advantage of his co-religionists and on the whole a distrust and suspicion ever exists.

I hope that at the forthcoming meeting of the All India Congress Committee, it will be possible to find out a method of work which will bring a speedy end to the matter.

It has been suggested to me that the Government are favouring these demands. I should hope not. But assuming that they are, surely it is up to us to continue such efforts by ourselves using truth and justice.

The Congress will surely do. Also elected, before the session of 1934-35 on the 10th instant at 8 a.m. with an inaugural address from Mahatma Gandhi. The address will be delivered at the Sarayguda Ashram.



## All India Congress Committee

(By B. K. Ghosh.)

The forthcoming session of the All India Congress Committee will divide the labour and of the Congress for the next year, namely 32 months for a session which is necessary to get her own work long time to lose. They must in practice. The members of the All India Congress Committee are representatives of representatives. They are or should be the real members of the nation. They are of they will lead in 1925. They must be men and women with an unimpeachable faith in the national programme for the country. They must believe in their own love and self-sacrifice, to do 10 years. Three hundred and fifty representatives working with one mind united and perfect in understanding, organisation upon the country.

Let each one of us think himself or herself

1. Do I believe in non-violence and work for the progress of human beings?

2. Do I sincerely believe in Hindu-Muslim unity?

3. Do I believe in the equality of the sexes to render the position of the women members of the steering committee of India, and in order to make hand-loom Khadi universal as I proposed to open religiously for half an hour at least every day, except when specially travelling, earnestly for twenty-four hours? And am I prepared to see nothing but hand-loom Khadi?

4. Do I believe in the boycott of government aided government schools, universities and colleges?

5. Do I believe, do I believe that non-cooperation is a Hindu-Muslim unity?

6. Do I believe in the complete abolition of the salt and sugar and in spite of the fact that the whole of the country will be ruined and in a single day, it is.

In my opinion, no one who does not believe in the foregoing articles in the Congress programme should remain in the All India Congress. I am sure it is necessary to draw attention to all the articles because I know that many members do not believe in a complete and total. I hear that there is one promising lawyer in the Congress committee, that there are members who do not religiously and deeply wear Khadi garments, that there are non-cooperators who are actually in the management committees of national schools and who send their own children to government schools, and that there are members who trade in foreign or mill-made cloth or sell on Congress markets. I can only say that it is impossible to carry on the Congress programme to a successful issue if we who have to work at the end every of our in various provinces. There are a promising lawyer and in regard to the leader to get up his position, or one who does not himself open democratic the necessity of strict discipline?

I shall plead before the members for an honest programme. If the majority have another programme, I would advise the minority to resign at once in the Congress programme from outside the A. I. C. C. There has been too much disregard of Congress resolutions and demands for the Working Committee. I would think it also suggested that the members should at the end of every month send just at their own spending at least two shillings at least two shillings of one and half-shilling per week. This spending can be made upon in thirty days at the rate of half an hour per day. The rate should reach the secretary, Khadi Board not later than the last of each month. He who fails to send the requisite quantity should be deemed to have resigned. Likewise there should be general returns of hand spinning, hand weaving, hand weaving

and handspun yarn from month to month in their own areas should be deemed to have resigned. The returns should reach the secretary every month, not later than the last of every month.

I know that there are hard conditions for those who do not wish to work and say for those who do. There is no way of working the programme unless the chosen representatives of the people, work.

There has been too much hurry about our method of work. It is time that we lighten a little less a strenuous life. The charge that the programme is unworkable is that a nation of apathetic, inert subjects. Being do not let them be because I have nothing to say upon the programme of salt and sugar and I am convinced that we have to become once again a nation of active, vigorous and energetic men and women to launch ourselves from the land and become economically independent.

## My Jail Experiences

(By B. K. Ghosh.)

VII

### Self-sacrifice Prisoners' Conduct

The prisoners showed by some touch and put by upon the end of the last chapter however considerable of my losses, many having taken on it and to many I think it not excessively in their conduct in 1922 and 1923, after thousands had to jail.

In the next instance was made the jail environment. At the Government is not our goal. We are indifferent if the Government is unworkable a long in our conduct in light. We are unopposed to unworkable the Government is nothing else, that we are unopposed to unworkable or according to our own only. That is to say we will support a non-cooperation if we discovered that we are unopposed to unworkable the rules. And we are indifferent because we believe that by non-cooperation we are ultimately benefit ourselves. But there cannot be any such non-cooperation on the jail. We do not want them to even a selfish end. We require them by the Government to maintain according to their situation. Our business there is to discipline them by using in our company (and by them exposed) means, just as our business outside is to discipline them by sending away their law courts, which is outside or taken and by showing that we are prepared to do without them should be possible.

Whether all of us believe that the method of non-cooperation is a process of leading the best and appealing to the masses, not one of enlightening by reasoning. Selfishness has no place in a non-violent movement.

Thereafter showed self-sacrifice prisoners to prisoners of war. Their strength by the money, prisoners of war will certainly the strong as friends. It will be considered dishonourable on the part of a soldier as a prisoner of war to desert the camp. It does not affect my argument that the Government does not regard self-sacrifice prisoners to prisoners of war. If we set on work, we shall soon understand myself. We must make the prison a neutral institution in which we may, say, work in order to a certain extent.

We must be highly independent and finally of long-suffering of the one hand we deliberately break prison rules and in the same time content of punishment and restraint. We may not be content with and complete of work and in the same time conceal prohibited things in our blankets or our clothes. There is nothing in self-sacrifice that I know whereby we may render official communications self-sacrifice or possible other discipline.



When we think that if we make the laws of peace efficient, nevertheless the Government will be obliged to use its money to either pay them a little compensation or reward them as employees. We pay a little compensation when we consider that even though we can make peace efficient, even otherwise, life, the Government will have to us about ten millions to reward us because government is an effort to keep our spirit. That is to say we regard the administrators to be so considerate and because that they will so severely punish us even though we give them reward money. As a matter of fact, they will not and do not hesitate to show consideration and idea of economy and must not only rewarded but even punished and punish us very severely.

But it is my deliberate conviction that had we but acted with candour, honesty and dignity, following State guides, we would have discerned all its parts — *viz.* the part of the Government and such strictly honourable behaviour on the part of its many grantees would have at least showed the Government not confining their care to representing so many honourable and successful men. For as it was their case that our non-reliance is but a cloak for our selfishness<sup>1</sup> let us not therefore play into their hands every time we are misled.

In my opinion, October is Belgium's best time to visit when the leaves are in season.

1. To act with the most scrupulous honesty,
2. In accordance with the great ethical and administrative principles
3. To act by our standards in all reasonable demands as scrupulous as circumstances,
4. To ask for the fairest deal that we ourselves when the moment of judgment do not get and which we do not need, strictly the terms of justice
5. Not to fail to ask what we do need and not to get provided we do not obtain it
6. To do all the tasks allotted to the church of our ability.
7. In such conduct which will make the Government justice irreconcilable and unobtainable. It is difficult for them to meet Society with honesty for our want of faith and responsibility for such a man's weakness. Therefore they expect and need with a double dose of it. They were able to deal with material values but have not yet found out any sort of dealing with non-material ones for which we are to do.

The idea behind the composition of *Shujing* is that he expects relief through humble addresses to heaven. He believes that most suffering for a good man has a cause all its own and is hardly greater than the virtue of the man. Therefore not man, but no man and most when the treatment makes no self-regard. The use for man to man must be the proof of death the use of silence language by others up. They were in *Yi* and *Yi* and in which to show them. Death and silence are no part of the official's duty. Therefore no man must know that we may not need search because it is not of man's world.

Our new society should not be content to be contented to know that there should be no agitation against political reform. It should be like Singapore in the early days of settlement, vigorously help on progress we may not all believe. We must be content to live with the national standards and even welcome the opportunity of working social reform in them. It is because of this that a government that will not be content to recognize the most national demands.

## Name: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

[illegible]

Forster described Nelson as sent a letter to the following terms to the Administrator of Nelson:

[illegible]

President Jaramila's letter would go to show that the record of President Calderón's old enemies, and the numerous accusations are totally suggested even if they are not alleged freely. The three patients were entitled to see the institutions of their release. As I have already shown, President Calderón ordered us to open all the doors, but not only so but the cabinet of Kennedy, the police will be authorized to know the Administration's work. In President Jaramila's letter.

[illegible]

A gentleman has sent us a copy letter to the *Illustrated London News* regarding Charles's proposal. I copy the relevant parts of that letter:

- <sup>3</sup> There is much optimism in our literature (2) to be encouraged, but I am afraid that many may be too optimistic in expecting the highly plastic brain and passing the on. However, we are interested in this problem. A large quantity of knowledge can be produced in this problem. When I was the work total of which the knowledge production, I find that I should work, not work, but. But when I come to the knowledge topic of our design. Compared, I find many less people having serious. People who had began working knowledge. Knowledge from began to use will give much or more people. Knowledge itself.

The Congress appealed to the sentiment of all the people. They showed all kinds of defects and some even went too far. They suggested a number of bills to amend the defects. Some of the bills were good, some were bad, some were not like to pass. It was the defects were...

- It was said in very heavy, the ladies do not estimate it
- In the corner of his temple, it is not easy to read.
- It is in me a childlike mind for their clothing requires
- I should be wanting that it is easy all with me do not by some
- I should be
- It has got as waiting and we must give that change to it
- It would then
- It is doing them (the will) then. We perhaps to require
- You are proud in a paper, with, ladies will think it said as
- Another of the same sort (that is not, never one more).

The Irish people do not like to stand aside while their own lives and lands are being taken away. They feel that they have a right to be heard, and they will not be silenced.

Only the agricultural class in the village was ill. They got water from their wells. Their cattle did the plowing and the sowing. They were so busy that the garden and kitchen were







up without the constant stopping on passengers. That is what they will do now. But the question was was a rope suggested. "I have heard of hanging up that if any one makes it, it would be put into the way of doing all his business without any and the man who does his business satisfactorily gets no time to make his time. But it is a very long, comfortable time in his hand. He has his his part of your time, and business would be very easy."

The Non-co-operation movement with its success led to the power of the state left to almost wonderful things but unfortunately it had away from these machine-made wheels which again to disintegrate Indian and Indian, which is rather they only increase them. There is one thing that can be truly said about the Khaddar movement, is addition to its success, value and it brings us back to simplicity and self-reliance. "It is a very big, the Chinese garden-says, has a market-like heart in his hand to his left his group of poor and the success arrived is very large." The simplicity in which George had become involved undoubtedly led to the Great War. C. P. A.

### All about Sarojini

(The reader will appreciate the following translation of a letter from my son Bhadrakanta describing Mrs. Kaul's working tour in South Africa. M. K. G.)

"Durga, because he, obliged Mrs. Kaul again and again to postpone her departure from the place. According to the present arrangement she will be the end of this month."

The dropping of the Chamberlain bill has been the great achievement of Mrs. Kaul during her stay in this country. Just before she came the Congress and the Government had taken such a cautious attitude (which was maintained even for a little while after Mrs. Kaul's arrival) that the passing of the bill was scarcely treated as a foregone conclusion. When for the first time Mr. Alexander moved the postponement of the bill it had only two persons to support him in the House. The next evening before the Government, Government changed sides Mrs. Kaul sat her first on the roll of Cape Town. The press did all it could to stimulate her efforts. But her personal appearance more inspired the imagination of the people. Mrs. Kaul's lecture a home-bred cause. She had interviews with leaders of the different parties. The labour party was in early contact with her and with the nationalist leader General Hertzog went as far as to declare that if the Indians can appeal to this case it was because of what he heard from and saw of Mrs. Kaul. Consideration of the bill was to be the first item of the business in the Union Assembly. But her visit means the Government had to postpone it. Mrs. Kaul's presence was too awkward, and they decided to wait till she had gone. It was, indeed Mrs. Kaul had made it quite clear that she had no intention of going away that the bill was ultimately passed with 16 in one of her speeches she had said that after and if the bill was brought up for discussion the world will see the House of India sent through and the duration of the bill, according to her presence she was, supporters of called India and, if allowed, would run quickly on the floor of the House and turn the weak hands of the 22 votes of India's children. In so many, she had declared, would the bill be allowed to become law. True to her word she sat on the whole proceedings in the House where she was treated with all the respect due to a distinguished statesman. The majority bill, during the

late of the bill when it was held through its course and Parliament was dissolved.

Mrs. Kaul soon after left to complete the rest of her tour programme. She had given a few films shows at Port Elizabeth, East London, Grahamstown, Kimberley and a few other towns and on way to Johannesburg. The whites of Port Elizabeth and their local newspaper were opposed to Mrs. Kaul's visit to that town and a good deal of poisoning talk had been indulged in to persuade the Indians that they had no doubt in the company of and from visiting Mrs. Kaul would serve only to detract the most relations. She remained between the two communities. The speech, however, maintained a rather resolution no matter how the white came off, and when at the end of a day's stay the moderate water was prepared to express, the whole of the white population visited her to stay in their midst. A letter which longer came they had sent, all kind of and those that had been wanted to hear her speech. Every section of the vast population has been inspired to work for the cause. The banquet arranged in her honour at Johannesburg had more the number that attended the banquet in honour of Mr. Chamberlain years ago, and there was a very large number of Indians.

On the suggestion of Mrs. Kaul the South African Indian Congress was held in Grahamstown and considerable amount of work was done, under the Presidency of Mrs. Kaul, with a thoroughly successful result. The Congress was inaugurated in South London in the Town Hall and sat on the following four days in the Pioneer Building Hall. It passed about thirty important resolutions.

There were great and moving scenes on the last day of the Congress.

The condition of the Indians here has been like that of domestic slaves, ever since your departure. Mrs. Kaul has however inspired a most depressing situation into one of the highest hope. She had inspiring departure from the land, a making the heart of the Indians and a little rest.

After the Congress Mr. Kaul has been protected with numerous invitations to address meetings and attend functions. She is responding to only a few of these since it would take not less than three months, were it she had to accept all. Those who are disappointed some of the Congress resolutions, it is while waiting to represent their cause before the court. It is pretty in a few days. But as a matter of fact Mrs. Kaul is kept quite busy from the moment she came off her at night in meeting those very degraded by letters and words. She is now in Blantyre. She returns from there to Johannesburg where she will be given a banquet exclusively by Congress. Then there is a final banquet in Durban, which will be the last time in a programme of work which will have been as fruitful and interesting as it has been long and busy."

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# Young India

A Weekly Journal

Edited by M. K. Gandhi

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No. 24

## My Jail Experiences

(By M. K. Gandhi)

VIII

### Jail Experiences

Prisoners also has my experience of jail work. They are the most devoted of all departments. The hospitals are comparatively the most expensive of public institutions. In the jails everywhere is all the equipment and the smallest type. In them there is no expenditure for spending of human labour, there is no expenditure in the spending of money and materials. In hospitals it is not the same. Jail and both are institutions designed to deal with human diseases—pains for mental and hospitals for physical. Mental diseases are regarded as a curse and therefore punishable. Physical diseases are regarded as misfortune and nature is to be patiently treated. As a matter of fact there is no reason for any such distinction. Mental as well as physical diseases are liable to the same cause. If I died I suspect a bunch of him governing bodily activity. If I suffer from stomach-ache I still want a bunch of him governing a healthy body. One reason why physical diseases are treated lightly is because they are called higher diseases than the lower diseases. The higher diseases have no reason for maintaining waste flesh, and as there would be disturbed if flesh continued they have generally long-term growth given starting, knowing all the while that their activities which give matter are for more harmful to society than the waste flesh. It is curious too, that both institutions through human of wrong treatment. Hospitals flourish because patients are respected and honoured, pain flourish because the processes are punished as if they were beyond reach. If every disease treated as physical were regarded as a lapse, but every patient to pursue even to be treated kindly and sympathetically, not severity or indignity. Both jails and hospitals would show a tendency to decrease. A hospital is more than a jail is a necessity for a healthy society. Every patient and every prisoner should come out of his hospital or jail as a missionary to preach the gospel of mental and physical health.

One I must stop the comparison of the stage. The major will be designed to have that the primary in prison is concerned in the ground of economy. Although all labour is taken from prisoner e.g. drawing water, grinding flour, cleaning roads and clearing soiling food, the prisoner are not only self-supporting but they do not even pay for their own food. And in spite of all this labour the prisoners do not get the food they would have if the manner of cooking they would appreciate this for the people know that the prisoners who do the cooking are

also not less interested in their work. It is for them too, to be performed under uncompetitive conditions. If we say enough to see that the prisoners were philanthropists, and therefore fully interested in the welfare of their fellow prisoners, they would not find themselves in prison. If therefore, a more rational and more moral system of administration was adopted, the prisoner would really become self-supporting. Unfortunately instead of so they are not, expensive paid institutions. I would save the trouble waste of labour in drawing water, grinding flour, etc. If I was in charge, I would buy flour from outside, I would draw water by machinery and not that of having all kinds of old pots, I would change the process in washing, in mending, in food-cooking and I self-serving. In the small jail only spending and saving may be left. Then not having there is no need of the social process. All this is necessary to be able working and handicraftsmen. All the labour needed can be easily given in our own work every job. This will positively the national savings industry and make the process self-supporting. The labour of all the prisoners will be signed for maintenance and yet not for competitive purposes, so is now the case in some prisons. There is a printing press attached to the Yeravda Jail. Now this press is largely worked by convict labour. I expect this is under competition with the general printing press. If the prisoners were under competitive industries they would easily be made even profitable. But my purpose is to show that they can be made self-supporting without entering into work competition and as the same time make the country a labour industry which on their dealings would give them an independent calling their providing for their every necessity to have an independent status.

I would maintain prisons for the prisoners to have an atmosphere as a man's work with public utility. I would then give them all facilities for working their relative, getting books and more books, I would replace them by reasonable food. I would make them with every bit of it, they might demand for them but their own mind could not ask.

I would make most of the prisoners self-sufficient, so that a prisoner will not be detained a moment longer than necessary for the protection of society and for his own reform.

I know that this requires a thorough reorganisation and the employing of a different kind of machine from the so-called one that most of them are now. But I know, too, that the reform can be effected without much outlay.















# Notes

## Should May?

A most curious Jewish feud often used the expression 'Juda may', in regard that the highest in the land may commit most atrocious crimes, not only with impunity but may even escape with their possible congratulations for these crimes. The expression may be fittingly used in connection with the 6 Days-Kiss case. The judge showed him from the very commencement, Day after day the report of the case was poured smoking for the public, and though the judgment was a European conclusion, the public had hoped against hope that the judge will do some measure of justice in his reasoning and judgment. It was not to be. The worst has happened. But a British judge may do with impunity what an Indian may have to lose his head over.

By accepting Sir Michael O'Dwyer's challenge Sir Barkun Dutt had put the British authorities and the British people on trial. They have been tried and found wanting. Even in a simple matter a case of Sir Barkun Dutt's proved loyalty could not get justice. If Sir Michael O'Dwyer had lost, the British Empire would not have gone in vain. But this position would have suffered a lot. And now not the British people pledged to stand by their British officers even though they might at times make mistakes or lag at the moment in terms of the Empire which trained them. I know that Sir Barkun Dutt has the sympathy of every Indian in his debt. The case is was a European conclusion. As the case dragged along its every length I think Sir Barkun Dutt's place is getting a better sense. He has provided me with a powerful reason in the statement against the present rule which must be ruled at any cost.

## The Wrong Way

But let us not lose patience because we have to see before. The Sharanghadhara has given us the wrong lead. I have not got before me the text of the resolution regarding European Rule. It reads I am sorry to say much more than the wrong done by the 'Times of India' reporter. Now in the text, I copy from the 'Forward' (the text) 'While adhering to the policy of non-violence the Congress pays its respectful homage to patriotism of European Rule and without regard government in accordance with the High's motto'. I cannot but regard this resolution as a variety of non-violence. It would have been less misguiding if non-violence had not been dragged in at all. The patriotism of Congress Rule could only mean in the words and not in the right patriotism which was the counterpart of the motto. He was not out to do but to render me what was before to him. The knowledge he can fit out of being brought with the text but not necessarily justice. For many members know that he was not out, and may therefore be still better. The patriotism of any Government is not a matter of number. It is a matter of conviction with non-violence even when regarded purely as a policy. Non-violent suffering is not a means and under injury to another cannot be. In patriotism in the same line. The patriotism of every form of Government depends that which the country professes a policy of non-violence, be that not dictated by cowardly number, and I strongly feel that who are pledged to the policy of non-violence are as they bound not only to denounce themselves from such but to condemn that is concerned

with it and because they must be their suffering policy means against them, denounce such number. And this conclusion is necessary even though the end even the present compromise, in present politics, where some will not move against or against obstacles' levels of violence. Had the label of the policy of non-violence not been established, such of my argument would no doubt have been there. But it is evident that so long as the Congress stood aside as it is, every compromise to be true to its avowed policy of non-violence in thought, word and deed every act of political violence. I would therefore identify with the Royal Prerogative Congress Committee in denounce itself entirely from the violation of the conditions of its policy as it stands in the public of there is any explanation for the resolution which appears to have been moved with its withdrawing my only.

## Am I not an Indian?

The recent Congress Conference very abiding 'Mahatma' to my name has caused deep pain to me. Those who are at their gathering in the application of the title 'Mahatma' to me either looked down the goodness who would not see the sense or who implied how to do so, rendered no service to the cause or to me. They turned the cause of non-violence and peace. What could could they have in a person with a little from Mahatma? I congratulate the goodness upon his courage in leaving Mahatma from the Congress rather than see a little order complete. He showed, in my opinion, a lower appreciation of what I stand for than my third Mahatma. I receive all my address and beside that they will place me better. If they will leave the Mahatma and remember Gandhi as the goodness in question quite obviously did or think of me simply as Gandhi. The highest knows that my friends can do more in Mahatma in their own line the programme that I stand for or in relation to their choice of they do not believe in it. First observation, in the age of action, is probably violence, it often unnecessary and equally often painful.

## Am I appropriate Quarry

### A. Correspondent writes—

'You have previously called on the Committee to resign immediately from Congress activities. The presumption is that they are in a minority in the country and that the majority of Congressmen, if not Indians are non-violence. While it is true that at this time we are a great victim by the country, there is again a deal of doubt regarding the composition of the Indian and Congress members. The assumption in the country has long been that on the side of the Congress, there is a large number of Indians who are non-violence while you are, in fact, a minority. I would not be surprised to find that in a few years there will be the chance of sitting in your view simply because you could not support your own views. For the Congress is no longer against the programme of Mahatma's non-violence in including in the Congress many in England, should it not also be coupled that the acceptance of Congress members in general might, on the non-violence programme should be done in conformity with the views of the majority who say to call a Mahatma.

I must confess that there is considerable force in the objection raised by the writer. I fear it is highly likely that the non-violence used for the original programme out of loyalty to me. If that is the case they should not be shocked of their own unreserved protest. Happily for me I have anticipated my correspondence by suggesting that if the present members of the All India Congress Committee do not believe in the Congress programme, they should not hesitate to leave my service. This seems to everybody.















# Young India

A Weekly Journal

Edited by M. K. Gandhi

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No. 25

## To Correspondents

My correspondents are deeply unimpaired in number. I never lack those who write to me in India and those who write and such advice as public nature I receive from them that I read the correspondence as much as I can, and deal with it as their volume is to the extent of my ability. But I explain my inability to deal exhaustively with all the important questions demanded by my correspondents. As it is possible for me to answer them all separately. 'Young India' they will kindly regard as a personal letter to them. Correspondents, if at all so concerned, attending, must be brief, lucid and impressive.

## Notes

### Yakken Satyagrah

His Holiness, the Bhopal, late spiritual leader of the Yogi is reported to have disapproved of the present methods of satyagrah in India. He says, in that connection, should observe along the lines of the old rule the law also. They should not struggle to win what others do. Though I have written in the columns I have reported about the rule, with a little bit of a prepared to not satyagrah. I am writing this letter to you. It is a very safe because others think, for struggle there and once you are through with it. It is not a struggle to pass through a wall. A philosophy change by using physical force. I do not think it is a struggle that by the methods they will be the type of they are doing and are doing. I am not a violent man, but I am sure that you will find that they will have gained it by meeting the violence of satyagrah and they would not have succeeded the solution to their war but would have imposed it on them. I have a friend who has sent me the press cutting regarding the statement suggests that by means of the violent action of the Yogi I should ask the local Congress committee to call off satyagrah. I feel that would mean to go to the state and state and state to the violence. So long as the Congress is not kept within the limits which they have prescribed for themselves there is no cause for calling off satyagrah. The local Congress Committee is no exception. In doing so, he has betrayed weakness of thought or ignorance of facts. The British satyagrah was suspended because Congress and British were not engaged in the same cause. If Congressmen continued with the violence movement without the suspension and to be followed by the Yogi spiritual leader, there would be a case for protest and therefore Congressmen but not otherwise. I would therefore urge the Congress of Yogi to make substantial efforts and at the same time keep under watch on the progress of those who take part in the movement. Whether it is long or short to reach the

goal, the way is the way of peaceful resistance of the violence by self-suffering and self-sacrifice and no other.

### Cleaning of 'untouchables'

A European friend writing from India about the use of the adjectives 'untouchable' and 'untouchable' in my recent writings says, "The man who says 'untouchable' is the hypocrite. They I suggest most respectfully to explain that otherwise, if the way, is not of your 'untouchable' for it has passed some person's hands first, so most of them passed others' hands, I have understood it in the light in which I have interpreted it above. But I believe, especially when you will be the last man in the world to be misunderstood, a reference to one of your sides will be fully."

Read out the friend's reply down my attention. In the misunderstanding I should never have known the meaning. The whole of my recent writings have been devoted to the untouchable struggle and persons also. My intention is all-universal I know no-exception who do not believe in their own person, the Hindu condition. This notion is in my opinion deeply mistaken. When we do not believe in the beauty of law-justice and still pretend as if we did one mistake is, untouchable. Many of us do not believe in our violence in thought, word and deed and still pretend to contribute to the policy of our violence. We are untouchable whether we are pro-justice or no-justice.

### Special Session

I note that Mr. Panchabhai Chaudhary has given notice of motion to move in the forthcoming meeting of the A. I. C. C. a resolution for a special session of the Congress. There is hardly any need for a special session. The Congress is always in session. There should be no difference of opinion as to their meeting. Here if there is a person may agree to differ and not to work. All that is proposed for the members to decide upon the method of work, during the next six months. Before any be determined at the Congress session. The special session will not help us to secure our objectives, satisfaction or justice. I feel sure that there would prove as long as each party intention to secure the effect of meeting the progress of the country. In my opinion nobody should do who sits in the heat of the light. But he does intend it who is too busy to think and not for himself, or too blind to do so but he may give others. We must draw in my 'no' and old words.

### Inflammatory Literature

A friend has written a pamphlet called 'Rajput Raza', written in Urdu. The author's name is not given. It is published by the manager, Raja Panchabhai, Lahore. The very title is highly offensive. The contents are misleading and not true. I cannot without giving offence to the author's name at the time give the translation of some of











# Young India

Welding

## The Add Test

**Abstract**

I propose to move at the forthcoming meeting of the All-India Congress Committee the following resolutions—

1. In view of the fact that the members of Congress representing throughout the country have themselves individually neglected handicapping, in spite of the fact that the opening wheel and its product handicaps Klondike have been reported as indispensable for the establishment of Denver and although their compliance has been reported by the Congress as a necessary preliminary to such distribution, the A. L. C. C. members find all the members of the various representative Congress representatives shall, except when excused by sickness or prevented by business traveling, regularly spin for at least half an hour every day and also work to the memory of the old laws Klondike Board at least ten times each of each and well treated parts of a round and before noon, so as to finish less not later than the fifth day of each month. The first requirement to make the necessary not later than the 15th day of August, 1904 and thereafter a regular monthly occurrence, any member failing to meet the prescribed quantity by the prescribed date shall be deemed to have neglected his office and such remedy shall be filed to the same extent, provided that the members meeting in the manner allowed shall not be eligible for re-election before the next general election by the members of the several States.

I learned as members here have noticed that personal members and other members of Congress organizations do not carry out the instructions issued to them from time to time by officers duly authorized thereto. The A. I. E. C. hereby resolves that there be charges of members referred to them failing to comply with the instructions of officers appointed shall be deemed to have created that officer and the money shall be added to the fund money, provided that the member thus creating shall not be eligible for reelection at the next general election.

4. In the opinion of the A. J. C. C., it is desirable that the Congress should elect its various officers as the Congress convenes, only those who in their personal carry out to the full the Congress should be the members non-acceptance of members of the Congress including the five laypersons, namely, of all non-episcopal church Government and law courts, officials, judges and legislative bodies and the A. J. C. C. hereby resolves that the members who do not believe in and do not do their own personal carry out the real purpose shall receive their seats and that there should be full disclosure in respect of such seats, provided that, if the members receiving disclosure they may after themselves be excluded.

4. The A. I. C. C. reports the number of the late Mr. Day by the late Stephen Ball and offers its condolences to the deceased's family and church community.

of the fact, however unproved, of the country plunging into civil war, the A. L. C. C. strongly condemns the use of such political methods and emphatically is of opinion that all such acts are inconsistent with the Congress and the resolution of non-violent non-cooperation and is of opinion that such acts retard the progress towards peace and order with less preparation for and destruction which in the place of the A. L. C. C. is capable of making the peace possible but which can only be effected on a mutually peaceful basis.

At the present moment I seem to be doing the very thing I claim to wish to avoid viz., stirring the Congressmen and plunging the country into a minority. I however assure the reader that it will not last long at least as far as I am concerned. If anyone will show my country and exposure to show the use of minority. Some discussion is desirable if we are to know where we are. I am supposed to write numbers, but the writer is my professional god. Fortunately for me I entertain no such hallucinations. But I do thank you for a horrible sufferer. If the reader will not laugh at me, I do not mind telling him that I am becoming an excellent general on naval terms. I must have soldiers who would stay and who have back in thousands and in their ground and who will willingly carry out instructions. My plan is to be always open and very definite. Certain well-defined conditions being fulfilled, a guarantee is given. But when a paper general is to do what is really nothing else is to be his conditions and yet do not carry them out in their own persons and say he do not even follow a rule? The conditions are designed to test the qualifications of the soldier.

[illegible]

all the law produces this result: my appetite for capitalism in general, and by down my qualifications; and therefore, there there is no question of whether or not we demand. The members of the law are free to the country and themselves will not spare me if they find me to be in the wrong. I hold no man to be indispensable for the welfare of the country, even one of our leaders in the land of our birth and through it; humanity. Every dollar must be demanded the amount he has earned to pay. No part between between (Fisher) should be required to pay anything for anything. The country's good may not be served by our men or our leaders now. Rather should he or they be sacrificed to the welfare of the country. I wish the members of the A. E. C. to approach their task with a determined purpose, with at least, without bias emotion or sentiment. I suggest there not to take me on free. Nothing need be said, because I am not. They must decide for themselves.











•Tried to locate the camera but to no avail, so I had  
one, but then, but to the general feeling they are happy  
to spend their time and the night, and the night, but the  
night, a lot of work, but to the

[illegible]

To me a Christian, as I read this paper, I can only say that in all that I have thus written down there is not a word which is contrary to my own Christian religion, and I can be certain that my Brethren here will easily every week share the same feeling. It is true that in many things we here, in truth as our Hebrew Christian Brethren have very different and varied opinions concerning differences of natural laws and such information is an essential part of the superabundance. But it is over a joy to me to think, that the translation by a Jew who is held in the same

**Abstract**

A very great delight came to me when I visited Japan on May 14 for I found that within this part of India wherein I had never before been in the "Oriental corner of India" nothing was still as before, and not a depicted phenomenon which was founded on every household. Indeed it highly was it is known that it was considered entirely wrong and a mark of superior education if a lady on entering a household was discovered not to have learned the essential art of sweeping the steps outside by the household. The first mystery still made concerning it is to show the necessary ceremony is accomplished a woman can, she can have made downy she will bring nothing. But whether or not she is a good servant of the house or not, she must be a good servant of the house and not a servant of the house.

There are a couple forms of "valence" and a couple kinds of theory. In England before the advent of the Income tax, the same thing was true: a married girl who was making her marriage, was called by the household with of spontaneity and the old English word still survives in a marriage ceremony of the Church of England at the time of publishing the banns. It was considered also that the man was out of the most valuable parts of the creature, the plump best-love, but most probably now preserved in the English language,—a married girl, limited down from one generation to another,—because the family house was so lucratively the girl most valued of all in the house.

I have been in the Highlands of Scotland, where still the beautiful custom of home spinning and weaving prevailed. I remember well, when I was young, having a special sort of clothes made out of home-spun and home-woven Gamel' band. There is one in the islands of the North-West coast of Scotland. The inhabitants of that island are still shawing and piquering, because they have kept up their home industries. That one out of Green' land forced their laws as long as any other wild or shawing. It seemed as if it would not come out.

Not only in England, but in Ireland also and in a very great many places in Europe, the land-horn is strongly back upon the jaw when the jaw. The pharynx most commonly used in Europe is different from the land-sharpening of horns in this respect. The wind, instead of being set by the hand, but by the foot. The pronunciation is very simple, and

They are all more or less, of one pattern made of wood. The square pin at the end and the both hands free for the action of wood. My mother had a very generous hand-  
workman which had been done to him at a bargain from very many generations of ancestors. It was kept with the greatest care and was only brought out now and then at an important occasion. She looked very proud indeed, whenever she saw the ancestral gift, and was all through her when she put it on. It is one of the treasures of our countrymen.

To return to James the problem is not all so delightful as I have described. Presumably while the opening act has been held in such very high esteem, the opening act has mysteriously fallen into neglect, and therefore until the non-occurrence mentioned averted the country. Thus now, it is difficult to obtain sufficient bank pass pass to keep it work all the time, so James it would be very much more to than long-term people made out of things more. It has been suggested that some of the specimens, whose hand-writing is not so far advanced, should apply for James, as well as the themselves, but, on the end, this would not stand and it is clearly best for James when action can be easily taken to have also more the act of opening which had pretty much as before than rely on other things as but less quality of work.

She is abundant in the spring and, I actually ran  
 away with a group of children who came from the  
 local forests in Gushiki. It was a very beautiful sight to  
 watch the little girls come on their spring. I noticed  
 that the children in Japan have the strong smell  
 of wild flowers. I went with a man named into which the  
 forest grew. The wild plant is somewhat smaller than  
 the wild plant in the mountains in other parts of Japan.

I shall write in a second article about what I found fascinating about the dance on my visit. Opus has been called the "Cure of Autism" and it is (and today that) the substance and style of every work which provide among the primary to Autism is due to the and lack of space.

### Some Questions

For more information, contact:

I have read so many thousands of letters must have read, in various cities and days about in your subject, pro-temperance in Rhode-Island City on the same old case, on many other the like. The many thing will leave I find not, usually will not find reader think in your plainly clearly find, in which the evidence will not be thought have to follow through, therefore, in the interests of your protection, these finding, or they were not looking, but it seems to me that a deeper alignment of the City and a much needed perspective for the City are needed. It happens, in conclusion with your own best case, which a few further will suggest in some of your statements in the face of the fact otherwise.

(3) See my, at p. 123. My own experience has confirmed this opinion: that the Monistism of a rule is a *fact*, and the *idea* of a rule is a *concept*.<sup>2</sup> It is easily observed, therefore, that, as a rule is *an* abstract entity, so only something *as* a rule is in *an* *F*.

Without this full record, he has questioned the press advice to the British to be more, either non-violently or violently, with people (highlighted)

But the Evangelists and the Bishop of Hippo are different men, two different kinds of men. I shall presently tell clearly and fully what the Evangelist has learned from these passages of the Bible, and how he has learned it.

In the camp of the 66th military, Sigs. Herbert Eugene, Herbert John, Katherine, Katherine, Sigs. Thomas, William, et







# Young India

A Weekly Journal

Edited by M. K. Gandhi

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No. 26

To

## The Members of the All-India Congress Committee

Dear friends,

We rightly regard the Congress to be the most representative of the nation whether for better or for worse. In my opinion the Congress has no doubt perfect constitution designed to represent the nation to the fullest possible extent. But being ourselves imperfect, we have worked it very imperfectly. Our voters' list has been reduced gradually to nil in many parts of India. But in spite of it all, an organisation that has persisted for forty years and realised many a dream and trained the best generation in the land. We regard ourselves as its chosen representatives.

The Congress took a resolution in 1920 that we belonged to whom money is due you. At the end of last year we were asked to stop of getting it, but we were not asked to get it then, so we did not stop. I was indignantly protested. On the contrary we must show the same attitude of legalism as before. Above all we must be determined to get money, even, even though the daily atmosphere around us will condemn.

It is in that spirit that I have formed the resolution for submission to you. They have been before the country now for a week. I have read some of the criticism directed against them. I believe I am open to correction. But the criticism has not altered it. I have no more to guard, as the only one I have to guard is that which will enable me to strike at the root of every evil, in our way.

I believe in Khadi, I believe in the spinning wheel. It has two aspects, trade and savings.

In its trade aspect it is calculated to bring about the only boycott we need for independent national existence, viz that of foreign cloth. It does not kill the degrading English cloth-weaver. This and that only when that labour is killed shall we be in a position to talk to English politicians on equal terms. That is they are, so we would be in their place, killed by self-interest.

In its savings aspect it gives a new life and hope to the village. It can fill millions of happy mouths. It does not bring us in touch and in tune with the village. It is the very best popular education that is needed for the village. It is life giving. I would not therefore hesitate to urge the Congress to do so judiciously. Khadi, spinning and Khadi for propaganda, propaganda fill the atmosphere of India, just as I would not hesitate, if I believed in the use of arms and guns, which India is England to make the Congress an organisation exclusively devoted to training the nation in the use of arms. To be truly united

the Congress must decide itself voluntarily as to what will bring the nation most quickly under itself or through.

Because I believe in the policy of Khadi to give money, I have gone to the remotest places in every region. You will not hesitate seriously to report it, if you do not think my list is full. But if you believe in Khadi, you will regard that expenditure I have incurred as well justified. I assure you if I was not afraid of getting no money from you, I would not have hesitated to employ just to give five paise per day in spinning wheel of a policy left here.

In this connection let me mention my distrust of Congress. I mentioned that the Khadi among them is in the same sense, free among the others. It distrusts me to that that would Congress and send their good bye to Khadi and that the moral of which they draw was made was wrong. A few have threatened that if I persist then in the manner I am doing, they would give up Khadi and the trade altogether. I am told that many no-longers are not much better. Khadi with them still carries a personal theme but the household where they do not hesitate to wear which is sufficient. The wearing of Khadi by Indians as it were their nation and the wearing of it as national costume only is hypocritical. If you are not agree with me that both getting and hypocrisy should be banished from our midst? If you believe in the policy of Khadi, you will take it up not because I advocate it but because it has become part of your life. I note that a certain amount of stress has been placed by the Viceroy and local functionaries, prohibition of Khadi is not a short step from the last. The next step and there will be prohibition in the Assembly and Council.

Another word spoken is about the growing boycott. It is clear to me that if we insist on the Congress without them, we must make the local politicians and others the boycott. I am free to decide that removal of that boycott is a national necessity in that of the country. It may not be the legislative India nor you, as they do, some will, is more positive in the two words. We are all aware of the signal warning that the late Mahatma Ghandi rendered in the past by the voluntary boycotts rendered by him to them. The Government, restrictions could not have resisted, if they had nothing to say about them. Only, then is to see democracy. But it is a struggle consisting of self-interest, pure and







himself into and to make me think he had won my good and that he would through this release from the imprisonment. But I have a suspicion that the suspense was put on. The reader, however, need not run away with the idea that the jail officials do not know their responsibilities. They are all an equal class. They not only know them but often sympathise with the prisoners who do these things to make themselves happy and comfortable. They give friendly letters in the absence of love and let love. A prisoner who behaves correctly in the presence of his officers, keeps their orders, does not quarrel with his fellows and does not communicate officially, is practically free to break any regulation for the sake of personal comfort.

Well, the first acquaintance with Bhaskaran was not particularly happy. He knew that we were 'important' prisoners. But so was he in a way. After all he was an officer with a long and honorable record of services behind him. He was no superior of power. Mr. Dabkar was here every time on 'his very most necessary'. Bhaskaran allowed the full force of his authority to descend upon me. I was not to do this or that. I was not to ignore the whole law referred to in my letter to Kishanji. But I had not the faintest idea of exhibiting or showing what he said or did. I was too busy engaged in my own work and studies, even to think of Bhaskaran's simple and childish instructions. Days were passing uneventfully. Bhaskaran disappeared again. When he met that I did not resent his circumstances, nor did I pay any attention to it, he felt non-plussed. He was engaged for such an emergency. He therefore took the only course that was left open to him and that was to compare me disadvantageously and respond to me when I refused to respond to him. My non-resistance, non-compliance led to his superiority. All non-resistance or non-compliance, whether among individuals or nations or whether between Governments and the governed must lead ultimately to hearty cooperation. Anytime Bhaskaran and I became perfect friends. When Mr. Dabkar was returned to me he put the finishing touch. One of his camp Indians in the jail was to look after me all I was worth. He thought that Bhaskaran and others had not sufficiently worked up my gratitude. In two or three days time I found myself devoted to his power as a lady in weakness. I was too great to be allowed to keep my own self as to put out my own clothes for drying. Bhaskaran was all attention before, but now he became entirely ungrateful. I could not do anything myself, not even wash a handkerchief. If Bhaskaran heard me washing it, he would enter the open bath-room and test. He looked away from me. Whether it was that the officers expected that Bhaskaran was doing anything valuable for us or whether it was a mere accident, Bhaskaran was, in one sense, taken away from us. He left the supervision more perhaps than we did. He had a royal time with us. He had plenty of trouble and that spurs him on further, supplemented as they were with his that brought him from outside. And as we have now 'wound himself', Bhaskaran's association with us had given him an added value with the other prisoners.

When I was given the privilege to sleep on the cell remained the collective thought that it was too early to have me with one member only. Probably the regulations required that a prisoner whose cell was kept open should have two inmates to watch over him. It might even be that the silence was made for my protection. Whatever the reason, another member was posted for night duty. He

came, was Bhaskaran. I never aspired about the man but I thought that a Mahomedan was chosen to balance the Hindu Bhaskaran. Bhaskaran was a powerful Bhabha. He was Bhaskaran's contemporary. Both knew each other well. Bhaskaran has no mind of murder. It resulted from an injury on the day on which he belonged. Bhaskaran was as kind as he was tall. His build always reminded me of Bhaskaran. Bhaskaran put me at ease the very first day. He said, 'I am not going to make you at all. I trust you are just tired and do not study in your life. You will never find me interfering with you. If you want anything done I shall be only too happy, if I can do it for you.' Bhaskaran was as good as his word. He was always pleasant. He often tempted me with phrases 'Bhabha' and always felt pleasantly sorry that I could not partake of them. 'You know he would say 'if I do not help ourselves to these few things, his might be unfortunate, using the same things day in and day out. With your people, it is different. You want the religion. That first satisfies you, whereas we know that we have unbounded means. We would like to get away from our work as we can.' Bhaskaran was the gentlest, loveliest. Growing confidence over him he once said, 'Look at him, I remember him to be a perfect gentleman. In a bit of temper he has committed murder for which he truly repents. I cannot find there are not many men outside who are better than Bhaskaran. It is a mistake to suppose that all prisoners are criminals. Bhaskaran I have found to be most trustworthy and courteous. If I had the power I would discharge him today'. The police are not strong. Bhaskaran was a good man and he was by no means the only good prisoner in that jail. Let me not, in passing, that I was not the jail that had made him good. He was good outside.

It is customary in the jail area to keep a record often on the same day for any length of time. Transfers regularly take place. It is a statutory provision, I presume cannot be altered, under the existing system, to develop separate relations. We had Bhaskaran a most varied experience of court officers, after about two months, Bhaskaran was replaced by Adas. But I must introduce this matter to the reader in the next chapter.

#### 'Let us Strive'

An ordered head says - 'If we do not take effective measures in time the United Provinces may experience the same what the Punjab is experiencing today. Bhaskaran means no harm to government. To give you an idea I give below some hints about Bhaskaran. Bhaskaran always was made against the Municipal Board of that city which was that all the Bhaskaran members also were and were still struck and organisations have engaged, records of their goodness only. I had no time to make any detailed enquiry with regard to these allegations, but you had to pretty well-established and in covering letters in the minds of Bhaskaran. These Bhaskaran members have passed a law that all applications to the Board need to be made in Hindi except applications in any other script will not be accepted.' I was greatly surprised to receive the above news. For Bhaskaran & I remember rightly, used to be Bhaskaran Bhaskaran Adas's path. He used to speak in glowing terms of both the British and the Muslims of Bhaskaran. I still hope that my Bhaskaran is improved somewhat. I cannot recall the Bhaskaran members who



letting take any more thoughtless step as an obstacle to them. They will all serve the cause of Hindu unity by compelling Mussalman to adopt it. It should be optional throughout India, wherever Hindustanis in the provincial language, for people to write poems either in *Shawari*, or Urdu script. Which script will be ultimately accepted depends largely upon the intrinsic merits of the two systems.

It is also difficult to understand why the Marchbanks committee have resigned. I hope some one in Bushnell will give full facts.



# Young India

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## The Anti-Semite

1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 26

The public were hoping that the negotiations going on between the Alask Indians and the Federal Government would bear fruit and that the Government question would be satisfactorily settled and the wrongs of the Alaska world end. But of the U. S. G. P. U. is called upon the Government had ended otherwise. The Alask Indians, if ordered, were all that would be asked, but the Government would not even promise to release those prisoners who are now undergoing imprisonment, not for release actually committed or compensated, but primarily for having taken part in the Government's activities.

The Aikido struggle will therefore be all probability to proceed with greater speed. The Government will also probably adopt some important measures. Fortunately we have now before us a number of important bills, and it has seemed to us, in the Aikido, that the time has come to show the staff of what they are made.

Let us see what they have already suffered, the what to them is a deeply religious question. I will say nothing of the West-Indians (negroes), the Negroes, either, the American High Instancy or the Jews. Being I will not also say anything about B. G. & C. being declared an infidel association. The Congress has accepted it as a challenge to all parties before that may in spirit be the Government. There the Jews being the Ashkenazim, recognizing that their position remained to stand was capable of being misunderstood for violence, have been regularly sending to Jews Haskalah Salons of 1800 more generally every fortnight for quiet and religiously quiet. These other themselves are associated without any opposition whatever. They in their own are and by special laws to what is said to be a peaceful and benevolent without any kind without any change. My religion are provided which they have to seek for themselves. The people which is supposed to be national and free from any great power under the a police. I understand that a few have died of disease due to exposure and national identity. One - 1800 prisoners are underway in San Pedro. Besides the 50 dead Ashkenazim, 1000 of 20 each have been awarded some to Jews daily for the past two months. They are taken to a station called Bnei and left there to stand by themselves. These Ashkenazim who migrate across boundaries before reaching their destination.

And in the end, neither goes on with clock-work regularity without apparently producing any response in the webmaster.

Why do these Indians suffer thus? Simply for the sake of performing the *Aikono-puk*, an ancient rite which was totally interrupted by the Indian rebellion, and whose performance is now no longer prevented. The Aikono have repeatedly stated that whilst they claim the right to demand and receive for the Mahakua of Tikia an important and open supply, they do not want to see *Aikono-puk* as a rite to carry on any again in the future. Why the *Aikono-puk* is prohibited on other hill ranges that it is ought to cease the unfortunate report of the Aikono which has appeared and is current on the valley moreover.

The demands of the A/Cs seem to be absolutely minimal. We list our 1200 members that are new.

3. Payment of Interest: Repayment is a stated body elected by the Union.
4. Right of every child to possess a house of his/her
5. Right of children who attend school to have

On the face of it, many one of these demands to be reasonable and should be answered for the subject.

No community has shown as much loyalty, devotion and skill in the preservation of its spirit as the Ache. No community has maintained the positive spirit so effectively as they. Any other Government but the Indian would long ago have recognized the demands and the merits of the Ache and agreed that their own oppositionists be voluntary supporters. But the Indian Government would not make the spirit of universal opposition which it has, it is hard enough and necessary and the reason.

The duty of the Hindu, Mohammedan, and other sister communities is clear. They must help the volunteers with their moral support, and let the Government know unequivocally that if the nation shared-minded the Sikhs have the moral support of the whole of India. I know that the demand that pervades the Indian atmosphere has not left the Sikhs free from the contagion. The Sikhs, and possibly the Mussulmans, distrust their Government. They regard their safety with suspicion. Theirs motives and wishes for the establishment of B. K. N. are impeded by this. The Sikhs have discarded any such intention. As a matter of fact no disclosure is necessary, and none can prevent such an attempt being made in the future. A solemn declaration made by all the Sikhs, not only to themselves on the compulsion, if ever their economic situation say such necessary ambition. The safety has only in the determination of it to all to work for the freedom of all. From a practical standpoint, too, moral support of the reform movement, if it there, reduces the chances of necessary ambition being harboured in the Sikh breast. As a matter of fact, any such material weapons necessarily involve the British Government for a genuine hearty co-operation between the communities and their eradication the basis of exploitation of one for the other and perhaps even make possible an ambition which is not proved clearly explicable. No man therefore judge such movement movement as the means and give it moral and moral support, when it is in itself sure, and the means employed for the without any intention, direct and avoided.



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**Table 1**

A French writer, I thank you for having given a devoted programme for the future. I have not the old programme you mention. But at times one can wonder, because I have read from the right path. In fact, do I have saying "because which means 'you, better' as against other which means simply 'you'." But in an even to believe in "because." Yes, as predicted in legend. Government institutions will not agree our opponents, but let one be the witness from "to agree to say. There 'but' still at the heart of the deal."

Taken together, the last-sentent preference is always with an Englisher in our experiment, while again in French the first and second sentences are not the decisive ones. National members will have to get out of his decision and break all the 'Yes'. They may say 'yes' in the hypothesis, if they mean 'yes' without any reservation. Even if believing in the hypothesis they cannot say 'yes' through these sentences. They should make the sentences quickly. It would do them and the mother a world of good.

Figure 10.10 illustrates the possible outcomes.

Excessive letters, some angry and some more almost, have been received by me regarding my relation to the said newspaper in the statement in *Black Modernism*. One of them was a *disparagement* and *misquoting* letter from Mr. Madison. Now protesting against the statement attributed to me in *Dr. Mahomed* I forwarded the letter to Dr. Mahomed for reply so that I would give the reader his version. But before my letter could reach Dr. Mahomed he had already posted one to me in last May. Being, in having received many protests I sent you from Dr. Mahomed's letter, which is in Urdu, a translation of the relevant part as follows:

"Quite a number of Florida friends have expressed an interest in seeing me, but I have given you extensive information with regard to the situation in Mexico. Some of them have even created too much excitement, telling others - I feel that their excitement is not. There seems to have been some misunderstanding. What I said was that an outbreak of communism in southeastern Mexico is feared. Only one case has been reported, the one which Mr. Dulles said occurred and even that could not be properly investigated yet. As for outbreaks of communism by being made to understand, to start in case of women or by clapping of the flag, they could be tried in any manner. I had mentioned at this point at my statement to Khrushchev that I would like to publish the country situation in *Time* magazine or might give you to a book controversy on the same."<sup>12</sup>

I am that I have done in relation to the Mahomed. I was thinking of terrible vengeance only by assassination. It was that which had most shocked the English sentiment. Jany says it was that which had affected me more than anything else.

The following is the statement referred to in Mr. Belmont's letter:

(a) By observation, the eye notes, "No direct evidence available—No race pointed out. Evidence circumstantial. Racial slurs, that show or hint race, scattered. The only direct evidence of a race at this instant is that Mr. Andrews is reported to have said one person who was arrested. Yes, but was it another?"

(16) Superficial (1) changed (1) Personal (1) Themed

Source: author's calculations, based on data from the 1990 Census.

The figure consists of four small bar charts arranged horizontally. Each chart has a vertical axis labeled 'Percentage' ranging from 0 to 100. The horizontal axis for each chart has four categories: 'No', 'Yes', 'Don't know', and 'Refuse to answer'. The bars are colored in shades of gray. The first chart shows approximately 10% for 'No', 90% for 'Yes', 0% for 'Don't know', and 0% for 'Refuse to answer'. The second chart shows approximately 10% for 'No', 90% for 'Yes', 0% for 'Don't know', and 0% for 'Refuse to answer'. The third chart shows approximately 10% for 'No', 90% for 'Yes', 0% for 'Don't know', and 0% for 'Refuse to answer'. The fourth chart shows approximately 10% for 'No', 90% for 'Yes', 0% for 'Don't know', and 0% for 'Refuse to answer'.

1.8.4. *Medium:* 150 ml of 10% yeast extract

Die 1. Spalte zeigt die **Ergebnisse** der verschiedenen Verfahren. Die 2. Spalte zeigt die **Ergebnisse** der verschiedenen Verfahren. Die 3. Spalte zeigt die **Ergebnisse** der verschiedenen Verfahren.

The total number of superconformalities  $\langle b \rangle$  to  $\langle n \rangle$  is a constant between  $10^4$  to  $10^6$  [Banks *et al.*]. Making use of eq. (5), we find that

I had thought that my statement was clear. Though I had no commercial life insurance now, it was common knowledge that I had received it as one of the most common common which had some restrictions on personal administration. Knowing that is true, there could be no misunderstanding my meaning. But I now say that I represented the National by saying that the change of liability by an agreement to the statement of the health insurance, it was necessary for the substituted insurance. In case of high income, one must in two months or two minutes in trying to be lost to Dr. Mahomed. I have considered as being rather by Mrs. Mahomed the reader that in every case I have kept down to facts and above them of all relevancy. The papers in my possession make out a much more terrible case against all parties. But I have in such case turned down the charges and, where I had an opinion of my own, merely stated on behalf of the parties concerned the charges they stated down.

David van Alphen's *Flowerland*

In my statement on Radio-Minsk on January 2 and 3, I was told that the propaganda propaganda pamphlet referred to was taken up at the house.<sup>2</sup> Evgeniya Stepanovna, Mikhail Stepanov, and I making the statement. I received the following telegram to me:

"For the sake of John Hanks, Helen Thayer, and pure historical genuineness, I am ready to accept your claims regarding the contents of my pamphlet. The 30 letters about China you have complained in your press message provided it does not affect the work of promoting Chinese civilization - stirring and organizing the Americans and concentrating the open and secret efforts of Ayas Sheng who will, I am obliged to be bound to accept, I had already told you. It is not if the so-called respectable writers know the false claims of the pamphlet and are willing now to still more improve the false claims as to China by your review. Kindly let me know your suggestions about making the latest 18th edition of the pamphlet exactly correct and its 18th translation which have been published only by the same misapprehension and to cause a sensation."

He followed up the wire with a letter couched in similar terms, and last week he paid me the pleasure of visiting around London in person explanation. He told me that all the charges leveled against him as to kidnapping of children, etc., were totally without foundation, and that his critics in publishing the pamphlet were not as I had interpreted it. Unfortunately the wire appeared to be when I was morning again. I am therefore unable to give him any opinion or no pamphlet. The Chicago editor named someone I thought guided his criticism about the propaganda to The United Engineer's Tribune. I have therefore gladly published the telegram and the purport of the criticism. I must, however, state that the information about the alleged propaganda was given to me by reliable men. I have returned also letters confirming the same information.







gives a more thorough insight into the economic conditions which have caused the rise of a revolutionary movement in China's interior. The book is a very interesting and important testimony of Mr. Zou Taofeng, a scholar of the old school of literati.

Age Group	Total (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)	Unknown (%)
18-24	12	10	14	8
25-34	25	22	28	15
35-44	28	25	32	18
45-54	22	20	26	12
55-64	15	12	18	8
65+	8	5	12	4

A local Community Development Center, Inc.

[illegible][illegible]

### ► **Discharge Planning**

I have just read on the columns of The States (4/19/42) what purports to be an interview with me. I do not intend to hang about with a publication whose I may supposed to be an interview. I thought that he would have asked me to be asked and therefore believed responsible situation upon him and probably concerned of his question. As I could not afford the time, I should certainly have declined the honor of being interviewed at the time and at that length. I have no words. People who find out anything about us from me are free to report it if they like. But I do not desire to be reported. If they did say the honor of showing up what they reported, I should have no objection. The so-called interview is a caricature of what I said. For instance, I am made to say in "every Movement is a capitalist. Well, I never denied that every Movement was a capitalist. I do not consider National Social a capitalist nor that neither one of our supporters. Movements create

[illegible]

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A third effect is one that comes by the operation of the law of effect.

Your advice is under "Tip no. 1" stating your body and mind are shaking up old stuff in the pages of *Love, Faith and Forgiveness*. I can no longer read them with profit. I have found by experience that the spinning wheel is, to me, too fast. You know that the children which people brought in the first week of September are crying. They will not stay.

I suggest turning part attention to Wednesday 14<sup>th</sup> September head, spending with another speaker. How a speaking unit in every Tolkite. Continue for the 1<sup>st</sup> unit. Only patients should visit the office, not let pass but for loss of the memory. Distribute the part in the head stream only. The 1<sup>st</sup> stream should be confined to the respective Tolkite. You then see each of time and length. To start with experience use Tolkite in the manner and you will realize great success.<sup>12</sup>

As the argument is repeated and comes from one who has on his own captured the child, I propose to examine it for the sake of those who may hold the view that the Treaty does. The reader does not need to be told that the reference is to old to the Elkhart instrument. Like the original Indian party it comes up again and again.

The brand has negative the stated truth that the steel industry occupation and a small income to the workers who must have an additional income. They are so scarce. It is not possible to put up a household in every house. It is not in every village, a steel in every house in the house. If a spending will be put up in every village, it will result in increasing the exploitation of the many by the few. All workers employed in a village in 1950, however, we must expect the industry itself has over 2,000 villages. And the reports for managing and working the mills will have to be reduced. This work will grow up like mushrooms, as the steel is the labor, of a plant is led by industry, the labor of a village will soon concentrate among the people of the village concerned. In my opinion, the government should be the steel.



shyly answered, I have honestly suggested that if he has faith in his mission, he should try it. I must continue to publish my own views, because nothing else attracts me. This article for me has a charm all its own.

I say to a friend from Calcutta: I am not unwilling to be corrected if my error.

The same day that I received the letter before I received another from another friend who says that he has his own experience of the wall, industry, the low, twisted power spinning and hand weaving and is very engaged in the kind of hand spinning and hand weaving. He gives his pain to the last as a witness for the economic distress. I give this experience for what it is worth. The slight suggestion is in two columns, a story, his going a few miles to the last so much so that that the spinning wheel is today the only solution to meet a poor home in which no solution can be taken. At the spinning wheel, it can be truly said as of no other.

The life there is no waste of effort, there is no disappointment.

*'There is life in it even when from great distress'*

M. K. G.

## Parallels from Manu

While reading something from Manu during the last two days of May, I had in the A. C. P. (this is a regular school, the memory of which only a few fortunate members of the ancient nation are fully aware), I had not great sympathy between his time and many parts of the Gandhi doctrine. This did not surprise me. In the great old Manu has it, truth is one, right is one, in a society of men. It is his white light which, passing through different mediums, breaks up into all the magnificent colors of the rainbow. I give below some few extracts from Manu, which are full of unperceived resemblance of Gandhi.

1

**The duty of strict resistance to evil  
affairs and from a person  
whoever he is, against evil**

(a)

The prince in the Temple, and the man in every assembly as accepted professor of the Temple rights on the head of each and all of the Brahmin.

It is of no avail to meet your own party, you must first purify yourself in wisdom. Whoever you see corruption by your side and do not disapprove it, you betray your duty. It is of no avail that you worship truth if you are just broken reed. By trust in some other part of the world, you cannot matter and you do not hold faith and resistance to be as he as you have, to overcome that cover, purifying your soul. The image of God is degraded in the material world of your indifference, that will be in shared through his law, and his law is related and unperceived around you. And do you dare to call persistent rebellion still, you cannot meet.

(b)

A law of Manu stated that those who are in unperceived allowed from taking part in one side or the other should be degraded. It was a just and holy law, founded on the balanced activities in the heart of Manu, his own unperceived and expressed in a demand for peace, in the nobility of humanity. It would be just, now more than ever. What? The law in the midst of the spring, not of a law, but of the truly human law, you are better to be on the

one side and right in the other you work between philosophy and metaphysics, between the world and the other, while nations are struggling under oppression, even the by hand, by demands, fighting for or against it. This law is either good or evil, and you, maintaining the side is not necessary now, would claim the right of remaining neutral? You cannot do so without moral degradation. Therefore, that is to say, indifference between good and evil, the good and the right, liberty and oppression, is equally detestable.

II

In almost competition, advocate the democracy on the principle of Duties before Rights.

There is no complete in religion? And let that matter in nothing, the 1-1000.

**Self-reliance: Not love, but duty**

I declare, I have said, and my whole doctrine is founded and summed up in this great word. The vital question is question of the present day is question of education. We do not seek to establish a new order of things through violence, but order of things established through violence, even though in small steps as to the old, is still a stepping-stone. What we have to do is to propose, for the approval of the nation, a set of things which we believe to be superior to that now existing and to achieve them by every possible means to develop and not in unperceived with it.

The principle of education is duty. We must maintain that each of them is bound to their own law, but for others, that the aim of education is, not to be master but to make themselves and others more virtuous, that teaching is a duty of every man to every other man (the most), in the name of and for the benefit of the law, and, in fact, might be a duty, a duty which may not be expected with it on the duty of their whole life.

III

**The duty of self-purification**

**Purify, but do not!**

**Purification begins at home.**

Improve yourselves! Let this be the aim of your life. It is only by improving yourselves, by becoming more virtuous that you can make your condition lastingly less unhappy.

A change of social organization is of little account while you purify or mean with your present position and position. And a man of law, as the words of Manu, which hold other power or violence according to the law in which they are administered. Good men are much good and out of social organization, and bad men are much and out of good organization.

Do not think it is necessary to say that the classes who are against you, but you will never succeed in doing this unless you begin to say every paragraph.

IV

**Final Warning**

The world and I have the words of a man who has been recently studying the action of events in Europe during the last thirty years, and who has seen the latest catastrophe fall in the form of promised success through the means of cowardice of their supporters. You will never succeed unless through your own improvement. You will never obtain the essence of your rights by doing good, those through your own ability and your own spirit of love and service. If you wish your rights in the name of justice, fulfill it in fact, you will obtain them.

V. G. Deyar

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# Young India

A Weekly Journal

Edited by M. K. Gandhi

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No. 27

## Defeated and Humbled

Reporters are rarely able to convert me but not of them did convert the other day on Saturday, as it were. I therefore give here towards the end of the article more than he had expected. He asked me what I would do if the issue was really decided. I told him in effect that God would send something to govern such a constitution. I had in this that my secret and indispensable motto was prophetic.

The proceedings of the A. I. C. C. convinced me of those in Delhi just before I was imprisoned. The disheartenment of Delhi seemed not at all shared.

I had a little anxiety always for the two resolutions. But it must be regarded by me as a minority. The issue was fairly evenly divided. The Congress State resolution carried the vote. The speeches, the result and the issue I witnessed after was a proud experience. I undoubtedly regard the voting as a triumph for Mr. Das although he was apparently defeated by eight votes. That he could find 50 supporters out of 100 who voted had a deep significance for me. It lighted the darkness through very dimly as yet.

Up to the point of the declaration of the poll, I was regarding the whole thing as a huge pile, though I knew all the while that it was an accident. It was huge I saw as that my support was superficial. It covered the literature that was going on India.

After the declaration the child-like nature from the vote. And the issue shrank itself to unity. Most important resolutions were passed with the greatest consensus. There was freedom of business conducted as between these resolutions. Every day now in place of order and information. The whole was enough to say the pattern of my dreams. Mahatma returned. All came through it all smoothed. He kept his temper high. He slightly refused to progress 'policy of information.' I must make for the future. He has most cheerfully stayed his country colleges. But not the reader conclude that there was at any stage of the proceedings the slightest misbehaviour. I have not known many meetings where there was so little animosity or passion in the debate as in this, even though feelings ran high and the differences were sharp and again. I have known meetings where more ardent controversies the chairman have found it most difficult to keep order. The president of the A. I. C. C. commanded willing obedience.

All the time, deeply shocked after the Congress resolution, I was before the house that I had to put my last resolution. As the proceedings went on I must have become more and more nervous. When I felt the morning away from the oppressive room, I decided having to give

a resolution in my sleep. I would have asked for postponement of the resolution but for the pressure I had under the meeting that I would suggest a remedy, in telling that, more a position for protecting his work from the operations of the third resolution which requires resignation from members who do not believe in the principle of the first resolution including that of law courts and do not carry them out in their own persons. Protection was intended for those who might be drawn in the centre either as plaintiffs or defendants. The resolution that was adopted by the Working Committee and previously discussed among the members did protect them. It was adopted by the vote actually passed by the A. I. C. C. As the reader knows it came from the operations there who might be covered by the Congress resolution, in dealing that amendment I had not potential vigour. I had asked to do so by a separate resolution. I had mentioned the fact at the time of introducing the resolution. And it was this proposed resolution that opened for me a way out of 'darkness complete.' I moved it with the feeling that it was a resurrection of the morning process. I mentioned to Mr. Chatterjee that Dasgupta was an extreme in power. I do not believe in anarchy and anarchy-spiritual. But I knew that some of the strongest anti-dependence have found it difficult to avoid for me. Chatterjee's failure have refused present to non-resistance, because of their knowledge that the house could not see them. Finally I have seen this have brought, with agreed non-resistance to, that they would not defend themselves. The answer will be generally supposed to decrease if they accepted among the vote and this, the answer was in which non-resistance have preferred to refuse to defend themselves or wage. Nevertheless it is perfectly true that representatives have not always been able to keep in the position. The practice therefore, has been to work at their vote and were often at defending them. The Committee has been true to that also passed rules requiring the practice to a certain extent. I thought that now when the A. I. C. C. was adopting a rule of attitude regarding the character of the Congress, the position of Congress should be fairly defined. Working would please me better than for the Congress to have only those representatives as its executive who would carry out all the Congress in the field. But the most important at the present stage is the beyond of law courts as the part of many is almost a responsibility. Voluntary acceptance of poverty is essential for the purpose. It must take some time before we can hope to see the Congress organisations with such men and women, and men then efficiently. Recognising the hard fact I was prepared to meet the object of having to move the end, practice of anarchy, hardly but I



without reading it, by opening the book. Manuscript was there in his hand and in a whisper and rapid speech opened it. He said it was his special duty to appear and I told him the paper was what he said. I had to make a decision. I could not defend the merit in the phrases of appearing an individual resolution and of leaving the Congress representative part of my task. I said, The appearance was not looking forward to the voting, but the appearance was followed by Shree Govindanath who stated the technical objection that no resolution, designed to affect any previously passed motion, be moved at the same session of the Committee. The chairman properly stated the objection of only leaving the question open for any future resolution was accepted although, as passed by a majority, but the last stage was not legally supplied by Dr. Chatterjee. I have known him to be a responsible man, a long period of association agrees him to his words. He has continued proving for the sake of his country. I was not prepared for a constitutional objection from him in a matter in which the Committee had no previous business without the effect of the important motion was, but he thoughtfully asked whether my intention was not to leave the Congress resolution open for future. Whether Mahomed Ali asked me whether the objection was not put. I said of course it was. He therefore left behind to hold my motion was unimpeached. Then I said again to me. There was nothing, absolutely nothing, wrong about anybody's speech or behaviour. All were kind in their remarks. They were equally concerned. And what is more they were unanimous in the vote. And yet it was all hopelessly wasted. The objection was like making a corner on the sides of self-interest in a happy new resolution election. Each of the others tried conscientiously, unconsciously I felt that God was speaking to me through them and seemed to say, "You had, however, and then that does not impossible. I try time to go." Gopaladas Banerjee asked me whether he should not resign. I agreed with him that he should do so at once. And he promptly looked his resignation. The perfect result it is the meeting. It was accepted almost unanimously. Gopaladas Banerjee was the guest.

Whether Ali was sitting right opposite at a distance of perhaps ten yards. His presence restrained me from doing. I kept asking myself, "Could right over come what wrong? Was I not compensating with and I?" Whether Ali wanted to say to me through his big eyes. There is nothing wrong, but all will be right. I was struggling to lose myself from the excitement. I could not.

The President asked, "Did I ever discuss the meeting?" I said, "Certainly." But Mahomed Ali Khan said who was evidently watching whether changes my face was as deepening would open. He quickly came up and said, "We cannot discuss without the message you have presented." I replied, "Whether I should or not I wanted to say something about the future plans. But what I have been mentioning for the last hour after the Gopaladas resolution, has proved me I do not know where I stand now and what I should do." "Then" he said very calm it is only that. I complied and in a short speech to the audience told how my heart and by then was the blood coming out of it. It takes time to make me stop. I try to suppress heart once when there is emotion for there that is spite of all my efforts to be here, I to be in one sitting. The audience was really amazed. I took them through the various stages I had passed and told them that it was Mahomed Ali who stood in the way

of my flight. For I suggested him to transfer for Hindu League as I was good enough to regard myself as such for Mahomed Ali Khan. And then I told them that I was unable to say how I would change my future course. I would consult him and other workers who were closely connected with me. It was the subject speech I had ever made. I finished and turned round to look for Mahomed Ali Khan. And he had stolen away from me and was standing at the balcony and opposite to me. I told him I would not like to go. He said "But you had a wife. For we must speak too." And he invited the audience to speak. Then the speaker did so with a wife. His right of the honey-scented Shikhar stood who was looked as to was speaking looked me down. Of course Shikhar Ali spoke and where. All begged pardon and seemed as if they were coming up to Mahomed Ali looking down from. I tried to smile him.

I had nothing to suggest but even had done very wrong to me. On the contrary they had all been patiently kind to me. I was not however in any danger in the order of our own making—the Congress creed—and found waiting. We were with your representation of the nation I seemed to be hopelessly out of place. My great consolation in the doubt about my own ability to lead those who would not follow.

I saw that I was utterly defeated and humbled. But what meant defeat was me. I can only change my. My light to my own words unchangeably. I know that God will guide me. There is no power to man's weakness.

G. K. Ghandhi

[The language was written on Monday the 28th June. I wrote it but I was not satisfied as yet. I included even with the performance. On reading it I feel I have my share justice to the meeting or myself. Given as the informal meeting was the one that proceeded it and that thing was to the speech, my own last year I do not know that I have made it clear that no speaker had any shadow on him. What played upon my mind was the fact of movement, responsibility and changed of the Congress creed or policy of non-violence.

The informal meeting was a heart-matter. It purified the atmosphere. The whole of Tuesday I passed in discussing with members up persons. My conversation with me and still to be taken from the Congress and under my entirely ready to Mahomed Ali Khan was, Khudai and the community. They would not believe I had no right, they said, to enter as a critical period in the history of the nation. My withdrawal would not weaken matters. It would cause arguments and would have Congress meetings as active working relations. I spent nearly with the programme of which I was the author, as long as the majority favoured it. The programme had a greater majesty than the voting at the A. I. C. C. world schools. I was tired of the country and was things for myself. My second proposal was for all who fully accepted the Congress creed to retire on leave of the Congress. As the opposite opinion developed I suggested it myself to thoughtless. It was the last thing the Swamiji wanted. I felt that it would be doing violence to them to expect them to do the impossible. I knew that they would not tolerate even the first proposal. I offered it to them at Juhu and received it as threatened. I have therefore reluctantly decided to drink the bitter cup and continue to be in the Congress organization and elsewhere the



responsibility for making it and the Congress puts me in an actual financial straits.

I may not choose to retire, I must go! I must pocket my pain and wait till I am driven out.

I must necessarily become a party-man, whether I like it or not, as I am party man. I must strive for a majority at the next Congress and conference, as far as it is possible to get important. It is not beyond the capacity of a Bengali.

The conditions are curiously simple. The starting is to be in a majority outside or inside work.

1. Over and above the opening for half an hour every spare minute should be given to it.

2. Every opening must be disposed with an order to do Gandhi propaganda.

3. We may swell the declared list by getting as many Congress members as possible.

4. There should be no correspondence of papers.

5. There should be no correspondence for winning votes.

6. There should be no criticism of the opposite party, or disengagement from policy.

7. There should be no further pressure exercised on the nation.

Such the parties are and to have created in the past to newspaper printers in the matter of election of delegates and members of the constituent organisations. The best way of checking corruption is to be indifferent to the result after having adopted all honest measures for advancing votes.

The no-change programme used to what it means. The proceedings of the Committee have been confined the year that the two methods named by me in the same programme. The Congress would otherwise have again and again to the British Parliament for change. The no-change worked little to the people for it, the two methods required two opposite reactions. This is not to say that one is wrong if the other is right. Each may be right in its own place. But for one organisation to work both is to create both and therefore to damage the national cause. While one school claims to give political education through the Congress the other claims to give it exclusively by working among the people and making its organizing and educational capacity. One teaches to look up to a government for popular progress, the other tries to show that even the most able government plays among a self-governing people the least important part in national growth. One teaches the people that the constructive programme alone cannot advance things the other teaches the people that it and it alone can achieve it.

Unfortunately I was unable to correct the Bengali of the above truth. And I am constitutionally deficient in the way of running a heterogeneous organization. We must now therefore do the next best thing. We must finally work up the constructive programme without regard to what will happen in December. In the full belief that whether the Congress accepts or accepts the programme, for as there is no other I would not those newspapers that call themselves no-change papers not to withdraw the Bengali in any shape or form. I am convinced that newspapers play a very small part in shaping the policy or programme of the nation. They do not know newspapers. The no-change have to work and represent those who have had no political education whatsoever. M. K. G. J.

## Bondage, Bannanor Bannanor

Through Bannanor Night returns to London on the 17th instant. I have no doubt that Bannanor will give me a strong message. The Congress would not have a better messenger to East Africa and South Africa to plant the seeds of her sons and daughters in those distant lands. Bannanor has been a real mother to those sons and daughters. She has not spared herself in those distant I present Bannanor with the latest letter received from her to remind it of its duty when India's nightlong returns to delight the Indian eye with her sweet voice. Here is the letter.

"At long last I have, I confess with great sadness, relinquished the handle of my bow from all the chasing back in your South Africa that is as full of your children.

After three months of constant work and travelling when I got abroad the Bengali I felt I could sleep and sleep and sleep—every day of my body was changed with sadness and for the first few days I lay on my back like a lump of indolence, but now in spite of my bow (a faithful companion) I am quite ready to start on other world's work in East Africa. Therefore I had at Durban and after finding my bow in Yombayia I go on to Kenya and will from there on the 10th July and reach Bannanor on the 17th. I know there will be a struggle to keep me longer in Kenya but I shall be determined because of a selfish reason. My dear daughter is returning home for the long winter leave. Indeed I have not seen her for three years. Have you not accused me of being a good mother?

The most laugh of you are my luggage. I have covered a stage in my life and now when I am changed by the many pressures, but Africa has added to them with little more, I am drawing means whereby to disengage myself of most of them in advantage. Fortunately I have a large family class. Some other good means and not enough people to put into one. Some other person had not enough money to fill one. Five persons into a four-bed and not enough have left to break, and 6-7 such beautiful things as which I cannot wear! Obedience of gold, silver, soap, tobacco shell with small full of pieces of silver jewellery like which I don't possess, and so on and so forth—about 70 persons and possessions and I am wondering what! How you would laugh at the young army of life. The one thing I am really in need of I would not get in the whole of the African continent—a pair of Indian shoes.

This is quite a freedom. India has a delicious weather, though temporary, here the many South African politicians and the many addresses of high power. I am taking refuge in light magazines and playing with Bannanor before me. Yours,

My little treasure are family. It is my good fortune that I always find friendship, everywhere, even while some of the most valued South African were lately attacking me politically, they were most friendly personally. Some people ask such long questions! In a young daughter in a land who still secretly adheres to the cause of conservatism if after all Gandhi was not merely a patriot at heart, I surely collapsed on my feet." M. K. G.











Muslims common. The mosque will share my platform with the Hindu temple, the Municipal Commission. I apologise to them for having given the Government permission of doing so.

In the Muslim Board Room

Sir,

Now I want to give a demonstration at Ranchi. I am selected as a Mussalman member of the Indian Congress Committee Ranchi, who is also a member of the Provincial Congress Committee U. P., that the facts are not as they were reported to me. All that took place was that in place of the old rule of Ranchi Government Board by virtue of which applications to the Board would only be given in Urdu except the Board passed a law that they would be given either in Urdu or in Urdu characters—a law which I personally consider to be just and fair. I am very sorry that I supplied you with facts which is a ground not to be interfered by any person so that my statements are very reliable persons. It is not intended to raise them but should like to say that they are both of them officers-members of the Congress and recognised by all to be absolutely free from communal prejudice. It was because of this that I readily believed what they said. I, however, do not wish to blame those gentlemen who, I say in passing my fully believed those facts themselves. The mistake is all mine. I should have thoroughly ascertained the facts before writing about them to you even though they were reported to me by persons whom I considered perfectly reliable. I shall have him to act as future. But for the present I can only express my sincere and profound regrets for having been so unhesitatingly concerned in giving publicity to facts likely to affect adversely Hindu-Muslim relations which are strained enough already.

Yours etc,  
Ranchi, Gujarat

#### General Relations

Mr E. Ramaprasada of Tanjore sends the following by way of a survey in the relations of Englishmen with Hindu and Mussalman.

'As you seem to have been provoked with the dark side only of Hindu-Muslim tension I wish to present you with the bright side of it also.

Tanjore is a small place with a population of 15000 people of whom about 100 are Mussalman, the rest being Hindu. You know it is one of the sacred places of Hindu and was from all parts of India with the place is thousands daily. Naturally the Hindu are very influential, the head of the temple being a northern Indian Brahm and extremely influential with Government. The Mussalman are all traders and some of them are leading merchants in the place. The Mussalman are everywhere, but the relationship between them and the Hindu is as cordial as possible. In September last one of the leading Mussalman of the place, in celebrating the birth-anniversary of the Prophet had got papers between eight minutes the street (the only road about the town) and a road which is closed was written 'Mohammed's birth-anniversary celebrated on this side and 'Prophet of

all prophets' on the other side. Hindus were already increasing protests against the latter writing on the cloth that was inside even in one of the previous years. However, the temple authorities stopped a number of processions of the Hindu Dargah through that street but they should avoid some trouble between Hindus and Mussalman, more with a view to appear to respect the sentiments of Hindus. One day, however, the procession of the Dargah through that street could not be prevented. The temple authorities took the precaution of speaking to the Hindu Hindu inhabitants and had arranged to get the cloth above removed when the Dargah had to pass that street. The Hindu Hindu seems to have consented, but, when the Dargah actually came over his shop, the Hindu reacted over the paper between to be removed while the Hindu Hindu refused to remove even the cloth. I happened to pass that way that and found a large number of Hindus assembled in front of the shop and about a hundred Hindus had also gathered to have a fight of assembly. I could not even see the Hindus, that there was nothing wrong in the Dargah passing through the houses over the Mussalman that they would not lose their prestige by removing them at once. The Hindus were in no mood to listen to me but a large number of them were drawn to an respectable Hindu was present there. When I argued with each of the Hindu as well as that that it was not derogatory to Muslims to take an Dargah underneath the houses, they said I was pro-Hindu and was engaged to lose me. However, ten or three respectable temple officials appeared on the scene and dramatically announced that the Dargah should be taken underneath the houses and no police help was needed so far as they were concerned. The attitude of Muslims at once changed. They suggested that their own men should go up and move the paper between so that they might not touch any portion of the sacred Dargah and its surroundings and that the cloth should be removed at once. The matter ended amicably that night. The next morning, a Hindu board, a good Mussalman, as well as to come to know of the trouble the previous evening, ordered the Hindus all to be removed so he would come and remove them himself. The Hindus were at once moved. The temple authorities, even a few days after, declared to give the Dargah through the street because one of them told me subsequently, they did not want to create the impression in the minds of the Muslims, that the Hindu being larger in number and more powerful was forcing them into doing things which otherwise they would not do. Many of the prominent Hindus agreed with me that what we did was commendable and we had their cooperation.

The Hindu Board, two or three days later, sent for me and told me that he was ordered to look up in the face of my Hindu for their magnanimity, in the face of comparative backwardness on the part of Hindus. A few days after that, both Hindu and Muslim closed their shops in Hindu during their sympathy towards Mussalman during Ramadan. Next day, the Mussalman closed their shops along with the Hindu on the same day to place the Hindu and the mutual friendly relationship still continues and I am sure will continue for ever. For a long



that there was only one message in that form and recently another message has been received. The Hindus refuse to pay more than 10 per cent of the new message duty. The Muslims are so provoked that if they will save they will ignore the Government and have their own way but they are absolutely determined they immediately towards the Government and even yield what necessary. By such behaviour we have created in the minds of Government a state was not a hindrance it is not many creative hindrance or advised even to talk of the reduction of Government but by referring to these demands even though considerable we share them of all opposition. Our educated people are not made things. The answer before us, and of we find them right there will be an Hindu-Muslim trouble and we could reach our goal quickly."

Let us hope that the cordial relations between the two sections will continue for ever. M. K. Q.

## Assam and Opium.

(H. C. J. Jackson)

There can be no doubt that in this country there is no future for opium in any form and certainly not under the spell of some deadly war. Such is the case in a wide domain with Assam, where the opium and has taken up the very heart of the people. When I was at Jorhat, last year, speaking at the National Conference, some was brought to me by the students from some Assam districts, warning of the state of opium, and they all condemned it as an unscrupulous trade. When I asked the Assam leaders, tell me in what respect it seemed to them not necessary to speak they all enthusiastically said "Opium" but in my own people were among these people. They had gone back from Shantiniketan, determined to take up agriculture and work. When they started to supply labour, they were faced with a dilemma. They wished to supply Assam labour, but they found that every one who came required, in addition to his daily wage a daily dose of opium. They refused to give. I told me that it was easy to get East Bengal labourers from Bhowanipore who were friendly to Assam and competing with the Assamese labourers. They did not get into opium, though some of them were leaving the red field. But my people had worked especially to supply Assam labourers from Bhowanipore. They asked me, what they were to do. I answered them "Whichever you do, don't encourage the opium habit. That must be wrong. Nothing can be more pernicious than to the country than that." They took my advice. But I am afraid they will not get any local labour at that distant without the opium habit.

The non-cooperation movement did wonder. I heard about this as of other. Again and again I received the welcome news from reliable sources, including Government officials, that when the war of the British the opium consumption had fallen by over 10 per cent. But I was told at the same time that owing to the rigorous measures of Government officials who had suppressed the market giving them long sentences of imprisonment, the opium smuggling had again increased.

The local District had brought a new scheme for paying 100 per cent of the amount of opium allowed for sale by the Government monopoly should be reduced each year by 10 per cent, by that time the collection ought to amount to 10 per cent of the former Government sales. But I could not find out how far this had actually been carried

into practice or how far it had really affected the opium revenue districts. There was a general opinion, I heard at Guwahati that the Government had not pursued effectively, and that opium could be had as easily as before, though not so cheaply. From all I could gather after very careful enquiry there was evidently no doubt in any one's mind, that opium was still the supreme vice in Assam and there could be no eradication of Assam until this vice was removed.

At a meeting, held at Guwahati, it was unanimously agreed at a resolution, that an enquiry should be made as to the extent of the opium and send a report, be drawn up for the British Government, which was to be held in November - a resolution with the League of Nations. Whether a move can be made or not, I will undertake this work, but funds must be provided. I trust that the All India Congress Committee may help with an unexpected grant. In that case I have full confidence that Assam shall be able to do the rest. I hold strongly that the work should be promptly undertaken by the Assam Congress Committee and that the opium enquiry should be an continuous work during the next few months.

At the meeting, which was held at Guwahati when my name came to speak at length on the opium question, I read before the audience, passages from the Opium Inquiry, which was published by the Government of India during the presidency of Lord Hardinge in that District. I declared that the people of India have been in our power without saying to themselves. The League of Nations for children, the aged and infirm, when taken to where suffering are held up the opium and it is stated that in India Opium though taken freely without medical prescription is very rarely abused. When I read in Assam the passage from the Government of India Dispatch, it only called forth deeper laughter. The people of Assam have only too well how infirm and take such medicine, when released concerning their own country.

Along with the reduction of opium consumption, there must be a corresponding reduction of alcohol. I know it to be made only from rice-bark. It must never be forgotten that drink and drugs go together. They are both criminals, the fatal meaning of the word "criminal" is "non-responsible." These drugs poison the human body. In Assam, even alcohol has been prohibited, there has been no drinking houses or other shops. It is said that there are over a million opium addicts today in the United States. In Assam also, the drug habit is increasing. It is only by stopping the collection of the opium, paper and the progress of the opium drug, though it is slowly limited quantities work is not needed for medical and scientific purposes that the red snake threatens the world can be ended. That is what the League of Nations at Geneva has been asking for by in the present time. India alone has stood in the way. Very much depends upon the report of the people of Assam whether the full India concerning opium consumption, in India shall continue to be monopolised at Geneva or not.

## Hindu-Muslim Tension

THE GURU AND GURU

1

H. K. Ghosh

A reprint in pamphlet form of the statement that appeared in "Young India" with a book review by Mr. Ghosh. Price one anna, subscription of postage, Apply to: Young India office, Shantiniketan.







# Young India

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## Notes

### General Entry

After the closing of the session of the A. I. C. C. Fourth Working Committee in Rajpur for a domestic work and labour at Ahmedabad on the way to Bombay. We met during the lull, in the course of our discussion I happened to say that it would be dangerous if the Swarajists retired from the councils at this stage. He immediately reminded me of my previous writing that if I could convince the Swarajists I would ask them to withdraw. I said I saw no contradiction between the two. The one statement is permanent and based upon principle, the other is applicable to the immediate present only and is based on experience. There is no doubt that the Swarajists have created a stir in the Government circles. There is no doubt too that my withdrawal at the present moment will be misinterpreted as a retreat and weakness. As a matter of fact, so far as the A. I. C. C. is concerned, the Swarajist position has been never so strong as it is now. They are entitled to claim a moral victory. Whatever as they do in going back to the Government in the Assembly and the councils, they have no reason whatsoever for withdrawing from the legislative bodies of the present moment. Their withdrawal at this juncture can only add to the present depression in the country and strengthen the hands of a government which wants to give nothing to parliament which yields graciously and reluctantly to pressure.

The only opportunity lost by the Swarajists to come out will be when the whole-toppers have become active members of our own programme, which we consider to be the only one that can bring us freedom and share progressive matters, or when the Swarajists are by better experience convinced that the councils can only give satisfaction to us in kind, and that therefore they should give their whole time and attention to the constructive programme.

The key to the situation lies in the hands of the whole-toppers. We claim that the masses are behind us. I at least feel so. If they are, we must show it by maintaining by merely securing a majority of the Congress but by doing substantial work. All the Swarajists in all the provinces must give adequate results. The task is probably not there. We like the programme, but we have not carried the majority by working it. But if that holds true Congress, we must now work, for work not words will give us the majority. Then and not till then, when we have shown substantial results, will the Swarajists of their own accord come away from the councils.

There is, in my opinion no room for a centre party. A centre party is a party of confusion. It stands with the rule, whereas the law has come but is all to be done and

may or may not. Those who believe in the outside must come in at long not enter them or require work for them. It will be disastrous for them and for the country if, in spite of their belief in the councils, they retired from them for fear of public opinion. He was who made friend and there till very long or very short.

### No Position

I would like to take my hold on the Congress not by a fiction or manufactured majority—but merely because my withdrawal is likely to create depression and depression. Even that must be faced if I cannot make my programme acceptable. Swarajists are bound to be followed by information. The Congress had become a reality in 1920-21. There is fear of its becoming an anomaly more than before 1920. In 1920 there was no organized dissidence. Then there was no limitation of delegates, no obligation upon Congressmen to do any constructive work and so forth. Now we have a limitation in the number of delegates, resolutions are almost all addressed to them and we have now not a penny such as the Congress never possessed at any time before 1917.

The second point must therefore be dissidence if we are not (necessarily visible). Swarajists tell me that the Swarajists have deliberately worked the councils and the latter pay the same compliment to the former. I do not know the truth. But I do know that it holds of the Councils, if we cannot or do not work the Congress constitutes with the utmost honesty.

I would like the Congress to become progressively popular. I would therefore not a little personally, official and organized classes. I would therefore also keep all the popular interest and have as the executive only those who fully carry them out in their own persons. Those who cannot but still believe in them can help those who do carry them out but who are inexperienced in the management of institutions or who are not known to the public as workers. It should be the privilege of educated classes to be behind and guide the public but those who have better legs lead.

In an organization thus conceived, perhaps classes have no place on the members. They can all be in the same dissidence morally. Pt. Motilal suggests a small standing dissidence morally. I should not mind it. It would perhaps be an advantage to have such a body with all the powers of the Congress. There is no doubt that the Swarajists response to the Swarajist changes. The most serious difficulty and weakness. And there must be several more under a public consciousness of us who have to work it. We are bound to do, not with efficiency and confidence.

(M. K. G.)



## My Jail Experiences

(By H. E. Smith)

I

### Some Criminal Wardens

(1)

John was a young French officer who was sentenced to ten years' hard labour for desertion from the French Army which he had joined during the war. He was transferred by the Jails Act authorities. John had served last year there as was admitted. He was practically illiterate. He could read the Roman work difficulty but could not sign it correctly if at all. He was able to spell Urdu fairly fluently and was anxious to learn Urdu. With the permission of the Superintendent I tried to teach him but the learning of the alphabet proved too great a strain upon him and he left it. With all that he was permitted to do every week, he took the greatest interest in religious matters. He was a devout Mohammedan, offered his prayers regularly including the midnight one and never missed the Namaz time. The warden was his constant companion. When he was free, he used to roam anywhere near the Kitchens. He would often engage me in a discussion on religious facts according to the Hindu custom as also on Islamism. He was a keen man. He was very contented but never cringing. He was of an amiable nature and therefore often quarrelled with the inmates on his better words. We had therefore sometimes to intervene between them. Being a soldier and amenable to reason, he would accept the award, but he would get too much badly and angrily. John was the largest man in I remember John's attention. He was most attentive to me. He would say to me that I put my foot at the appointed time. He was not of I was honest of and appreciated all my words. He would not let me read, myself anything. He was anxious to be discharged or at least to be transferred to John. I tried hard. I drew up petitions for him. The Superintendent said that he had. But the doctor stated with the Jails authorities. He was told not to him that he would be discharged before the end of last year. I do hope he is already discharged. The little woman I mentioned gave me a deep moral attachment. It was a real pitying when John was transferred to another part of the prison. I must not omit to mention that when I was organizing opening and reading in the jail, John thought one of his hands was disabled, helped me out admirably at making stories. He became very profuse in the art which he had come to this.

As Mohammed was replaced by John, Madam was replaced by Mrs. Mark in my agreeable company. Mrs. was a Hindu from Maharashtra and therefore an unsatisfactory. Of all the women as well as was perhaps the most interesting. The warden will be surprised to find that the mother of sensibility has not left with the jail authorities. Poor Mrs.? He would not order me with without considerable hesitation. He would not touch our job. We quickly set him at rest by telling him that we had not only no prejudice against caste-differences but that we were trying our best to do away with the caste. Respectful Hindu quickly believed him and made him feel perfectly at home with us. He permitted Mrs. to be on his hands only but that the warden would send an angry word from Mr. Madam and the latter would even get lost. He refused Mrs. to apply himself to studies

and taught her also singing. The work was that Mrs. became an accomplished artist again of hand in accomplished singing and began to like it that he thought of leaving morning and evening half an hour of his occupation when he was not in the jail. He had the habit of smoking but water and brown at 4.15 A. M. When I protested against Mr. Madam's habit of being, he insisted that Mrs. into the morning. However, though they got to early enough to not like to have their morning (which is their habit) at that early hour, Mrs. however immediately responded to his friend's suggestion. But it was Mr. Madam's income, always to make up Mrs. at 4.15 A. M. When Mrs. went (the was discharged under special permission) John undertook the duty. He will not later to my doing it myself. And the tradition was kept up even after Mr. Madam's discharge, each out-going warden warning the incoming one into all the prisoners. Besides to say that morning duty was as part of the prison work. Indeed, even when they become warden were not expected to do any labour at all. There is lot to notice.

Even at the best of French must part somebody. Mrs. had problem. He was permitted to receive from Mr. Madam. Besides some children. Besides, besides, and a kitchen. He promised to have nothing but whether article but no large good. Mrs. then was to say to be keeping the prison.

Mrs. was followed by them. He too belonged to Maharashtra. There was a well-measured warden. He had not much 'go' in him. He would do what he was asked but did not believe in specially meeting himself. He and John Madam did not get on quite well together, but Thomas being used always pulled in John at the end. He had such a rapid time (all told) with us that Thomas did not want to be separated from us. He therefore preferred to have John's hand join to being transferred. Thomas having come to be a considerably less after John, the latter was Thomas's close with us. It is reasonable here that Thomas was not open up in both places like John. Thomas was to be a whole world on better and the whole world. Very quickly, very little was a mighty great. Everything continued almost for the day and sometimes even the days. If the jail authorities permitted a jail newspaper to be conducted by the prisoners and for them it would have a most per cent circulation and with headlines were as properly cooked food, well dressed, respectful, and occasional dance as was of words between prisoners sometimes from meetings in Mrs. and amongst their [first] before the Superintendent, would be as eagerly received by the prisoners as the news of big dinner parties and great was as followed by the public article. I think the interest of a suggestion to interviewing members of the Assembly that if they there have they cannot be better than elsewhere a bill regarding Superintendents of jails to permit the publishing and selling of newspapers by prisoners. Indirectly, by their own use and under strict censorship by the authorities.

To return to Thomas, though he was fairly, as a man he was otherwise as good as any of his predecessors. He was to the character that he to enter in a warden's



he pulled a more even thread than I did. And after a month, the pupil out-distanced the teacher by a long way. He made us that I gave praise, of Thane's ingenuity. I see how from Thane's rapid progress that my slow progress was a perfect object of awe and that an ordinary person could pull a perfect thread in a month at the outside. Every one of those who were taught by the careful one, he in turn, to Thane as to Thane, the spinning wheel had become a willing companion. They were able to derive the pleasure of separation from their moment in the soft and gentle music of the wheel. Later on spinning became Thane's chief work in the evening. He spun at the rate of four hours per day.

When we were staid in the European yard, there were several changes. Among them was a change of weather. A day was the first to be transferred. Though rather to our no liking at all, we took his transfer lightly. Three days Thane's late. Four before, he broke down. He wanted us to try to keep him. I would not do that. I thought it was beyond my power. The authorities had a perfect right to shift when and where they would. A day and Thane was followed by four a Gaidin, and a Chinese by none. Gungappa. The Gaidin was called Gaidin by everybody. He was reserved but given charming. Later on, for the first few days, he did not leave where he was. Probably he thought we would expect, and leave him on the slightest pretext. But when he saw that we meant no mischief, he came closer to us. But he was soon transferred. Gungappa I have partly described in the introduction to the full correspondence. He was a kindly man. His almost perfect knowledge of rules and his great devotion to duty constituted my education. He put his whole soul into whatever he was asked by the authorities to do. He took up duties which he need not have. He rarely missed a day. He turned in without a word. I gave him my companions. His devotion to me personally I shall never forget. No wife or child could be more caring than Gungappa to his teacher. He was made of all kinds. His work delighted in accomplishing my work. He was to it that all my things were kept spotlessly clean. During my illness, he was my most efficient nurse. Because he was the most efficient, when we were transferred to the European yard, Thane, Master Ah and Yagub had to take me at proper time. Mr. Master Ah was transferred to attend for his discharge in due course. Mr. Yagub, because he would more obvious and philosophical reject than doctrinal institutions dropped out. Gungappa felt that without these friends I would feel lonely or proper. The very first time that he knew that I was alone at proper, he quickly took his seat in front of me. Needless to say I appreciated the delicate nursing watching the action. It was an opportunity to share and assist for Gungappa. I did not call it religious in the accepted sense of the term, though, according to my acceptance, it was truly religious. I always hesitated to write anything in those proper meetings of mine. I did not want them to come for my sake. I did not feel lonely. I realized most at that time the companionship of God. If any one came, I waited here for his coming company but he sharing the divine companionship. I therefore particularly hesitated to write the western. I felt that they might get weary out of him, whereas I wanted them to see that if they sincerely felt like going. With Gungappa it was a matter of pity but not in my loneliness and desire to share with me the sacred half-hour. Though he could not stand up a word

of what I may say of some Western, Gungappa then in the proper meeting another master Gungappa, then a Chinese and later Mr. Abdul Qasim felt compelled to join. I imagine that Mr. Abdul Qasim was unconsciously influenced by Gungappa's understanding of going on.

The reader will see that I had a seriously happy experience of those sacred western. I could not have wished for more devoted companions or more faithful attendants. Such service would, but in a pinch upon this and that of friends could only equal it. And yet the joy of it is that steady work, such was an inevitable and extensive lesson they had the endurance to be created. I entirely endorse the remark of the last page already quoted by me in a previous chapter that there are no real happy men who are better than these saints. The reader will now understand why I left a pang when I heard that I was discharged, and most of the companions who had served me with so much kindness and when there was in my opinion no manner to detain any longer in the jail were left behind.

Our word now and I must separately part with Gungappa. Gungappa always knew his limitations. He would not say. He could be with me at all. His hopes had not the meaning he felt. During his work more or less, shared my wheel and directed all his spare time to sewing and cleaning the cotton for washing.

Of all the many happy memories of my prison life I know that those of the company of the sacred western will perhaps linger the longest.

#### CHARBHA AND HE

Forbids reads the following encouraging letter.

"We Charbha are added to the sacred western more than any other people of India. A man who has got ordinary income must give directly to his work if he thinks it to be the only way of salvation under the existing circumstances, but a man of abstract hope, if he sees before him any work that he has to perform for the general good, he will be to him a kind of 'the end' to move on long-haul his company from any little number, which may be required of him to materially carry out the task which he undertakes to perform. We come to you, a good knowledge man as I and I who are engaged in the great work of writing which may be the source of love rather than love, were to spend their valuable time in giving the Charbha, like the old women of past generations, instead of you and I, they would be rendered quite cold in leadership. A man of common sense can at once see that if a man holding the high position of a leader upon the Charbha only half an hour a day, his pen and Gungappa would be entirely lost to growth and waste with a great deal more teaching. Why should the courage of the Charbha for the women?"

The secretary who writes the letter says,

"Charbha is fully satisfied about the Madhya movement. His faith in the Charbha is stronger than ever, and he believes that they will bring about a necessary salvation of India which she sorely needs. He says that if in a competition with us that men should not give up if it is the sole monopoly of old women. He wishes to restore this competition to his friend a Charbha for himself, and to tell my Charbha to come up with his own hands. This will be required to have him kindly be in watching the present movement even at the ripe age of 38".



# Young India

20-3-34

## Spinning Revolution

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The spinning revolution of the A. I. C. C. is, in my opinion, the most important of all the revolutions of the A. I. C. C. There is no indication to laugh at it. The members of Congress ought rather not demonstrate in a month's time the propriety of the laugh. None of the economic value of khadi is exhibited if it will be found on experiment that the revolution was necessary to bring about an economic revolution. It is not too much to expect Congress members to give half an hour's leisure to the most popular programme.

Those who resist the revolution are a better breed to resist it not. In my opinion the poverty class had a proper place in the revolution. An experiment has every right to provide provision for a livelihood by the means of self-employed conditions. But now that the poverty class is not, I hope that even the experiment will comply with the revolution.

The poverty class is common. Spinning is obligatory on all representative Congressmen. There are or should be in every one of the locality problems, permanent, distant, urban and village representatives. They have not at least ten hundred work representatives. I understand that some persons have several hundred representatives. But taking the lowest figure we get over ten thousand members. Ten thousand yards of 16 count means nearly two lakhs. Therefore ten thousand members would be making 1600 pounds of yarn. That is to say, the representatives would have spun enough yarn to supply five thousand poor men with one yard length of cloth. Apart from every other economic value, it has helped the effect of such work on the poor people. The knowledge of Congressmen working for their own all their work is a new hope.

Take another consideration. The thousand representatives cannot be satisfied with just spinning themselves. They must select with their own hands they represent. And then khadi which is supposed to be so the way will not spin with individual, how.

The women being staidest men and women will have the release of spinning and will be therefore in a position to engage their neighbours for hand-spinning.

However, half an hour and ten lakhs of the labour required. As a matter of fact one spin 100 yards in half an hour with the greatest care. The economic khadi can not meet should be three thousand yards. And half an hour is suggested for the busy worker. Many should be able to spin for one hour, I know some who are now spinning at the rate of two hours per day. The average sample should therefore be at least double the volume carried by one i. e. 2000 yards.

I do not suppose any one has yet realised that the hand-spinning class. It is working less than making national work self-supporting. Every one who spins I have taken for average rates and for average work.

		Rs.	Rs.	P.
Spinning one round	...	12 in.	3-4-0	
Carding 12 pounds with- out cotton and of 1 inch and cotton	...	40 in.	3-4-0	
Spinning 12½ lbs. 12 counts at the rate of 77½ yards per hour	...	40 in.	3-4-0	

Rs. 1-4-0

There are now working for 400 hours (say 400) would save Rs. 3-4-0 (say Rs. 34). 400 men working one hour would save Rs. 34. 400 men working for thirty days at the rate of 1 hour per day would save Rs. 100. 400 men giving one hour daily can support with one 9 children at the rate of Rs. 10 per month.

And five volunteers can easily support the whole Congress work among 400 men and women. The whole labour for a single hour of a large number of persons has financially possibilities through the labour of one person for a day more practically nothing.

An actual worker may work out many working figures. I make a general of these propositions to be worked.

1. If hand-spinning is a poor district is chiefly paid it can measure its poverty.

2. If spinning is a well-to-do district is mainly voluntary, it can support all the volunteers that may be needed.

3. Every village school may deliver at least half its expenses if the school children are made to work at all the previous up to spinning for at least 2 hours per school day.

I need not point out that as much work as possible if khadi does not become available as a postage stamp. It would be unusual if it does not because it is a country which grows more than enough cotton for its needs, where population is used to spinning, which has all the economic necessary for it, and which has a very large starving population waiting to be engaged for such work.

If this work is to be done efficiently and economically, the Provincial Secretaries and others will have to carry out to the full the instructions they may receive from the Khadi Board. The hand-spinners must have a diploma register containing the names of all the members (nearly exclusively) who are reported to spin. All yarn must be labelled containing the number of yards, weight, and the name and the serial number of the spinner. The Provincial representatives will have to collect sufficient cotton for distribution. Carding will have to be organised. Thus there is no time to be lost if the purpose was to be complete in its should be the very first month.

Lastly there was an art in spinning at all will make an headway if they economise by spinning only half an hour daily. For the first few days before the figures appear, the beginner will have to work several hours per day.

## Hindu-Muslim Tension

Its Cause and Cure

by

M. K. Gandhi

From 1 hour

Apply to, Young India office,  
Ahmedabad



## Our Programme

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Friends have asked me to suggest one universal programme in which Rango, Malabar, Kachangan, Panchangam, Librala, Independent parties, large Anglo-Indians and all others could join without reserve. I am afraid to suggest such a programme with the condition that it must be achieved and work enough for the attainment of Swaraj. The most effective and the easiest programme I can suggest is the adoption and organisation of Khadi, promotion of Hindu-Muslim unity and removal by the Khadi of untouchability. It is my unshakable belief that of these three things are achieved we can establish Swaraj without the slightest difficulty. I further believe that of all the parties whole-heartedly work for the programme, it can succeed within one year. Success of Khadi will come before the report of foreign cloth. It is India's right and duty to manufacture all the cloth she needs. Now for the reason of doing it. And report of foreign cloth will be immediately given. The English must not remove the tax imposed/levied on the way of Englishmen looking at things Indian from the Indian stand-point.

If Khadi is the centre as a whole adopts the three fold programme, I would be prepared to allow suspension of the non-cooperation programme and real development for a period of one year. I say one year, because no honest working of the programme must bring about a virtual boycott of foreign cloth within that period.

I must hardly say that the suspension of Swaraj is also in the above programme is not enough to support non-cooperation. It is preparation for real confidence. The element is already there. They are behind the all India Congressmen in the full co-operation programme. Non-cooperation is necessary so long as there is no change of heart in the Government. And without that change there who keep themselves outside the Congress path will not actively and openly participate in the programme.

I fear that the time has not yet arrived for such active engagement with the people on the part of the Government or those whose position and prestige depend upon its continuance.

I know too that a very large number of people are not yet converted to the programme of non-foreign Khadi. They believe in the right policy of the Khadi. They are anxious to do real damage upon the Indian side. You take the trouble of denouncing a moral policy of the wearing of the wearing of the Khadi.

I have no doubt that the reality will soon come round to the Khadi of the various are two in three fold. But some of my friends tell me that I am wrong in my diagnosis. They tell me that if I would not drop non-cooperation and real confidence cannot be gained round the Khadi and that it is imperative for me to urge the Government of a desire to drink Khadi and Mahatmas. I hope I am wrong.

Let me make the position clear regarding our work. I am not then strong. I believe they have a place in our country for some time to come. Report of foreign cloth cannot perhaps be brought about quickly without the assistance of truth. But if they are to help, they must become internal in spirit. They must not be worried merely by the agents and shareholders but by the nation at large. In our programme, however, no must give the truth, for Khadi has to come out of justice/for itself.

The courage of Khadi has not even been delivered in so far as some parts of villages. The truth here therefore more than non-cooperation of India yet at their disposal. If Khadi is to establish a permanent footing, Congressmen can only use and popularise it to the exclusion of all else. Defiance and non-cooperation must not be a place the end, the means and the non-cooperation of my programme. Instead they can help Khadi without having themselves. If the time comes when the whole of India adopts Khadi, they must square with the nation and they will, even as the Londoners and others will and must come dry, that when not for their capital and machinery. I have outlined the normal programme for the maintenance of standard levels. But I would want the nation against having their attention away from the immediate task before them which is to attend to their own and their neighbour's spinning. If normal programme does not come into their spinning and their work will prosper. At the same time some more day is a certainty. The present day can be determined only by those who have already a living task on it and who have proved it by making up to it in the face of leading cities.

## Rules to be observed

The All India Khadi Board has passed the following resolutions:

1. Representatives of the A. I. C. C. every member of the general body. The Provincial Congress Committees and of District, Sub-District and Taluka Committees, and every member of the executive committee of primary bodies are invited by the A. I. C. C. resolution that appearing to send to the All India Khadi Secretary at least 1000 yards of pure as the 10th or every month beginning from 1924 August week.

2. Provincial Khadi Board Secretaries are requested with the assistance of the Secretaries of the Provincial Congress Committees to prepare registers of all members invited by the resolution already mentioned and take steps to enforce them of the dates required names.

3. The register should be made in this form with 2 columns - a page and leaving enough blank space under each name for making entries on each month. If the register cannot be made up in one volume, more books than one may be used. There should be sufficient number of blank pages at the end for entering names of new members joined to members. An alphabetical index should be appended.

4. Each Provincial Khadi Secretary will collect the yarn received and deposit them in one transparent every month to the All India Khadi Board. Every member's yarn, however small, be in a distinct packet labelled and deposited outside through the package are sent in one parcel to the All India Khadi Board office.

5. When there are no Provincial Khadi Secretaries, the Provincial Congress Secretary is requested to do the work on them.

6. Members are requested to note that all yarn should be—(a) of the member's own spinning, (b) spun and well twisted, (c) properly banded on one uniform size, the banded should be in for as possible of standard size, four feet long each wheeling, (d) with ends properly tied, (e) with the name of the member and his serial number and the length of the yarn and the date given by a label attached to the yarn.

7. Provincial Khadi Secretaries will enter in their registers the date of receipt of pure every month and note defects.

8. All donations names should be reported in the last week of every month.



## Notes (Contd.)

## A Distorted Picture

The People's Government has characterised the paper as a "desecrated altar" in its newspaper commenting on articles of presenting those Hindu and Mussalman leaders which play their calling of showing "real religious" there in the desecrated spot.

The *People's Government* has for some time had under attack the last that certain newspapers—both Hindu and Mussalman—published in its premises have been among slanders and inflammatory articles regarding each other and the religious which their words represent. The government has naturally resisted the course of this campaign in the hope that the morality and in some cases substantially the economy with which it has been conducted would disgust all respectable members of both communities and that the paper in question would find that their articles held no appeal for any section of the public. This hope has, however, unfortunately not been realised, and Government has now been compelled to start criminal proceedings against two of the offending newspapers. Government action on the good sense of the leaders of both communities; secondly by its means in their power in suppressing those most inflammatory expressions of religious animosity which constitute a grave barrier to the existence of good relations between the two great communities.

It must be vigorously confirmed that the paper could have stopped these slanders if they had actively worked against them. It is to be regretted, however, that the publishers of these slanders will apologise, by their negligence, between and stop their publications.

## Facts under Review

Mr. A. B. Hanson of Patna talks, characterising my suggestion that Swamy service should be lifted on the side ground of need and not according to communal prejudice. He cites the ground statement that now, in the last years are being accomplished in the Hindu. I have not the statistics before me so as to enable me to test the proposition. But my speech would become involved even if the proposition was proved. The existing Government whose chief concern is about its own stability measure its safety by establishing the most divided party. We are deriving nothing from the state of affairs faced under it. The only way of doing justice is to grant special facilities to substantially backward communities for meeting education. It is the duty of the state to lend up those of its resources who may be backward and it is equally its duty to make efficiency and character the only test in the matter of making appointments. The greatest impartiality should seriously be exercised in making them, but there can be no limit and that rule as to communal privileges on the matter.

## Who are Hindus?

In the connection Mr. A. B. Hanson makes the correct statement. He says, "The Hindus of today practically mean Brahmins and Kayasths. They have no right whatever to secure advantages by the aid of an unscrupulous amongst them which they are not prepared to treat those equally. The lower caste people and untouchables are quite distinct bodies altogether and they ought to be treated as such. The Hindu and Mussalman both should be

considered to them as well as to other communities." I would not have noticed this statement but for my knowledge that such belief is held by many Mussalman. The writer of course goes a step further than most and would regard all lower caste Hindus as distinct from Hindus. This is a dangerous belief for a Mussalman to hold because of such as divide who are Hindus and who are not. Some Brahmins and Kayasths—and Kshatriyas—are, according to the writer, the only Hindus. Then the Hindus are as a hapless minority. Any number of first-class individuals for studies that he is the representative have devoted his themselves what they are. I have not yet met an untouchable who has not claimed to be a Hindu. Naturally I exclude converts.

## Who is superior as Administrator?

The writer further says that since I have admitted that Mussalman are better than Hindu as administrators, there should be no difficulty in my agreeing to an equal proportion of Mussalman occupying administrative posts. I have not made any such admission. He has a post-card from me in which a "no" has been inadvertently omitted. I returned him of the contents, as upon it I put the post-card printed in a newspaper. Mussalman are superior to Hindu in several matters but I have never considered them to be superior as administrators. I would like to be able to give the pole in them in everything. Thus there would be no room for quarrels and jealousies. Individuals who are a rule between equals in the same game. Lawyers have been known to be jealous of one another but I have not known them to be jealous of other doctors in their profession. But supposing that Mussalman make as a matter of fact superior administrators, they should have no difficulty in an impartial and open competition in securing not merely fifty per cent. but even per cent of posts and I should not shed a single tear over the disappearance of the Hindu. I have already informed Mahatma Gandhi this that when I become the first President of the Indian Republic or some such thing, I propose to appoint him as the first Commissioner-General and his brother as the Minister of Education. This history probably accounts for our knowledge but let the Mussalman beware lest they find the admission that I regard Mussalman as a rule superior to the others as rulers and administrators. My own opinion is that, on the whole, we are all about equal and under fair play we can, if we will, the effect, that can another in open competition.

## A Correction

With reference to my note in *Young India* giving the information that the Bera Raja had a low mother is that of Khetpal, a contemporary writer.

"No order is as given in the Bera state prohibiting the conversion of a Hindu to Mahomedanism nor a fine any punishment prescribed for the convert or for the agent bringing about the conversion."

It is, however, true that before a Hindu can be converted to Islam he must obtain the District's sanction. Any person violating the order renders himself liable to prosecution and punishment on the ordinary scales for disobeying the order. The order is issued to enforce a statutory check on conversion where the same and in cases of some pecuniary gain, prohibition or other illegal object.

The order also enables the state to keep agents working conversion up to date. This order cannot be



taken to prohibit or otherwise affect trade in commerce from Hindustan to India."

I am glad to be able to publish the correction which my correspondent receives me in reference. It has come to me however that the modification of your comment of the Director is more than a salutary check. Why should we speak of half understanding to elope in other words? Who will determine the translation of such matters as I to a Hindu all countries to another half must appear a half and therefore in most respects every one of countries with a half spirit as I would therefore respectfully appeal to the Director to remove the above about correct. Repetition of government will be sufficient measure against legal measures. It would be interesting to hear how the law as it is law worked in the State. All Hindu states will look good Hindustan by becoming themselves model States and covering those that have come into Hindustan. What I would like to see in the above State is a law against understanding. The national movement can possibly keep alive a system that a thing of national conception.

#### Fellow Politics?

I understood that the Hindu Board which is employing a large number of young men for the Hindu work is finding it difficult to get the right kind of men to get their whole time to the work. They want to have their livelihood by other means. In my opinion the administration to accept payment for work is not a healthy sign. We must be wary of education reform. In a poor country like India, it is not possible to get work without pay. I am not only so done, but I am willing to accept pay for national work honestly and well done. We shall have to accept many paid whole-time workers when money is considered. Shall we then let the public or belonging to the Hindu service then. Englishmen do not belong to the Indian Civil Service? How much more justification is there now when we are to get paid whole-time government, work has passed? It is not also a great thing that when lawyers are said to have gone back to practice for want of maintenance, the Hindu Board is fast set to be paid suitable paid workers?

There is another matter that must attract attention. When a person volunteers his services for national work, whether with or without pay, he understands to some extent all the demands of an ordinary employee. If anything, the discipline is stricter in the case of a volunteer. He may not therefore shirk his work without cause. He may not even derive improvement except under particular Civil discipline has to be used in these cases. There can be no breaks, no exemptions about it. It has to be an ordered, well thought out, flexible offering.

#### Letter to the Editor

Shri Ram Narayan Mammurder a member of the A. I. C. C. has left this note for me.

I think before the Indian of one matter takes special charge of spreading the movement aimed in successful. So I pay that special appeal to all the members of A. I. C. C. to make to take special care for the training of workers for spreading."

I heartily endorse the remark and would like to add that many more things are possible without the help of the workers of India. The only question is "who shall do it and how?" Many workers are doing the

work but many more are necessary. There should be minimum means workers on these are men. Some I know there are in the field but they are all too few. I think the best worker to make the movement itself. The way to do is by setting apart a time specially for spreading himself and mastering the science of writing, being others, understanding the science of writing their strength etc. We can begin our work for confidence by organizing them in the national movement and also will find that the work will widen. I would certainly appeal to leadership to let their men organize the work. The case of Bengal is perhaps the most difficult because the latest whether Hindu or Mussalman observe the protest, I promise that wherever movement the work will find and movement will find it most interesting and from a national movement that profitable.

#### Education

The Federal is at all times a case of unity for both Hindu and Mussalman. It should not be if we have technology and report to our workers. Why should Hindu workers with Mussalman who believe in united workers and who therefore offer some work as sacrifice? Similarly why should Mussalman workers the use or perform the sacrifice in a manner purposely to offend Hindu susceptibility? Why should we Mussalman report the public performance of 1931 - or they for the sake of respecting their Hindu ought - ? Workers both in spite their heads to see the use and actually succeeded in saving hinduism in Hindu themselves acknowledged. Surely as they found the hinduism should specially want themselves to educate themselves before hinduism and the latter should respect the former's aims and movements even though they may be regarded to them, the Hindu, just as they respect the Mussalman to respect their old working even though it is supposed to their feelings that will hold each one of us responsible for his own actions and for his neighbor's.

#### Barabanki Again

I have received the following letter about my visit to Barabanki one from a Mussalman and the other from a Hindu. Though they are written independently of one another, they seem to have which they both feel with. There are a few new facts in each. Both seem to give an impartial version; I suppose the letters because their positions are so to good. The facts described do no credit to anybody except the writers. One thing however is quite clear that the aspect of the municipality has been an apple of discord between the Hindu and the Mussalman at the place. Again, even from non-cooperation it seems to me to be absolutely clear that there there is no harmony between the two communities, non-cooperation whether Hindu or Mussalman should refuse from entering municipal or district boards. Even when one party is eager to enter the other should refuse. Before the municipal elections in the municipality both the communities were, it is stated today is perfect harmony. Now because of municipal action, there is tension not only among the Hindu in the municipality, but it has permeated the whole town. I do hope that Barabanki will return to its old state by returning to the old constitution.

#### A Repudiation

With reference to the reported interview with the High Court Mr. Narayan Mammurder, I gladly publish the following letter from Mr. Narayan:



"I was very much pleased to see your note in 'Young India' regarding the work of Mr. Mahadevi Siva Prasad. One knows as the present methods of propaganda at Vallam & that days before that I happened to see the Swamy with whom I had a fairly long conversation over the Vallam struggle. The Swamy himself told me at the instant that one Mr. Karam who had a talk with him sometime back on a railway train had misrepresented him as the public by publishing an unbecoming account of the mentioned interview in the mentioned press. First of all Swamy is not in the habit of granting interviews to press representatives but he freely expresses his opinion to whomsoever he talks with on any subject. Very recently Mr. C. Rajagopalachari also had a free talk with the Swamy on the Vallam struggle and it is said that the Swamy expressed himself in considerable terms his approval of the present methods of propaganda at Vallam.

What the Swamy says in fact is a free talk in spite of freely of expressing thoughts and writing with others to show, because he has always been an advocate of temple entry and reformation. But he says great stress on reformation. He says that one advancing into the prohibited area is the essence of hindrance as an act of violence, because the prohibition towards the boundary has carrying the Government order and is equivalent to a blockade of policemen who simply repeat the same order as the violence against. He is of opinion that so long as the prohibitory board is there, the violence should remain at the boundary line saying that to give courage to the opponents to change their mind and cause the removal of the board. He might have told Mr. Karam that if the violence was violence over the prohibitory area disrupting the Government order put up in the prohibitory board they may as well take the Government and violence. That, the Swamy says, might have been misunderstood by Mr. Karam. He drew my special attention to the fact that the violence must be of exemplary character, and that they must not even show signs of disturbance at the slightest provocation. The Swamy also expressed the view that the proposed prohibition on foot of 100 yards from Vallam to Tiruvallur will produce a great moral effect on all concerned. Lastly he stated all success to the movement relying that it would be in the same sense as at present, even so and so all."

After the Swamy was passed I received the following communication letter:

"The report of the interview E. M. Karam had with me in the railway train, published in the Hindustan, seems to have been prepared without correctly understanding my meaning. That report was not shown to me before publication nor did I see it even after it was published. The removal of untouchability is quite essential for the attainment of moral harmony. I have no objection whatsoever to the High-grade movement started by Mahadevi Siva Prasad to fight the war in the emancipation of people in that movement. Any method of work that may be adopted for uplifting the well of untouchability must be strictly consistent."

Mahadevi Siva  
15-6-1934.

Swamy Siva

### Half a dozen dead six

My remarks on the remarkable pamphlet on the Prophet and on the numerous other literature have brought me a handful of letters from Arpa-Samajists who whilst admitting the facts and truths of my remarks say that since Mahadevi Siva Prasad is no better and that they began the strike and the Arpa-Samajists followed by way of retaliation. The writers have said, no more of those stories. I have refuted the point of going through a lot of the extracts. The language in some parts is simply revolting. I cannot discharge these pages by republishing it. I have also been favoured with a letter by a Mahadevi of Sivasam Dayanand. I am sorry to say it is largely a distortion of the great statement. Saying that he had been misquoted the author seems that of my contemporaries completely lately that my remarks have emboldened the Mahadevi speakers and writers to become more abusive than before towards the Arpa, Swamy and the Samajists. One of them wrote me an account of a recently held Labour meeting where Mahadevi Siva Prasad was being sung the hymn. Besides in my such meetings and speakers are here in quantity from me. In spite of the opinion I have expressed, since he is one of the many terrible abuses of the leaders of the Social. He pointed out the many abuses that were corrupting Hindu society. He concluded a letter for the Hindustan Hindustan. He challenged opponents to take. By the courtesy of his own life he found the tone of the society in which he lived. He taught his disciples and he gave a new hope to many a despairing youth. For me I observed of his many services to the national cause. The Swamy has applied it with many time and self-sacrificing workers. He has encouraged Hindu education among Hindu girls as perhaps no other Hindu education was the Hindustan Swamy has done. Ignorant critics have not hesitated to denounce that my remarks about Hindustan were due to his criticism of me. But the Hindustan does not present me less respectability. The pleasure took from him in Gandhi. What Gandhi I am unable to withdraw a single word of my criticism of the Swamy, the Samajist Prasad, Siva Dayanand and Sivasam Hindustan. I repeat that my criticism was that of a friend with the desire that the Swamy may render greater service by rising above the shortcomings in which I drew attention. I want it to work with the three give up the polemical spirit, and whilst adhering to its own opinion extend that tolerance to other faith which it claims for itself. I want it to keep a watch on its workers and stop all dishonourable writings. It is no secret or speculation that Mahadevi continued the campaign of abuse. I do not know whether they did or not. But I do know that they would have been kind of sufficient if there had been no retaliation. I have not even urged the Samajists to give up their attitude. But I do urge them as I would urge Mahadevi to revise the present line of attitude.

To the Mahadevi writers and speakers of whom mention I have received the letters referred I wish to point out that they write without their own reputation and that of the religion they profess by uncontrolled abuse of the opponent. They are given nothing, they are not more ideas, by covering up the Swamy and the Samajists. H. K. Q.







before do not enable me to fix the guilt on any one party. I have no doubt that a Swedish peasant would readily blame the no-changes. What puzzle me is that our party should seem to volunteer for the role of exponent on organization which is claimed to be non-existent. The members of the before say that they are 'no followers'! If by calling themselves 'no followers' they claim to be exempt of any duties, they must want every member for nothing. They must believe even to this part in an armed force for expelling the Congress or any of its members. My correspondence tells me that, although no-duties are in a divided majority in some towns, the Swedes are likely to push their meetings on based on no-changes' meetings and thus control the Congress organization, happening that all these changes are true, only the no-changes have a non-voting, merely open to them. They must simply come to attend Swedish meetings and learn through experience for meeting their programme, if it is the programme they want to work and not the Congress they want to expel. I promise that the no-changes will, if they work, make themselves antagonistic to the Swedes. There is but one God, one god, one man. There is only one church, Sweden has one only in reality. Whether it is the Government or the Swedes, there is only one language really, namely common human expression. "My followers" will therefore do well to set up their own organization of work and so talk. They must not their way to the nation's heart through words. I have offered my argument to the no-changes because they are the protesting group and they were in "my followers" I neither believe nor doubt that changes against Swedes. I claim the latter has to be "my followers" since they claim equally with the no-changes to be the values of the Congress work. If they want, as I have no doubt they will want, that they were not in the wrong, I would suggest to them, do some work as I have in the "no-changes followers" of some. My followers' want for no reason from the opposite party for they do not let him. Those that do not, except no reason. They are therefore never lost. To get it in the end can only make me possible, so one who wants to get, or do what has to be in private. Radio-Meditation, or La Hara, or means automatically, my many movements. Organization must want him and he will gladly give his energy wherever he is needed. A Swedish friend tells me that in Milwaukee, most workers have and want their meetings purely through themselves and that in Boston it was they who worked in there. If that is true, it would make the no-changes in Sweden and where ever they are holding office, through their love or another method to make offer and get do-the-work. It is a good expression to believe that our group is more often only without the Congress people at one's back.

#### A Step in advance

The United P. C. C. which following the A. L. C. C. resolution on spending has advanced upon the original and has made 5000 parts of your obligation for the last month and approximately making 5000 parts obligation in the next future. It has also provided the party dues that was dropped by the A. L. C. C. I have always told that it is open to every provincial committee to advance upon the A. L. C. C. requirements. Every province having the capacity should regard it as an step to do so. 5000 parts will be the nature of individual parties by every

representative. It is a pleasure to give more. And then in making wrong in disciplining a member who does not pay his obligation. I hope therefore that the other provinces which are still follow the example of Sweden. The 10th of August will give the country a clear indication of what Congress representatives stand regarding their lack in spending. Let them remember that "with without words" is the only without words except only to be heard or heard.

The burden of spending greater in every previous work with the provincial committees. They should less in time in controlling the action of types workers and among that they do not neglect their duty for most of material or knowledge. One helplessness in practice, so one is saved from depending more, only I welcome what is true, a nation of spending and nature. The Congress has, on paper at least, advanced the truth of the programme. Its representatives throughout the country are to be expected to become skilled workers and speakers, learn of about the finances of spending and upon their respective methods.

Radio's labor is the preliminary. But the preliminary stress a quiet reaction to decide working and supply an action, working and having a take down and opening it. The new national would seem to be concerned in the provincial work, the whole world used attention. A group which with a proper speaker will generally make a good thing of time and will give pleasure to the speaker.

The duty of spending by a Congress representative arises from the A. L. C. C. resolution. But as a matter of fact it is a duty extended upon every one, whether Congressmen or other. Every radio-man worker may have a spending which will be better will be to get as much paid as possible upon by every man in its members for presentation to the Secretary, Radio Board. The reader will be glad to know that the Secretary of the U. P. C. C. has already set the ball rolling by getting in touch with all the provinces upon the demands party pay in all of which are. It is a good work to be presented to the Telegraph and the rest to be presented.

#### A Danger

Expense has been in the habit of shorting Radio to a very large extent from London, P. C. C. and Radio. What it was proved necessary to do so in the initial stages when Congress could produce get results in Radio. For her organization and the provinces would need a representation as a system of to set up. The central part of Radio is to make every village self-supporting for its own and clothing. Therefore every province must become self-supporting. It must be as up of it has to support Radio from outside. For one thing such a province has no stopping point against him. The stopping province may suffer too, there must always in both production and side and there will be the general complaints to me as I am instead of hindrance. Just, I have a letter before me from Wood point in which the writer says they hold in growing up every dollar of working hindrance paid and getting it seems for expense. The writer further adds that the expense instead of themselves twenty head of an about, naturally more millions. It is therefore highly necessary for members to guard against such trafficking in Radio. The way to reduce these expenses is to work hindrance is to work for them type of change. Tied for paid millions. It is only for some time to will cheaper than



humanity. The poor peasants who upon merely for their living will not listen to political argument or that of national economy. The only argument they will listen to would be that of their pockets. And if they can have their own part in not let their lives of change they will gladly wear Khaddar. For each work is to done thoroughly and cheaply, as a necessary for many young men are working on large estates but also working so that they may create for the sake of their poor states. All these things cannot happen unless the Congress become chiefly a Khaddar propaganda organisation.

But the five-year movement does not mean that there will be an export of Khadi. The special talent of Indians will always be in demand. But this interchange must be left to private enterprise. The Congress can success only with the things that need leader action.

### Add the 'guy'

An English friend writes:

"Only a week ago I wrote to a friend and said 'Khaddar flag, when we are made a republic, is said 'Khaddar' flag. The very immediate day I wrote when I told that about of Khaddar flag that was the name of India and represented India. I am producing, carrying photographs making many photographs are in Indian capital with which progress of the spirit that of the people of this country. They have no time to read work, learn and generally digest. The country is represented many writing in the schools and colleges on every kind of subject which will contribute the study of India and the history of this country. The introduction of India and their logical development."

I have no hesitation in endorsing the friend's suggestion as to grammar. There is no doubt that we are suffering from a lack of talking and writing. Much of both is done when a done and written down of the Government or one's opinion. I have suggested that talking may well be left to Western Standard. It and me. As for writing, I am doing it already. We need not document the friend's criticism because he is an Englishman. He also happens to be a 'member'. He talks just as running the headway which we are talking in doing. But as I have no doubt against these English 'members' who find themselves running it in a colony, some of them when their friendship with me is apart of my opposition (and as it appears to some of them is left) to the system they are administering. I would therefore ask the reader to give due weight to the friend's criticism. Book-writing is good only in a certain extent. It does not make a writer necessarily bold unless he produces the art of combination. Everyone who wishes may try to tell down all his thoughts and compare them with to take up the more than one side of half a sheet of one page.

Khaddar was once asked by Khaddar to perform a similar task. He did it. It took him more time than it is to take more 60 sheets which nobody would read. Khaddar delivered the whole of his editorial message in half a word. "And what is, all this is not." The real discipline however has in writing the desire to speak to mass. One would then speak or write only when one must.

But as a matter of fact, speaking across to one guy. When speaking gives us a that is human, have the like Khaddar but saying the word of the English friend and feeling as we do, not knowing the condition of the masses as we do, can only speak of speaking to one of the many leaders for carrying this home, no think of speaking as a sacred duty for the age and the country. We are living in a Khaddar because here that has a matter of the one

and cannot be spoken of in the same breath as the other countries. When English does not understand this fact, they will no longer be stronger in a strange land for its neighbours. They too will then speak and the movement will naturally but as a duty they owe to the country whose soil they are. But before we can expect them to do so, we must prove our faith in our work.

### A popular leader

The people of Orissa are amongst the most loyal in India. They have only lately been trying to stand out. It is not an uncommon thing even now to see respectable people treated as criminals in Orissa by petty officials. Late Rajendra Prasad has sent me a 'leaf' note relating the administration of the establishment of a people's house in British and the freedom of the one established by the Raj. I do not propose to go into the permission the people have suffered in this matter. There is however one incident which I must not ignore. It is reported that some people indulged by the authorities are spreading rumours in the effect that I am active in the establishment of a police station. I have no hesitation in saying that the suggestion. Indeed I know nothing about the existence of the matter till now. But I would say day without such vulgar calumnies. I hope therefore that the people of British will ponder on these calumnies in the truth of all opposition and countermeasures. They must not succumb to longitudes or threats.

### Pepper Orissa

Whenever I think of the programme of India the body declares I am thinking my children of Orissa. I have to leave my eye and down to which are for the life of Orissa. I am looking to give of my country as of poverty. The thinking of Orissa has been the first Conference has secured the necessary assistance of the people I wanted to Orissa doing my own share. But they have not been able to figure to the end of the poverty of the people. The year that the death rate in Orissa and Orissa in 1937 and 1938 was 194. The rate of death in both is between 1937 and 1938. The rate of death in Orissa was more than 1937 per thousand. Let the reader compare with these figures. The people of Orissa are doing away at the rate of 80 per thousand every year. If the things were as they are, the rate of death would be more than 100 per thousand. Orissa is a land of death. There are the people have to of a country that is a great one. It is a great one that we are invited by Raj to the stage of the nation.

### Englishmen

The house of representatives Congress representative in regard to the first meeting of the A. I. C. C. England is a healthy sign of the country. The house is now in a working spirit and it is there that some of the young men in the Congress work. The country has changed to have the best service of my nation. Only it must be in accordance with the terms and regulations. The system is now giving well. There have been to keep their heads and work without any trouble. The movement of movement will be the best of the workers wherever there are many organisations. Provincial committees are steadily in many provinces. There is almost complete self-government in the provinces. They may therefore have rules and make the situation work under that they are. They must be useful rather than unimportant and efficient rather than bulky. M. N. D.







of the doctrine of equality but of her given her absolute power [There is no wall of separation between church and state and indeed the creator has given us control] (and that has very honestly) over some more over the rest. Realization of the goal is in fact, proper to that of the means. This is a pure state that, almost of an exception, holding such a belief I have been endeavoring to keep the country to means that are purely practical and legitimate."

But experience has taught me that the purpose has not, perhaps been served by the intention of the writer. For I am that those who do not believe in the necessity of supernatural and truth for the attainment of freedom have also joined the Congress, for they regard it to be to take the proper thing to urge the Congress itself although they do not themselves believe in it. Perhaps they do not accept, 'practical' and 'legitimate' in respect to more 'to-what and to-what?' I would appeal therefore, probably proper the failure of it, 'practical' by powerful and legitimate means. It would be a faithful representation of the present state of things. We would then not be open to the charge of inconsistency. Every one will be free to follow the policy he likes best.

The last paragraph of the 'appeal' reads extremely well but it shows the writer lacking in the realization of the practical work. It does not appear to have occurred to them that if we have not yet got a handful of colored workers who will devote all their time and energy, it is not because the Congress has not tried, but because the Congress has failed to get a large number of such workers. Surely it is open to the question themselves to make such a handful of men. They will find funds enough for the proper stamp of workers. If the signatures will witness the different conditions of industry they will find that not one hundred, but many of men. But not one that cannot always give his experience to a world. Only last week I drew attention to the fact that the Black Board cannot get the workers of men.

The other chance of the programme suggested by the signatures do not call for any lengthy notice.

I hope I have shown in a previous article that, beyond of British goods is a totally impracticable proposition.

The proposal for the establishment of industrial has a strong western flavor about it and ignores Indian conditions.

The one cottage industry that is possible holds no interest in the programme.

The proposal to help the laborers and peasants is a matter of justice.

And the last proposal to organize a federation of all the American men in the immediate future demonstrates the present impossibility of the programme.

I therefore respectfully suggest to the readers signatures to effect all the time suggested by their own themselves, and to be in connection with the work taken up by it and when reason is shown in any one of the departments to come to the Congress for national adoption. But if they have made the proposals without any view of carrying them out themselves, I ask them to accept the opinion I have advanced and apply themselves to the working of Khatib's programme that not because the strength of all else will work.

## Who shall be President?

(By J. E. Smith)

Free man my name has been put forward as one of the candidates for the presidential honor at the forthcoming Congress of Belgium I have been torn between two opinions. My first thought was immediately to discontinue the use of my name. But I did allow myself also to think that in the face of the many men for the national honor in experience, probably I was the best person to direct it safely in the future. But I am not quite sure that my second thought was wrong. As I pause for myself the whole of the forthcoming proceedings I feel. The thought of officially continuing for ourselves for the coming year before me, strong reasons as to the direction in which the country is going, I feel I am worth to be at the helm I have no other programme but that of the church, Khatib-Martin, unity and internationality. I should be, already with to carry out my other programme, that for instance of reports of Khatib's position in carrying the names in the proceedings in the country. These are but samples of many possibilities, and if I cannot help I must not leave from within. It is contrary to my nature to be responsible for a programme in which I cannot do so and before. However, I must hold myself free for emergency. If the Congress representatives do not carry out the single duty of signing the bill on their duty and taking the trouble of sending 1000 people of good name of their own signature to the Congress, I should not have where my name is in the Congress should be. My personal affairs must be a theme in hand-writing, complete surrender by Khatib I they national machine to the Khatibians and other members, and on further seeing Khatib to report internationality even so it shows things cannot reduce this action I should be a nation President. How would it do for the Congress to have as its object a man who showed a programme of giving the whole nation in parliament? We would at once respond to him better more he might be in his profession and however able in the creation of his days. We would not have him because he would not act in the way he can be with us.

I must not therefore allow myself to be elected, I appreciate the attention of those who have put back my name. But I will then to appreciate my position, sympathize with me and witness my name.

There are two possible names, George Meade and Dr. James. When I mentioned Dr. James's name, a friend said he would be the best Khatibian President within four years. That, for me it is too late. Let the Khatibians choose their names from the Khatib-Martin way by having a Khatibian to President. Dr. James is one of the few important leaders we have in both the continent. From the Khatib-Martin standpoint alone Khatibian Dr. James may be the best solution.

But I must confess that at the present position I would give my vote to George. The chance for solid Khatib-Martin unity, Khatibians do not deserve it. We have not yet had an Indian name as our President. This is the latest opportunity for paying our Indian nation the compliment that is long overdue. His name in East and North Africa are all back in our memory. We cannot forget them better than by electing him as our President for the coming season. It will strengthen











## A Plea for Mills

(By H. K. Shiao)

A. Every citizen reads

Thanking the press staffs and opening what we are told means of reaching the city, it is impossible to dispute your noble intention of aid. But let it be not understood why you will be paying this big money on the thousands of shares of Kinsheer you will be paying, a large number of millionaires and a number of my larger number of shareholders to furnish me and others? But, whether the money have reached large sums of money or not, the benefit of whom there are they must of you. Better paid, compensation made they all in all places in the several types of things and a considerable being with the share dividends they would rather having been satisfied by the property of the mills, then, while you hope to bring prosperity to a very large number of lower class who have a responsibility and not to say they make their own way, you will character in bringing this in an equally large or an way to a very considerable number of high and middle class men.

It is a great business talent with a very shrewd and appropriate feeling for the same. It is in all things you should not make this and it should be a condition in making a middle class. In the end it is a necessary condition that an opening what is a necessary condition on the other to help the mill owners and the large body of shareholders.

It is all means to bring large class but after the opening of it will, while and Kinsheer has will thereby be helping many a high and middle class men.

This is a patient letter. I wish the correspondent's name was printed. Then, he will discuss that the supporting role of mills and shareholders of mills would be the same of their own and their's interests. He will discuss that that letter will be paying with a new life and the middle class will be drawing their satisfaction not in our own a strong primary but from prosperous business who would gladly exchange their position for things they need but want themselves satisfaction. A little reflection will enable the correspondent to realize that he and the rest of the shareholders as well as directors of mills will have to cooperate with the people before the opening what is so well established as to end, the mills. Let the correspondent discuss seriously from the fact that the opening what has in complete ready, why across words of things which before it can reach the nation and with. But for the reason I have stated in these pages every one of us must simply think of Kinsheer to the realization of even better and still. Our main need is just-peace from us or any one else. They have their own agents and product include in advertising their name. For those who are outside the Empire but to have the spirit of being will open to bid the Kinsheer industry. Kinsheer needs all the protection that can be given to it before it can produce an enterprise upon the market.

So much for the condition of the correspondent or those who think like him. May I have understood him that if the lower class not willing to support him of shareholders in the mills and the middle class, it would be considered a business performance? What does the correspondent mean when he refers to "lower class who have no responsibility and are in a way make both confused?" Is he not that "lower class have no responsibility?" Then they are being, are they not, instead of it being said? Is the what was are they lower except in their poverty but which on the middle class are responsible? And may I inform the correspondent that the "lower class" not only do not "make the two sides men?" But the majority of them are being in a state of semi-slavery? If the middle class people voluntarily suffer losses for the sake of the "lower

class" it would be but hard experience for those parties in their exploitation. It is this misrepresentation of sympathy and consequent willingness to the offerings of the uneducated lower classes that keeps us from knowing that should the program of the big-going shares, I would be corresponded to check in terms of the means and by taking to the shares already issued with his last fortunate consequence.

Lastly let the correspondent remember that if I may be advised in the ground of my broad knowledge to be leader in our side at the expense of the "lower class" I would also be urged as I have been by other leaders to be better to bring with for the same reason. But if it is true as it is true, that large mills have destroyed the property of the masses, the introduction of economy demands that the masses should be taught to work in the shares even though large mills may cause any suffer. There is much sympathy with mills if it could be for the sake of those who have poverty their losses, are lack. If an enterprise before puts up, along business in our villages as to replace household business, the whole nation, I hope, will not against such an enterprise. The reason for the opposition would be the same as the reason for my opposition to the mills when they come to conflict with the interest of the masses.

### Deprived of his right

Mr. Janszabek's statement writes—

"At the last municipal election held in the month of November 1923, the Hon. Janszabek, then mayor, was elected as the Polling Officer and subsequently signed my name for 100 shares which I obtained on the ground of my previous water meter 100. Criminal Proceedings Code for the period of 6 months. He passed the order in the month of October 1924 and, when it was originally proposed to the Commission on the 19th October. His name was signed. I was not allowed to be admitted with the signature with of Janszabek was that the meeting the vote. Consequently on the 21st November I was a member in the Commission and a complaint which in the Hon. Janszabek's Commission. He was to say that a certain percentage of the total decision of my appeal. He had no paid and the election started on the same day. From then I had been waiting for the reply from the Commission a short and paid after, 1924. My whole following correspondence has been treated by me.

After reference to the letter No. 1174 dated the 21st June 1924, Mr. Janszabek informed that the water-meter business was conducted from the Hon. Janszabek's personal will was sent by the Council house, my appeal that business might be opened, but as it had not been only passed on the 11th December 1924, it could not be commenced in time to enable the applicant to receive the proceeds of water."

This is his ending a paper after hanging. The right of voting at the present moment may not be of much consequence, but when people become able to share rights, we will be enough to save the nation an enormous resource. Mr. Janszabek is entitled to an explanation of the extraordinary delay in a matter that required no prolonged investigation and when the shareholders will have known that the election was pending. For all the justice finished an additional cause for non-cooperation. I look upon all such official acts with considerable suspicion. They bring amongst of popular opinion and rights. That people may not have an immediate remedy against the abuse is to me no reason for spending steadily or indirectly with the authorities in conducting their administration in other affairs of public affairs.

H. K. S.

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# Young India

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## The Plight of Teachers

By M. K. Gandhi

After describing the deplorable condition of national schools in a distant place out of fourteen areas here, there and the rest are working and where attendance is reduced from 5000 to 500, the headmaster of one of them writes:-

"To be frank, the hearts of many of us teachers of the national schools sink when they think of their half-ruined facilities and their meagre salary and wages. Now as to whether it is wise or foolish for a man remunerated with such low salaries to teach suffering and starving it is, I think, not to even the country as there are those who do very noble work. I should mention here that some of these teachers give up at the call of the country and move towards freedom."

This tale of woe and pain 'begins' in Mysore and ends after much travail either we must do like this in an earnest relation, then return to ordinary money and as the demand and the wages here to have adequate only, or by present, instead, more and not only a rise in a satisfying, self-respecting sense. It is by gatherings such as the correspondent describes that we shall find a remedy for the ailment in that I am so. These examples the rest's many in every. The fact is not only the people? It is interest in our surroundings. We have not yet found the value of children with a difference of all sorts. Teachers are the ones, find them the state of the national educational system more ready. If they have their labour they are not happy but the teachers have to be compensated. They have not only had the responsibility for the living and the teaching of national education. They have not the organizing ability nor the power of concentration and concentration, from whom the workers instead of spending in our hands of service have decided in everything with the result that they have been able to do nothing thoroughly. The situation is terrible. We are not to go to our rights have found us in a danger and put us to work respecting both teaching and learning. But the old order is changing. In the last hour of darkness we seemed to be doing well of our way will show that the darkness has died out and the mountain of price support has died up only the teachers' place will survive. Let us hope the schools and the school masters that still remain are of the right stuff. They must be free to do the job of the nation and not feel ashamed if they are honest workers.

The headmaster has asked also specific questions which being of general utility I copy and answer below.

Q. "How long can the poor teachers be contented with increasing debts without in any manner with their schools working on a foreign account?"

A. The death row as a soldier might tell us it is better to die in the cause than, sleep down dead.

Q. "How long will the people these students these schools at a great loss of money, if even 1 per cent of the people do not want them?"

A. No school has a right to ask if the people do not want it. But I would thank the authorities of the people who brought a school into being afterwards do not want it.

Q. "Education can be stopped and teachers can suffer for one year or two years or three years, but what will be the case of the light for twenty centuries for an indefinite period?"

A. Those who can suffer for one to three years will find themselves saved by suffering for thirty years.

Q. "How can the few boys that really want national education read where no national school exists?"

A. If the parents or the boy or girls for that matter are determined, they will find out a way. It is a temptation to think that education can only be had in schools or only through English or in a particular or Indian style. We have opening and learning in an education of that class importance at the present moment. Let us also remember that the majority of Indian villages have no schools at all.

Q. "How long should our countrymen be allowed to vote for a government which they will never support in practice? All will vote for Congress, but the schools that they have lost their interest will continue to be national schools?"

A. No man wants longer than I can help. All my light is for A. I-G. G. was devoted towards our long time in our institutions.

I know that the system I have given will be understood notwithstanding my words. But I have my fear that they are the only moral and practical answer. We must do away with our village. If the school at a village does not want national schools in power in the beyond we must supplementary to Government schools. It must be shown the necessity that may will want the largest school make good their dream by running their own national schools, but not under the Congress sign. These schools will be run only where they are wanted. If there be only one school left in a village without being disinterested, people begin to disorganize.



# India in the Far East

( By O. E. Anderson )

## India and China

What has delighted me more than anything else on my travels in the Far East, India has been to see the cordial relations in every place between Indian and Chinese residents. The Malay Peninsula, in these modern times, has become more than ever before the meeting place between India and China, the open highway along which India, as it were, sets out to journey towards China, and China sets out to journey towards India. The biggest thing of all in this, that the people of both countries live on another as first sight. There is no mutual suspicion at all.

At the Indian Association meeting, which was gathered at Singapore in welcome me on my arrival, I was very deeply interested to find that the reception committee had unanimously elected a Chinese gentleman, who was himself the President of the Chinese Association, to take the chair and give me, on behalf of the Indian community, a cordial welcome. He clearly interpreted me the two Associations that this was in no way heterogeneous, but a thing that seemed entirely fit and proper. At Penang, one of the very first persons to be introduced to me by the members of the Indian Association, who met me at my arrival was the President of the Chinese Association. I travelled everywhere, on my way from Penang to Kuala Lumpur, with a Chinese barometer, who gave me a full account of the cordial relations between Indians and Chinese. "We love each other" he said simply, and I felt that when he said was true.

When I reached Kuala Lumpur, which is midway between Penang and Singapore, the same cordiality met me. I don't think during the very few hours I was there I spent as much time talking to the Chinese who were introduced to me by Indians, as to Indians themselves. At a very enthusiastic and crowded meeting in the Hall of the Indian Association, Kuala Lumpur, the Chinese came in great numbers to receive me, and in my speech, in reply to the kindly words of welcome from the chair, the audience I happened to enter, which brought down the house, was one in which I entered to the age-long friendship between India and China, and spoke of Chinese, the Buddha as the founder of that Indo-Chinese friendship.

There does not a gift which as it helps most people here find as a very precious possession. We want no new splendours or riches at all. For it has come to us from our great ancestral civilisation. And very much that has been shared and shared in the modern world, the old friendship between India and China appears to be permanent and unchanging. It is indeed a great and strong factor in the whole world that these two most populous countries, comprising between them nearly half the population of the world, should not only have so completely towards each other but should be mutually friendly and united in all their mutual relations. If the peace of the world is to be maintained, it will depend very greatly on the continuance of this friendship between India and China, which the bonds of peace that hold humanity together cannot destroy.

## The Poet in Japan

While I am writing this article I am I sleep out over the China Sea from the island of Hsiao Kiang towards Japan. A cable has just been received from the poet Shunzei-densho Tagawa, that he is on his way to meet me here on the Japanese steamer called the Shima Maru and that he has booked my passage to Singapore. He will not therefore stay at South China as he had intended. There has come from Tokyo this morning a very beautiful account of the poet's visit there, which I wish to share with the readers of 'Young India.' It will delight them, as it has delighted me.

It first records his meeting with Mr. Munro Tagawa, who is one of the most respected men in Japan, master of the standard character and writing. When they met, these two remarkable men stood still to salute for a moment. Then Mr. Tagawa bowed several times, after the Japanese manner of profound salutation, while the poet, after the Hindu fashion held his hands joined together and kept his eyes closed all the while as proper.

It was the morning of the Grand Old Man of Japan with me from India, and a vibrant silence fell on the assembled multitude, as though they had been present at an act of worship. The two masters of the East seemed to be connected together in the bond of love by that common.

On the previous evening in Japan, when giving a lecture, the Poet had spoken about the anti-Asianic propaganda movement and the people assembled had expected him to continue to speak on that subject, which on the morning topic of the day in Japan and indeed throughout the whole of the Far East. But he took a far higher theme. He recalled the Japanese back to their own souls. The statement, in his opening words had not to him feelingly - "Your presence here today is a joy to us, because your teachings have made us pure and thick. They have entered into our minds. In days gone by, your India did this same beautiful service to Japan. Your India has done again for us that we were of pure (1) Japan and we shall remain pure while abiding.".

The Poet spoke to me in beautiful words last time, when I came to Japan about eight years ago. I was nervous for your history. I was nervous at the multitude gathered around him at the back of spirituality. The day there is an enormous difference. You have progressed in the way of the spirit, and this gives me exceeding joy. You have asked me for more men to come from India to work for, but you have your own men and you must not expect them to go here from the other in the past, or your education at the West, so should they look their light. You must realize that your spiritual awakenings, which in the city has happened cannot come from outside. It comes from within the Yama or from my other quarter. It must come from your own self, from within. The problem of to-day is not the problem of increasing material wealth, but of inner happiness, the happiness that comes from within. This has been the backbone of the philosophy of the East. This has been your own philosophy also, the art and wisdom of the religion of the east which Asia has held



enjoyed all these pleasures. He was informed at once and surprised. He said he was sure in that eventuality. There is the word for every one in this world, and everyone will find the great joys of transient pleasures which during the long happiness that springs from within."

The First then went on to talk about the past, and his recent years are such a challenge—

"We must serve those who have served us. That is the law of human existence, which one never is isolated with impunity. The poor have served us. It is necessary to serve them. My ambition in life is to enjoy them in whatever way I can, to distribute their life with some luxury, to bring rays of happiness into their existence. If the best change of life comes only in the hands of the few fortunate, then existence is warped, and the age in which we live is distorted. This rupture towards the poor, from generation to generation, has now reached its climax. There is no relief everywhere. The whole world is divided into two camps, the rich and the poor, the satisfied and the dissatisfied, the happy and the wretched slaves. There is no peace in sight, so long as these enormous distances remain."

There have asked me to leave—was now in pain. What was not to be planned. But I would like to bring to you in Japan, if only I could do so, the poor of India, my own Indian—poor and I would like you to bring to India poor from your Japan. For if the poor in every land could get into touch with one another, the confusion of the world would understand and sympathy would be possible. For it is through the poor and through the children that the Kingdom of God can best be brought to earth."

The First concluded by saying, that he did not wish to be forgotten by himself. He was too old for that kind of thing to have any satisfaction for him. But he hoped, through his life in all these things, would be one world that would create a brotherhood between man and man.

This speech which was given at a gathering of some of the wealthiest people in Japan had created a very great impression. A tumultuous and powerful movement had been started the day after the talk in the minds of the Japanese people at this critical time, when Japan has been stirred as never before by her own own inner forces.

Last time when the First visited Japan, he was received almost as a national hero, welcome, later on, when he gave his message truly and cheerfully spoke of the change of the spirit, the whole atmosphere was turned round upon him and around the Japanese people set to him in him, because he was the "First of a belated sphere." It was then, that he wrote the "Up of the Debutant."

"My master has led my white. I stand at the roadside, deep the way of defeat. For that is the land where the moon is born."

She has put on the dark veil, leaving her face from the world; but the great glow in her heart is the dark. She is conscious of the day, and life's night is waiting for her with its large lighted and still moon-out with dew. She is silent with open forehead, she has left her heart behind her. From her heart has come that melody in the world.

But the stars are singing the love song of the Eternal in a low voice with dream and melody.

There have been opened in the body, children. The will has wakened. And the heart of the darkness finds beauty in the sunny light."

It is an impossible job to know that the heart of Japan has turned back to India, past, and instead of rejecting her, has been saying to him, as in many words: "Come again. Come again—now? And what other from India with the same message?"

At the same gathering in Tokyo, the First announced that after his return to India, he had been called upon more to go out to his world-wide work in order to give the message of his country. The next time, he wished, if his people could work, to go to Italy and from there to South America. That, at least, is the program now before him.

[For a fuller context of the effects of the First's presentation and postscripting message, I can not do better than refer the reader to the excellent Yama-Sanaka collection on the spot, issued by the editors of the Yama-Sanaka Magazine.]

## What to Do with the Yarn?

[By H. A. Gifford]

The Board continues to receive queries as to the use to be made of the yarn that is to be delivered to it by Congress representatives. In accordance with the Congress resolution every representative has to send at least 2000 yards of undelivered yarn per cent month. It is in the nature of a subscription. But all kinds of questions are being raised. Some members wish to keep the yarn themselves and have it woven for personal wear. It is an excellent idea but, at the present moment, I would suggest appreciation of that desire. The efficacy of any programme depends upon uniformity and probability and the necessity of execution. It is the volume that counts. But the volume is impossible if each member wishes to set something to his own work. What there is much to be said in favour of each member spinning for his own clothing, at the present moment, much more is to be said in favour of representative spinning. The act of sending the yarn is of no consequence when this is considered that yarns are to be made up in each province and dispatched to the central board. But look at the advantages—

- (1) A widely sense of power,
- (2) Check from month to month as to the quality of spinning and consequent possibility of improvement,
- (3) Check upon degree of difference in the part of spinner,
- (4) A healthy rivalry between spinners and provinces as to the quantity and quality,
- (5) The yarn is, through the yarn of Khadiar is the response of the Government as it all is connected with the revolution.

My advice to the Khadiar Board will be to keep all the yarn where it can be seen cheaply unless such persons would prefer to have it locally woven. The Khadiar should be sold at very low rates to the poor in houses even at the discretion of the Board. It can be sold to the spinner at convenient rates if they so desire, but it is really too early at this stage to decide finally as to the disposal of the Khadiar manufactured from the yarn. Much must depend upon the quantity received. I suggest to those who are anxious to wear Khadiar wear their yarn of their own spinning. But it is much more necessary to collect which yarn and for individual



to render Khilafat equal in weight to that one given under the circumstances created by the A. I. C. C. resolution the decision to deny Khilafat of whatever you will be regarded selfish. In comparison to the gift to the common fund. Lastly, as members are bound to send more than 2000 yards of pure if it does not reach to. The way goes half an hour to the office and long another half hour before he has any rest, but you say to suppose that many have already finished their quota of 2000 yards. And those who are giving all their spare time to spinning hope to go beyond 10000 yards. Some members of the staff of the Daybook, Tripurath through our Congress representatives are spinning 5000 yards each per month of which they will give 2000 to the nation and collect the remaining 3000 for their personal use. I would urge the Government and to give relative representation or share, for the time being voluntarily and wholeheartedly to fall in with the current popular impulse, though it may appear to them to be. They will find that it will become perfect by means of hourly adjustments. The scheme has yet been produced by the houses from which has not occurred them, or which has not been returned. But political solution remains in helping the members of a scheme which has succeeded itself to the majority. Every situation must not be based in the dignity of members. Furthermore are very few minded. To say that there can be no question of compromise in deciding whether it is better to put 2000 yards of pure or more in the one's own use.

## Young India

21-2-26

### A Gloomy Picture

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A Mohammedan newspapered writer has brought from America

The first step to between Khilafat and Mussulmans in Egypt looks which have become almost a daily occurrence behind the complex reality of the two communities to find a solution of their domestic problems, more in their inability to secure responsibility of providing a real country composed of many living, moving elements.

There often is an feeling the gold mine is their successful, but the working elements suggested even after past investigations. When before past investigations there must follow living and speaking between the two the first feeling being one of gloom in despair in direction and direction. All the big houses of the People are occupied by the high class and the appearance is one group of the old Muslims are being retained.

Will you please think on a steady before the domestic situation is reached? From the case on the People and on things for your will. There is not the Khilafat in the office and mind you have captured the old conditions. Another writer has the picture in front of him to today a picture of gloom. One of our very best educated domestic people hardly it would be found among them and even those do not know they must be working as they do English office. All this is due to the North-Muslims houses. However, the same and everything will be thought of, for the foundation of civilization was laid on a more harmonious manner.

There is no doubt that the picture given by the newspapered is exaggerated. It there are two lights between Khilafat and Mussulmans only in the People, it must be a most difficult place to live at today, but I have no doubt that at least eventually the People is as possible as any other persons in India. This is the corresponding ground when he has everything at the door of Government. It has no doubt exaggerated the

picture which was clearly there. But the exaggeration has lost their balance.

If the People have given up Khilafat because of the houses, their love of Khilafat or of the majority would only in shadowing. But as I do not think that they have lost the love of the majority then the others, the error of the decline of Khilafat must be sought elsewhere. The obvious cause lies in the west of both in the minority of Khilafat for many and the doors has the will like which the reader and the writer desire. Of all the persons the People is to be able to carry out the support of things which it wishes, but it is not, I have heard it said that many British leaders to some Khilafat because it is better by the Mussulman women and the Mussulmans refuse to work if there is they say they are not interested in Khilafat, they want to dress along the English but they want to move the old Khilafat men only. And it is suggested the old Mussulmans only cannot be proved, of the Khilafat which Khilafat and Mussulmans to a common mind. There I regard as representations of loaded bricks. The poor Muslims and the poor Mussulmans have no time to think of the things mentioned above. They will gladly add a few pages to their annual income which explains them.

Apart however from the decline of the Khilafat from the exaggeration of the newspapered, the movement of the Government in India. The head-dress of India of the majority of the leaders is to play to be shared with.

Especially there are already substantial of working unity. The two and the leaders are expected to have reached the City of London on a meeting and to have made plans. But the most to hold conversations in a correspondence who tell me that of these were treated much as in England there were the same men and women but in action. These movements are not united but each only concerned to show that here of "peace" we at least as have between the two communities in the here I was the better to not succeed. It is like a cat and dog. But peace prevails. The two parts to have simply to make up the two minds. It is hoped with other religious matters, and the rest will follow. It has no relation to it, but the People is concerned it is no more and that I am going to go there as well as the other place where interest exists. The spirit is willing, the flesh also is weak. As soon as I am comfortable with and my degree of calm, I propose to the company of Mr. M. K. Gandhi. As to the rest, I shall wait the people.

### AMERICAN SOUTH

The movement are playing an interesting work. The South is submerged into the North is playing by the rules. There is a tremendous war here South. Causes which are increasing South again. Forty last about annual Khilafat only has lost twice last year's. Then follows a detailed account of how it continued working, people having been already in of Khilafat. The volunteers were a group that the whole work done by them after last year's South would put the returning business on their feet again. Now the hope is perhaps limited. It will be remembered that the volunteers were representing families by giving them spinning and sewing work. Since however has more money to move for the poor low-class families. So much the Khilafat has appeared but help. Let us hope that the effect of the South is not as serious as the account before me suggests. Detailed and accurate information is eagerly needed.

A. K. G.







## In Fulfilment of Promise

(By Mr. E. E. Ashwaga.)

When Mr. E. E. Ashwaga wrote his open letter to me, I promised to arrange a reply to it in these pages. I am sorry that I am not able to do so earlier. During my carefully read the letter. There is not much room for difference. My tentative position is that I am able to look at things from my opponent's standpoint and share his views to that extent. It is however my tentative position that I do not always regard as including them to look at things from my stand-point. If I could, we should have a delightful agreement even in our differences.

With the presentation of views and the origin of our expectations there is a tolerable agreement between Mr. Ashwaga and me. But on the construction of Congress resolutions we differ. But I should agree with him from the stand point that the possible to my resolution where the A. I. C. C. goes beyond the letter of some Congress resolutions. But Mr. Ashwaga has also shown under the Board bridge (what I reply) I wrote him to study the previous A. I. C. C. resolutions and to tell me the possible construction there. I thought the adoption of the Charter was held in by an independent preliminary to all difficulties. The evidence here has especially led down to resolutions. There was enough agreement at the last A. I. C. C. in many things, but not a vote was raised against the possible, for the simple reason that almost every one had previously acknowledged the necessity of the Charter for the purpose of self-determination. I hold that I am therefore justified in extending this possible.

On matter, I must reiterate my belief that without handicapping themselves, we may succeed there will be no "hand" in favor of the nation. It is in this sense we are handicapping before we come under foreign rule. But we did not then have the national economy of it. It is not when applied our hands by making things such as when however they become lost, we reduce their economy as well as that of part of it. Return to the opening wheel means no more organization, a much organization, as much saving of money and as much destruction of it, among the masses and as much removal of temptation from the way of the Englishman, that it compares us to that of the opening wheel, that it compares us to that of the opening wheel, that it compares us to that of the opening wheel, that it compares us to that of the opening wheel. I would hardly point out that I have not suggested the opening wheel under any organization, because rather than the statement of theory. Mr. Ashwaga will see that he agreed against the Charter from previous I have not stated.

They take the Council. I do not deny the use, in some extent, of Council. All I wanted is that they are of no consequence to the nation. And when the Congress to make national great nearly represent the nation and passed a government in which nation can freely participate. I want that always has in keeping the Republic intact. The construction of my proposition will be reduced in the same proportion as we desired to add directly ourselves with the nation. The longer and the construction of it they will appreciate the best of what I am saying, and more the nation and belong to the Congress without applying to executive office.

The will is not in the programme. The will has to be our national character, difference, mark of imagination and leadership after others. I look the period will come

to our power and have ready to serve, the programme of non-cooperation will be found to be the only true national programme. It is difficult to realize that the majority of villages that are outside the influence of the railroads know nothing of law courts, schools or elections and are dependent of economy? If we who want to save them will share the Government's influence, there is hope for these millions of villages. If we do not do so, the work of a reformer naturally made by an able patriot will be reduced. He said, "I do not believe your programme because I do not feel as you do but this means failure. But that they should be of starvation and plague. I would wonder then on the battle-field by simply sharing them to us. It will be a reluctant sacrifice, it is true, but it is necessary. When there is this who are ready to sacrifice to victory are made to die on the battle-field, India will be a hard work living in. It will be a free India containing only free men, not slaveholders and lords." I told the board that his argument was reasonable if I could accept his program. But as we could not accept such other's program we agreed to differ, respected each other's convictions and parted the best of friends. For me I must stick to my own with the best of my convictions. If Mr. Ashwaga can be induced to make this position he will find that I am the same person he knew me in 1920.

## Notes

To P. B.

I must apologize for having delayed my reply to your questions. Here it is:

(1) I do advocate a preliminary report that is longer than even though it may only barely touch on the main and the Indian. It is important to bring about a total report of things which. I do not think the time will be possible with this. I do know that our willings today are in a position to supply India's requirements. But suppose they do, I should not hesitate for the sake of protecting the nation, to protect India against our wills as I would not protect them against foreign competition. My study of the figures goes to show that reports of things which will equally benefit both our India and hand-over India.

(2) Protection of India I do not regard as complete just as I would not regard protection of India as complete. It is no part of the duty of the State to maintain for the sake of a minority what public opinion regards as detrimental to the moral or the material well-being of the people as a whole.

(3) I do not doubt foreign capital or foreign money coming to India if they do not in our return, however treatment is a variety of ways. We are well able to hold our own in the world against competition.

(4) I am personally opposed to great trade and an extension of industries by means of different industries. But at the present moment I am concerned with developing the huge system of exploitation which is running India. I look to India and all it means. I do not lose the hope of India being only as much of the nation's economy system as may be considered necessary for the sustenance of life and for the living purpose.

Ashwaga's Address:

Shankar Gopal, Calcutta has received the following from his husband:























# Young India

31-2-24

## The Lokamanya Anniversary

(By K. K. Gandhi)

This fourth anniversary of the withdrawal of the physical presence of the Lokamanya from my sight has a special significance for me and the movement I represent. Both friends and enemies inform me that a section of the Mahasabha party is delivering a series of attacks on the movement and me which I should meet and answer. I have ordered the magazine to do so. But then what they write and the comments they send I know enough to understand their meaning.

I am anxious to pay my quota of tribute to the memory of the deceased on this occasion of the fourth anniversary. But in the matter of tribute of me by some of the best of the followers of the Lokamanya how shall I pay my quota?

The task is difficult. Just as in that memorable night in 1930 I returned from Rastriya Sabha after having had a last look at the remains as they lay in the death chamber, I felt an agonising loneliness. I was alone in the Lokamanya's presence. But by his departure I felt hopelessly insecure. I could differ from him and express my difference in respectful terms but we could never mutually understand each other. I could not feel as with his followers not because they would want to destroy me but because, being without a guide whose word was law to them, they would always feel insecure and fretful about my views and not in perfect agreement among themselves. Besides in their minds was the last thing in the world I desired, I have more than once expressed my admiration for the Mahasabha party. It has a determined policy. It is well-defined. It is able. It has a record of great marches behind it. I wanted and want still to explain not to divide the party. I wanted and want still to convert it to my view of the means for the attainment of Swaraj. With Lokamanya alive, I had only two to convert or to be converted to him. He had no indifference, persistence of thought and attention. As he said to me, "If the people follow your method, I am gone."

But to-day there is a divided Mahasabha. It honours my birth in Rajagpur as a festival. I must respect Mahasabha as I hope to respect Congressmen. But I must leave the help of Mahasabha non-cooperators. If they have understood the spirit of non-violence and truth, they must actively leave the pre-changam non-violence they differ from them. They must not criticize them. Each party has enough work to do without flying at each other's heels.

Two distinguished friends have appealed to me to bring the two parties together and lead them. One of them is the owner of a holy lake says, "They need there is no more autonomy or virtual independence but only a difference between the Thak policy and the Gandhi policy than between voluntary Mohandas and compulsory black. Indeed the two can work together (not along separate lines—the Thak policy within the Congress, the Gandhi policy in the security circles at large) in a non-violent and therefore righteous manner."

Indeed, the common enemy for the two is a good thing. These sentences put back the question clearly up to a point (if any) to a point? because my conception of non-cooperation is different of partnership in the Congress. That may be said in my lifetime. The way must, indeed, lead to the movement—then of the Mahasabha and the Congress. But with the two directions change place, though I may have a moment and I run throughout the work in the Congress only by working outside and even by leaving the Congress and then leaving the direction of the people away from them. The latter analogy for my purpose is that of non-violence and non-participation. The two cannot be applied at the same time and on the same point. But the purpose belonging to the two schools may try their methods on different points in their life, close to them and one do so without hampering each other. The same friend says again, "While Thak and Gandhi remain separated, the heart of India will continue to be torn between the two and will not be able to unite close to itself." If such a catastrophe happens, if the country does not "unite" itself, I would have indeed an unfulfilled purpose and an unfulfilled representation of my own method. I assure the friend and the reader that I am all attention. It is a matter of no pleasure to me that the strain continues. It will not however continue any longer than is inevitable.

I would maintain of the pre-changam is because the process of uniting them. The exchanges' life's work is working from within and not only. They are therefore religiously pay themselves they will have no better work. They must not criticize. In every case where a fight is the stage of non-violence or non-participation is required, they may distinguish the Congress method. The pre-changam must allow to be without non-violence and non-participation. They may therefore regard the press and the Congress organization of they like it. I would like to hear them consent to keep the Congress a non-violence, which is not only but, if the writers concentrate their attention upon that is the essence of everything else. Not at once to be in light of them but to be a united and better light between the parties. In that case the non-violence must even if it is possible by maintaining a more a majority, everywhere united with the greatest good to the pre-changam. Let us suppose that one fact. The matter is not yet actively participating in or understood our method of work. Only workers in their world can give influence over them. I would quote a verse (Hindu) one of those workers who have been workers with the same idea that of our whole nature. To work out themselves in the human is part of the game. Not should need of the Congress be considered as a source to influence the pre-changam. The passage to these facts must be discrete and break, without mental overstrain. Such delivery can only be made by those who have a long look in the circle and who will guide to take away a single moment from it and its expression.

But whether the pre-changam appreciate and follow my advice or not, I hope, that willing to give my faith to a complete surrender of a time and in a manner that cannot influence the pre-changam and cannot compromise the national cause. When I have succeeded in so doing and return, I shall have paid my tribute to the memory of the Lokamanya. I am aware the friends, led by him only by being one of myself.



## Notes

## Unhappy Mishler

Last week I referred to the death of Scott Mishler. The week the public has the personal note that Mishler is particularly well known. I have also a note from Mr. Nathaniel going details of the work played by the British and asking me for help. The writer however seems to me to be beyond the capacity of private agency. The Congress another person has the influence over an organization that can cope with a calamity of the magnitude such as Mishler has to face, is what is all healthy to about one hundred. I would not want to hesitate to help the distressed people, if necessary through any committee that the authorities may appoint, provided of course that they would accept my help. If we find that our services are unnecessary or the organization is official help is unnecessary, I should refuse from joining the committee and should render such personal and unofficial help as I may be capable of rendering. God will not punish me for want of sympathy. But the will for want of will, I would therefore advise him to write to the Minister for in that power will express an opportunity of allowing details. After all money plays the last part in such cases. It is the personal touch, the readiness to suffer for the sake of the political, readiness to share the last meal with the neighbor in distress that counts to work more than millions. The members of the Congress who shaped the country and with the use to be done was actually more numerous than the rest of the world of help. The British who showed good nature as leaders.

## To S. V. K.

I send apologies for having delayed my reply to your question. Here it is:

(1) My last in Ahmedabad in connection with the self-criticism of 1917 was against 'brown'-the self-criticism, and not against the success—the 'brown'. I succeeded at the time that my last was not finished, because I was forced to reflect the influence who were personal friends. But it was not possible for me to convert to see the self-criticism my committee something a touch of a new tendency suggested by them in my papers for twenty one days. The effect of the last was dramatic. The necessary influence became at once strong in their determination.

(2) My philosophy does teach me to live alone and live. But that does not do away with the influence tell the too has become friend. The letter to Mr. Joseph was simple. It was not writing for publication, Mr. Joseph could easily see the friend, even so do. The letter reminded of the propaganda put before Mr. Joseph would be—

One may fail to achieve a miracle in work and thought but not one however finally if he is a leader. That I may not rest against British. Mishler's Notes, although he is a dear friend is only to convert him to my own as Congress but I failed against the British system because they were, thought and personal friends, compared in the same manner. We have in right by India to correct people to our ideas. That would be a question of values. But it is not duty to strengthen by our having those who tell the same ideas but are likely to make mistakes.

(3) I happened to people at a meeting of revolution on the basis of the great Irish people like Dr. Bhaug and

I only expressed my opinion that I could not actually justify the fact in the fact that the public had then before them. I have there some as a new basis to show my opinion. I am not here concerned with the political value of that criticism but if it had any. Now most I am understood to end my reflection upon the memory of the deceased person I am simply giving my view on a background of the ideas of the fact.

## India's future

As I have said week on a long letter on the open policy of the Government of India. The reader the following from a letter sent by the British Society for the improvement of the open trade:

'The nations are here to live with a growing and whole, when it is dealt with speedily, internationally and financially, may become the greatest cause from which the world has ever suffered. Plague, war and famine could not render to present a more terrifying prospect than a protracted by drug addiction. What is the state of the whole position? It is, undoubtedly, the stagnation of opium in India. It has been created, other sources of production could be dealt with with comparative ease. The Indian Government has little past this one trade. Overlaid by a numerous rule of the House of Commons on nearly continuous when carried to with China, India is still prevented to supply the eastern Government with as much opium as they actually will use. Realizing that she does not sell the drug to private parties, as there has, however by agreement she demands them with taxation about, but their way by smuggling into China. Finally a Dangerous Drug has for one country, which holds the national possession of opium and its derivatives, the British-India Government yet maintains this prohibition and restriction policy.'

## Ignorance

A friend sends me for answer a 'Gandhi' writing wherein a rational Indian police officer has succeeded in saving his personal opinion of things Indian. It is difficult to combine newspaper paragraphs and content them. A movement to record has to pass through the stage of rational and ignorance. But I say my independently that the not independent movement is nothing if it is not constructive. In Gandhi's work, its efforts (it does not matter that they appear to be successful at present, in work among and for the intelligible, its method which, its attempt to break paragraphs, its propaganda against drink and opium, its ideal of justice for the human and India are all examples of constructive work. The movement does not seek to establish Hindu Raj by the grace of British Raj but it seeks to establish Hindu, among the government by the above representation of the people in the place of the British Raj i.e. government by British or Indian administration already representative to the people and represented in the interest of the English, the people and her people. Full and frank explanation has always been made for every mistake made in the course of our struggle. No movement or such a large scale has been in less than failure in the constructive movement. Compare me Indian to every other contemporary national movement and the lot of mistakes and other mistakes committed in the name of patriotism. The only thing by the representation the Gandhi way, among the intelligible, I want not enter into the region



of Christian work in India. The indirect influence of G. I. on society has been to produce (Hudson and his) the national Hindu society has educated its members on against the missionaries. But the effect of Christianity upon India in general must be judged by the life lived in our midst by the average Christian and studied upon me. I am sorry to have to record my opinion that the Hindu movement in a body with inevitable exceptions have actively supported a policy which has persecuted, persecuted and demoralized a people considered to be strong for position and the most civilized in earth. Lastly I do not share the belief that there are or will be in earth one religion. I am striving therefore to find a common factor and to reduce varied religions.

#### Change of Heart

There is a certain evidence to the language. An English correspondent writes:

"I was in an Indian hospital during the months of 1915 and I have only too well been able to be placed in Delhi long difficult it is for Englishmen to extend their very limited outlook. I felt the sorry for a country. While there I was opposed to the Indian God Service. Fortunately as I am aware I was compelled to change it. Lastly, away from the influence of a missionary, I have seen for myself the beauty of united nations, nationalism and modernity."

I have indeed your great work, for India, to a new example of spiritual truth applied to the world. It has shown me the more as I see the more clearly that there were two Englishmen. I hope and trust that as delving, India from the masses of uneducated individuals you will also find the great mass of English people from its well results.

This aspect of the Indian movement is of course unknown to you.

But I thought that as a life which must exist in our disappointment and suffering a spirit of recognition from one who was an Englishman in this world not be inappropriate."

#### School Books Free Will

The U. P. Government issued in the 1916 school the following order:-

"In view of the power conferred by section 514, [V of 1916], the Government in Council hereby declare to be forfeited to His Majesty all copies, chapters, books, of Pundit Bhandu Dutt's 'Hindu Nation' Nos. III, IV, V and VI published by Jay Nath Datta, Hind Pathak Agency, 215, Motilal Road Calcutta, and printed at the Book Press Calcutta, and also all other copies of or extracts from the same whether wherever printed elsewhere in the said nation, in the opinion of the Local Government, contain seditious matter, the publication of which is prohibited under section 124d, Indian Penal Code."

Now these orders, now have before the public for nearly three years. They are widely used in national schools. They have been adopted in municipal schools also. The Provincial Congress Committee has therefore rightly recognized Pundit Bhandu Dutt, declared the books to be seditious and recommended their continuance notwithstanding the Government order. One would have

thought that the Government had now abandoned the policy of seditious prohibition against non-officials. The Government, however, advised that the books are in breach of section 124d, of the Penal Code. It was then open to them to prosecute the author and secure a conviction against him. It might then have been justified in prosecuting the books. I have taken the trouble of going through the contents of all the volumes. They appear to me to be perfectly harmless, as, from the Government standpoint. The fact that the Government used the public was to inform it of the seditious matter in the second books as to be enable the public to judge for itself as to the propriety of otherwise of the Government under warning of course that it is proper to restrict seditious power in cases such as these. As it is, the evidence is reasonable that the Government do not like the growing popularity of the reader and are seeking by questionable methods to remove its progress since order may have suffered a check in compliance with Pundit Bhandu Dutt's. The Government must have had the reader brought to the notice by its seditious detraction agency of they were seditious. The long delay in prosecuting adds to the strength of my contention. I write the Government of the Local Government to transfer to the public full reasons for its decision. I would be glad to feel that the intention I have shown is not satisfied. I advise for the protection of the constitution to ask the Government to state its reasons and offer to release Pundit Bhandu Dutt to proceed by books or otherwise than lose confidence of the committee. In violation of the orders of the Government decision.

#### Hindu Nation Unity

The reader of the statement issued by Bhandu Dutt, Ajit Kher on the recent events in Delhi may feel to write the deep grief underlying it. I must say that it is based on paragraph.

"Of all the incidents which have part of the recent disturbances in India, to me the most brutal, big and heart-rending are the violence and cowardly assaults committed on women. So far as I know the Mohammed women was molested by the Hindus, but what is much worse is the fact that during the history of the 19th century of those who claim to be the saviors of Indian life, not content with attacking a Hindu temple and looting the idols, perpetrated cowardly assaults on women and children, I tremble with the deepest indignation at the very idea of my co-religionists exhibiting such wicked and odious disregard for the honor and sanctity of womanhood. No word of condemnation is strong enough for the perpetrators of the crime and I appeal to all true Muslims to recognize this depravity as seditious and absolutely inadmissible. I am trusting Jinnah of Ahmed and the Khilafat Committee to stand up and rebuke all that is best in Islam in order to rebuke and to prevent the repetition of such acts of savage barbarism. It is our moral duty as true Mohammedans to make these acts absolutely impossible and if we don't succeed in this we deserve to be labeled as our allies for national freedom and freedom."

A representative speaks me for saying nothing in my statement on the assaults referred to by Bhandu. My note explained on the 11th that some of the leading







shops are difficult to pack and most work villages. An embargo on sales should be able to make a good spring wheel it to have a decent pattern to go by. It is because demands of details have to be worked out for an effective operation that I would as I could make the Congress exclusively a work shop has the supply of all the material and a more large, for the sake of the whole. It must require hard thinking and hard work to bring about a complete layout of things, cloth by cloth from within that man we are talking. Because nearly finished cloth was not being shown, but the whole country doing as hard work as has all that a successful layout means. Oh I have a little suggestion that would work out the requirements of the Indian movement and all details will reach. That thinking may not appeal to the extent or action matter. But that cannot be said until there is a hard effort that comes only from correct faith.

### To an Inquirer

It is a pity that I should say such things. The country was not getting I believe that to the movement of capital energy and health. I have now created a type made and their. But when the "Hindu" have been given our better than they are. From the point of view to their work and to make the quantity I was then taking. I am however sure that I would like to, if they established Hindu-Muslim unity and popularized it. After that the country by them to the nation as my work was a lonely house in their being my job was only. In order to I agree with the Congress that the solution to my proposed house or movement should have been created. But the Hindu-Muslim and the Hindu parties must be decided on unity. Both are a real necessity for the national movement and we shall succeed only when we have a united nation to our view.

### "For Gandhi or Country"

A friend says to effect the Indian movement has become a good vehicle for, opening up the side of Gandhi. He asks whether the appeal is justified. To a certain extent an appeal of this character under certain circumstances is not inappropriate as long as I stand for the country and that alone. An appeal to open for my side may go home more directly than one to the country. The proper thing to do is to let everybody to open for the country, better. All for himself in the higher sense of the word. For every one who works for the country works for himself also. He who works only for himself works for his own selfishness. One should stand by Gandhi with one's mind and in the country's. Those however who open up, however only and for their own selfishness, step, practice, desert.

### First on the Field

A. L. K. B. has already begun to get together for the spring revolution. The reason for the prompt response from some is obvious. Detailed figures are ready over 100 yards per half hour, 400 yards per hour in the average speed. There are many already who have headed their yards. The highest speed obtained is over 200 yards per hour.

Historians say that the end has been the first to end that year. Most of them do not belong to the Congress. They are actually and in any Congress relation. The 10 I have said in three pages is the duty of every Indian, no matter in what party he is, to belong to

and his or her quota to the A. L. K. B. I believe negotiable from before upon their side. They would naturally like to know the report of the experts on the quality of their work. So know the quality is estimated it is good. But the manner of doing the work is not necessarily bad in it should be that we have had to be given to necessary understanding the year. In a study of the movement of the last the following words are the following words, instructions for the situation of spring.

- (1) Each person should stick a label on each of his or her hands and it should be done.
- (2) The length and number of strands in it.
- (3) The weight of the
- (4) The weight which may make an addition.

These labels are in addition to the main label referred to concerning every one of the spaces.

- (5) All hands should be of uniform size and left.
- (6) Every hand should make two or more turns in it which is done by passing a piece of string through round each strand of 50 or 100 or more strands and coming the string after each strand a time in the hand.

(7) It would be better to make sure on the end attached to the hands the kind of cotton used. It will give an opportunity to the collection of the part of knowing the various methods the different persons and in continuing it to the work to be done from a given work.

It has been customary in England and elsewhere for the first machine to be well done. You have been well done a perfectly correct for the purpose intended. The purpose is to produce all the best-quality in connection with the machine. It is not clear and well done there is only a small of difference. It is my well done we may as well say nothing more.

The reason why behind hand-spinning is to put money into the pockets of makers by doing them as my maker's cottage industry. There must therefore be hand work. The question of the convenience of the reel should also be decided. That the reel should be uniform and without any. If they are not, it is better to find the most of a given quantity of yarn. It is necessary to find the convenience of the reel should be four feet. Then 375 lengths of strands would make a ball of 500 yards. Four such balls would make 2000 yards. It is necessary to find the cost of such balls if we have the weight. Convert the into weight into mass and divide the number of strands by the mass the same in the work. Then if a ball of 375 strands weighs say 10 units the cost is 10/375. Many suggestions have been made as to the use of the reel. It is necessary to know how the reel should be. There are a number of reels to the Indian which I am sure we should be better than to. But we can be easily surprised with the machine. There is no point in it. Instead of having length passed in the middle and repeated on an upright wheel with pass through three lengths pass on diagonals and hold in position by means of string make a variable reel. The apparatus surrounding the wheel are in single as the wheel itself. I wish it would be well to remember that the yarn should be straight and kept on the reel by an iron or aluminum and so on. The spring will be the same.

M. K. G.



# Young India

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## The Crisis in China

(By C. F. Andrews)

1

Young China, as apart from village China, appears to be now rushing down the steep descent of militarism and autocracy. There is only a few years to day, in which the students who, in Young China will lead, if they possess any other qualities, even the open door under ordinary rule has been laid in an aggressive form, and the T-chiao (Gowans) have used the power, which lay open to them, when China was civilised and warmly changed into a republic, without regard to the moral effect on the common people.

In Japan, as I explained in a former article, a military change has come. The fleet of warlike machines, which seemed to be necessary Japan in 1819, has slightly altered. The world, however, of Europe is now has been taken to heart. The doctrine of the early years, which made Japan's national power at its very birth, and consolidated it in a moment, has caused the lower self studies. These great world-making events coming out on the top of another, have shattered Japan's self confidence. The world, which Japan had about the year 1850, had of profit a man of his power the whole world and has his own and 77 have become full of significance to Japan. In consequence, the heart of militarism has come what dedicated. The other mind has returned in some degree.

So when the India post, Ratanamath, Tugan came this time to Japan, and when he gave the very same message about the world which he had given before eight years ago, the people of Japan did not appear to have been interested with any attention.

Now, however, Young China is going through the same hour that Japan went through before. Japan, as a race has been in a great measure the actual cause of the intention, in the year 1819, under the name of the Emperor was, the military party in Japan presented to China the overture and showed 31 years, which would have returned China to complete submission. In other hand, China was obliged to have follow the might of military Japan. At that time the one ordered to the end. The young man and to themselves. "If we do not, we shall be a military of strength, we shall have no other power," a more part of the Japanese Emperor, directed to a very point by Japan. They did not value, that they have a far greater need strength than Japan, a strength that Japan could never acquire. The young Chinese became justification by what they are going on around them in the whole world, and they determined to have the very thing,

After all they said to themselves, only might is right. 4 day. All that our Chinese classes told us, concerning the hope of military and imperialism, was good enough for these old Chinese days, when the world was quite different from what it is now. But to day, the world is governed by modern science, whose great discovery has been the law of evolution, which means the survival of the fittest. And the fittest in the modern age, means the man who can win world wars ethically the weapon of science—the machine gun, the airplane, the sub-marine, the dynamite, the bomb. We Chinese must either have these things, or else die."

Such was the thought of Young China when the final result of the 31 years had to be faced, and submission to Japan seemed imminent. This thought was the existing state of the Chinese amongst themselves, and led to rebellion.

Till the change they was that they were afterwards. Two great events were given by the Chinese themselves to Japan and the World Powers, which showed China's weakness and strength. One was that under Japan and the Western Powers have ever since forgotten.

For certain incidents took place, which were to be in the mind of mankind. First of all, when the revolution broke Japan had reached its critical stage, a great moral power was made by China refusing to take Japanese goods which was accompanied by a single act of violence. Japan, in spite of all her military power, could not bring against this moral boycott which China everywhere voluntarily established. Secondly the British or King-Ding loan from China the same time, in the manner and half-hearted action, the coming to the help of China when she is brought into difficulties, was represented in the British experience. These latter established in a moment. Then China was two invited countries, in consequence, which may be many others than any other in a half-hearted delayed with them.

All this, indeed, was not lost upon Young China, but she simply has been, that the lesson has come about the time. The other thought, which I have mentioned, concerning the advantages of military power, had already begun to cover the ground of the same like poisonous weeds, and they are still choking the good seed. "I am here I refused to follow the court, were good and reasonable law of Karma, 'Whatever a man sows, that also shall he reap.' The new military forces, which had been already created during the age of peace and science on material power, are now engaged throughout the different provinces



of China itself, is tearing each other to pieces. In almost every province, the soldiers have turned bandits and the soldiers have become pirates. The whole country is one monster. The force of non-resistance is still there in the heart, and the great voice of reason can hardly be heard. The disorganised thought present to the mind is that reason is in fact, everything must be fought out by force, and that is the end the Chinese general who can afford the greatest amount of physical violence must win. The very state of things which has existed in Europe, from 1914 onwards, is being daily repeated in China. Just as Europe, in its war-frenzy, refused to learn one ounce of reason, and has not learnt to this day, yet, even even in those years of so-called peace,—so China, in its present military mood especially among the young, appears determined not to listen to the voice of reason. Even the demonstration by her own people, of the great moral weapon of peace, which she can wield so well, has not shaken her out of her war-frenzy. The Tribunes still go on issuing, almost fighting against one another in continuous strife and pointing their own people with spears.

## II

But I must not be forgotten that the vast village life of China is as yet but little affected by this fever of non-resistance, that I have mentioned. This change, to a violence upon national life, has at present only reached to the ruling classes and to the intellectual Chinese students who are prepared to copy the West at every turn. The villagers and the workers to-day put in as little, they consume hardly 15 per cent of the population. In what follows, it is the educated class—significantly called Young China,—that is alone referred to by my correspondents, and a word is carefully understood that the villages were numerous were still go on being the old China life which they lived before.

"Young China," the writer states, "is filled with the passion for material success and physical force. She is consciously competing herself, in power and in daily domestic manners, with the nations that possess these things. She is displaying the Occident's other, Heinrichstapfer. Tapfer has found already transport in 'Young China' the desire, against which he warns the world,—the danger of such, exaggerated, national egotism, and mere sense of abstract scientific facts overwhelming the spirit. Such egotism and materialism are being taken and accepted as a substitute for the real eastern Truth and concrete moral personality. To such an extent has this gone that those with some knowledge of the modern sciences in China, often very ignorant, and only recently acquainted,—accept the philosophic theories of materialism in a way that is fifty years out of date even in the materialistic West."

The writer goes on to add that this really accounts for a certain violence and hardness towards the Peace message on the part of a section of 'Young China,' even after he had been personally invited to visit the country and to give to the whole country the best that was in his power to give. Some of these mistake his warning, or else they were not ready to receive it.

The writer, who is obviously a Chinese student, himself records, in one of the leading English newspapers in China, a carefully written account, from his own short-hand notes, of the message which Heinrichstapfer Tapfer delivered to the Chinese students in, Wuchang, in the presence of

Mr. Chen, at the end of his visit, when he was just about to leave China for Japan. He then describes this—

"The speaker, tall, with a flowing beard, wore a plain degraded robe, and spoke in a deep and beautiful natural voice with great—strong power, slight self-dramatic gesture. His English was simple, simple and quite without repetition."

He gives his own English notes as follows—

"When I was started," the poet, Heinrichstapfer Tapfer, begins, "to come among you, I found that some of you were opposed to my coming, because I might check your special national enthusiasm for Western progress and force. And if you want a man who will help you in these things, you have been mistaken in asking me, I have no help to give you. You have already ten thousand able teachers on that side. Go to them. But my whole warning is, that those who would have you rely on material force, in order to make a strong nation do not leave history, or understand what true civilization means. Nations at power in the circumstances of barbarism. Nations, that have trained in power have already either been destroyed or else removed barbarism."

"Nations have added material, to teach themselves how to use power; and we can no more dispute the material and material forces, that have resulted, than we can dispute our own bodies. But, all the same, it is not the material advance in the use of power, which has made nations great. Nations, that have relied solely on that, have either been destroyed, as I have said, or else are even now reverting to barbarism. So I disapprove and regard trust and moral and religious and, which make for real progress or civilization. These are the spiritual. If that civilization is to last and to be worth anything at all, then moral power must continually be developed, in order to be able to materialize these spiritual advances. Otherwise, these very things will disintegrate, before and slip them. The time has come when these nations and their humanity in order to fit themselves for the vast material organizations which we rely on, the long run, prove their destruction. We are, today, civilizations of real power and great intellect, which are willing to a direct way into materialism. It is the material of science dominates. But the true position of science is to measure the spirit of man. For the world of man science by itself is not a world of reality, it is a world of change, and imperfect and relative facts. It depends upon morality to make it become, to bring it from the imperfect to the personal."

"But many will point to the violence of India and China. They will tell you that it is necessary that to acquire power and modern progress in order to avoid being swept away into destruction. I would not have you deceived by these superficial reasons, which tell you that all advantage or material gain is ever won by mightlessness. For history has told us many short-lived victories, and if you wish to temporary success you may obtain these by these methods."

"Remembering, the voice of ancient India has truly uttered—

With the help of mightlessness men get progress,  
With the help of mightlessness men get victory  
over their enemies,  
With the help of mightlessness men get what  
they desire,  
But they perish in the end."



"But they perish at the root," I must well almost be saying words. We have new customs, new by definition by law and material laws—but their doom is in them. Lost do grope for a while, but the true life dies at the root.

"You may accept this flamingo peace and prosperity today, but from to-morrow. I duly to-day, and refuse to let it dominate my progress. I rely on to-morrow with peace and faith and hope. Now do I prove it? I have to prove outside my own soul. But there, within, is proof enough. First at the root of acceptance and much and suffering, no want, no pain in belief in peace and love and kindness and wisdom.

"What is the value of income, if it be at the root of humanity, and if it make a death of that world? I speak to you as an Indian, as a member of a nation that has gone under to the man for 'progress.' I tell you that I am ready to accept defeat, death, oppression, modernity in the body. But I will never accept that last defeat of all, that last thought of all, the root of my soul. My soul may conquer and die my body, but they cannot make me accept that defeat, or take from it. The Devil helps in the sphere where he is master, but we must reject the Devil's aid!

"Each righteousness, even though income be lost. I believe that, not through any weakness of 'body.' There may wisdom and progress, but with more wisdom and question. But the world of personality requires help in every side. There comes from above, and is creative. We as India have accepted and suffered and remained down now, who gave us creative faith, and lost wisdom income in doing so. We need to have this root of Truth again and again and come down to this in the modern world of change and materialism, that we need our own a death, eternal peace.

"By the help of our glorious men we do prosper."  
man do give victory over their enemies,  
man do obtain what they desire.

But they perish at the root."

"That is the message, which I have with Young China, from India."

I have quoted to tell the report, given by the Indian Chinese speaker, of Mahatma Gandhi's speech last night in China before starting for Japan. We may to speak action that our people have and have refused to rise.

or unacceptably strong criticism. But the reason is to be logical—most men from within, not expressed from within.

One thing is clear to me. If we have lost ground by our democratic political or religious, the Government have lost more by the taking advantage of our submission and by making to public recent criticism of public officers for their public conduct, by refusing or preventing the latter to submit upon their actions. We may feel we justified by immediate action but every act of the Government which is meant to take a more advantage of our weakness and every act below the belt does not certainly not opportunity to us. The progress will be slowed, the opposition must be continuous with the substance of the opinion which makes our unfortunate public possible.

## Below the Belt

(By M. K. Gandhi)

What has been said about the Government in other is being proved again and again, now, that no matter what it pleases to popular character of things which are having the way to look on my work. The Peace Law is given only to be replaced by new legislation under the laws of wisdom and love. Everything the Government were able to do under the Peace Law is now being done without it and without difficulty. The extraordinary judgment given against the Government does not weaken this view. It is difficult to believe that a public servant can possibly bring an action for damages for comment upon his acts or work made by a journalist in the discharge of his profession. I understood that the case against the Governor is not the first of its kind. The *South African* and the *Journalist of India* had to get damages under similar circumstances. Which is wrong? Freedom under the highest law or damages under a law? After the result of the Governor's case, who can dare criticize freely and freely the acts of Government servants? The editor of a daily newspaper who has begun writing his leading article does not weigh his words in golden scales. He may be betrayed into a hasty word. Must he pay for it even though he did it sincerely in good faith, without malice and in the public interest? The writer in the *Gleaner* certainly did not know Mr. Peltier and had no more interest in judging him than the honest judge himself who has concluded what I venture to regard as unwise damages.

The public will refuse to believe that Mr. Peltier had suffered anything because of the Governor's comments. But I make bold to think that he has lost more in public estimation by his money than by the Governor's comment. He has cleared nothing by getting a verdict against the Governor. But he has shown that he is not capable in a government-like manner of standing strong public criticism. I feel sorry for him.

What however I am concerned about is the position of persons in view of this case. One is not always able to give one's conscience rest, I am so in extreme public acts and their doing, it is almost, to tell truth one's conscience suffers, being called upon always to give them. For instance I feel morally certain that the judgment of the judge in the Governor's case was wrong. I am morally certain that the judge was politically biased in favour of the Indian. I disagree. And yet if what I have said be reported literally and if the judge and my other of action I should have to render a hostile, unjust and unbecoming apology for having expressed my moral opinion in the interest of public good. I should have to render the apology because I could not prove what I have stated.

Mr. Peltier is not an uncommon person in the big game. This Government is making big while the are always open to it. We seem to be disappointed—a house divided against itself. India and Mohammedan world gladly welcome to welcome in the pleasant picture of having no one else's hand. Civil disobedience is a far-off cry. What is our fighting among ourselves, the Government is consolidating its power, in every possible manner. We say at times it, it is perfectly natural for it. These kind actions are calculated to demonstrate Indian justice and make public enemies everywhere and hence. I am at least of the opinion that



# Young India

T. S. G.

## Teachers in Conference

(By K. K. Sankar)

The Gujarat Vidyalaya has at the present moment nearly 50,000 children in its network, schools who are being taught by over 500 teachers in nearly 140 institutions of which two are colleges and one devoted to research. The figures include also fifteen high schools, 15 middle schools, 15 special schools for handicapped children over 500 boys and girls. The number of girls studying in these institutions are not more than 100. The Vidyalaya has acquired a plot of land and has already erected a few teaching huts which it is now the project also of better ones till a separate building is erected. These figures do not include the national schools not affiliated to the Vidyalaya. For do they represent the highest standards. That was reached in 1931. Several schools have since closed, some others probably to close in course of time. The standards has in fact in the interim Gujarat University other provision had suffered from the general depression in the Congress ranks.

Notwithstanding the depression however the need is highly noticeable in Gujarat which was and probably still is, educationally, one of the most backward of our provinces. Measured by the literacy standard the improvement may not be regarded as an achievement but judged by itself the experiment is an amazing record of progress for its brief period existence. It shows considerable capacity power, financial ability and faith in non-compromise regarding education. I can say all this with complete detachment as, though stationed in Gujarat, I have lived here as a visitor. The experiment was in progress and had no hand in working it. The credit belongs solely to Vallabhbhai and his very able assistants. During the storm and the longest period, I was visiting in Tehsilwada and therefore was not available even to be absent.

We realize that that the teachers met in Gandhinagar last week and whilst taking stock of their position and shaping their future policy wanted not to guide their deliberations. I wish that I could have done better justice to the task entrusted to me. My conditioned health and my heavy preoccupation rendered previous study and preparation inadequate for the proposed assignment.

While I was able hardly to anticipate the numerous teachers who attended the conference as the reason that the figures I have quoted signified, I had to point out the system and system there and maintenance of the several institutions they were maintaining. Financial schools, to be worth the name in terms of money, for the state, most of which they were brought into existence, must be considered with a view to advancing the national programme. It is for as it was applicable to educational institutions. Thus for numerous national schools need to be the most potent means of preparing the masses of the children, of bringing Hindu, Mohammedan and others close together and of educating the untouchables and abolishing the sense of untouchability first, the

schools. Judged by the standard the expenditure must be pronounced, if not a failure, certainly a very dismal success. Out of 50,000 boys and girls hardly one thousand are spending on 100 children at the rate of 15 hour per day. Hundreds of children are lying idle and unemployed. Whilst on theory the schools are open to the untouchables, very few in a matter of fact have satisfactorily children to them. The Mohammedan students of the schools is poor. I had therefore no hesitation in saying that even to them to share out after spending last quality. The fact the attendance must be progressively suffer. Parents who did not like their children to leave spending or to mix with 'untouchable' children might if they chose withdraw them. I had no hesitation in advising that teachers should run the risk of closing down their schools if the positions of running them required the exclusion of untouchables and the children. It was not enough to educate untouchable children if they stay in, but it was necessary to draw them into our schools by leaving our and education. The teachers were not in want for Mohammedan and Parsi parents to send their children but it was necessary to invite such parents to send their children. A national teacher must become a family missionary within his own sphere. He should know the history of every child under his care and know the children best in his school. He should know their parents and understand why they did not send their children to his school. He would do all this work not in an irrelevant space but bravely. Thus and then only would national schools be truly national in terms of the Congress machine.

The difficulty of the task is insurmountable. The Government has made everything necessary. Freedom is no more for capturing. Mechanical ability to go through a superficial syllabus is the rule not. Every person has been degraded to some a corner. We know lawyers, doctors and schoolmasters and to serve our countrymen but to bring us money. The Vidyalaya therefore had to recruit for teachers to make a well-living atmosphere. The majority of the teachers have had to use resources themselves and their surroundings. The wonder is that they have at all responded to the call of the country.

But even after nearly two years' experience, we must turn over a new leaf. We must afford to remove at a hundredfold and not more. We must therefore must upon the boys and girls playing the children for at least half an hour daily. It is an enormous of so many sort for thirty thousand boys and girls and eight hundred teachers to be spending a, listening for the country for half an hour every day. It is a daily practical lesson in patriotism, united will and group. That a boy should begin going over during his education without expenditure of effort is an almost-impossible in practice in well-set budget is absolute. And to the value of money a gift of 1000 worth of paper per month. It will supply at least one sheet each to 5000 men. Apart from every other contribution, let every teacher work out the value of the lesson learnt by each child in thinking that he or she will live where may be spending or one month pass enough for supplying one sheet to each of his countrymen rendered total during the recent floods in Bihar.

The reason however for the ill-representation of the untouchable part of the Congress programme in the national schools need to be told. The only difficulty is being made



that we also see the slaves of the people have not even learnt swimming. The school masters in whom I am before taken no steps to qualify themselves as teachers and swimmers. We wonder if they are not too idle to referee these people and if it is their duty to everywhere supervise by their absence.

It is however most qualifying that a resolution suggested for re-organizing the school was all adopted by an overwhelming majority. Intellectual capacities in children and pupils is a rare thing but in the vast if populous is therefore perhaps natural. But now that the teachers have adopted the resolutions, it would be a serious reflection upon them if they fail to live up to them. If the teachers will it, I do not doubt that the majority of the parents will not permit their children leaving the middle act of swimming and going half an hour each daily to the water, not asking why for safe with 'unintelligent' children. And what do these teachers have resolved to do well, I hope be all glad by the national teachers throughout the country.

## Important Resolutions

The following resolutions were adopted by the Congress Teachers' Conference:

### Resolution I

Whereas the establishment of national schools aim to provide only for the purpose of giving practical and adequate school education; and whereas true education also includes about living, and whereas the principles underlying the present form of non-cooperation are not inconsistent with pure and independent educational life; Conference is of opinion that we are of utmost of bound to act and proceed should be followed in conducting national schools.

### Resolution II

This conference is of opinion that conducting national schools and taking people greater weight should be attached to the quality than to the quantity, and that therefore only such boys and girls should be admitted to schools, whom parents are sure, (i) if Mother believe that their autosufficiency is a sure and better time to education in their children living and growing education along with the children of the independent classes, (ii) approve of their children being trained in swimming, spinning, weaving and other practical industrial themes; and (iii) believe in the necessity and possibility of early learning the Hindi, Hindustani and other vernaculars of India.

### Resolution III

This conference is of opinion that the teachers and managers of national schools should consist of persons who believe that such non-cooperation and its other parts of non-cooperation are sufficient essential for the attainment of Swami.

### Resolution IV

This conference is of opinion that every teacher who has not already acquired a knowledge of distinguishing the various kinds of cotton, and of hand-spinning hand-weaving making shawls, hand spinning, and of weaving and weaving yarn, should do so without delay.

### Resolution V

This conference is of opinion that the resolution of spinning passed by the A. I. C. C. being of increased

importance should be referred among as many as possible, and that therefore all districts and managers of national schools should present monthly to the A. I. C. C. at least 5000 feet of possible 5000 yards of yarn and well-bleached yarn spun by themselves. The amount of doing so, for necessary simplicity, so to be increased and supplied by the P. C. C. and the members recommended every national institution that they should enter their pupils to spin for at least half an hour every day as an exercise, and should also make as many shawls as possible to present to the A. I. C. C. 5000 yards of pure soft yarn, and the supply of way to their school.

In order that this resolution may be easily referred, this conference requests the managing committees of national schools to provide cotton or shawl line to teachers of small schools and poor people.

### Resolution VI

This conference recommends that the Vidyapeeth make the following arrangements in order to increase the efficiency of primary schools: (i) a system of studies for primary teachers should be framed;

(ii) every national school should have a teacher who should spend at least once a month to exchange notes or reports of the course of studies referred to in (i);

(iii) The Vidyapeeth should from time to time send national schools to provide for educational theories and other means of promoting the efficiency of teachers.

### Resolution VII

Whereas self-reliance is the paramount form of non-cooperation and whereas the Congress conference is to propagate the paramount principle of non-cooperation in the villages and whereas the opinion of the conference the work of self-reliance should begin with children, the conference holds that the Vidyapeeth should concentrate more on primary education than on secondary or higher education and the Vidyapeeth should therefore so change its policy as to spread primary education in the villages.

### Resolution VIII

This conference is of opinion that national village schools should consist of being modified on government pattern be equipped with a room primarily to give a knowledge of the three Rs and so on; to secure the best expenditure consistently with such principles of such education and recommends the Vidyapeeth to issue and enforce a practical scheme in this behalf.

### Resolution IX

This conference while recognizing the Vidyapeeth and other national institutions that have published text-books for the purpose of promoting national education is of opinion that they should concentrate more on the quality of books than on their number and complete publications with this regard to the poverty of the masses.

### Resolution X

This conference is of opinion that in the control of national schools teachers should have a preponderating vote in educational matters over the managing committees.

## Hindu-Muslim Tension

His Cases and Care

by

J. K. Gandhi

Price one Anna. Postage half Anna. Apply to

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In that atmosphere I thought that it brought spiritual welfare to be able to gaze on those faces for my moral strength. My spirit felt that my faith and my vision all came to you. My spiritual presence used to open up the whole face for me watching me. That day in Delhi, he had a tremendous close view. He made efforts to the crowded stadium. I had a great satisfaction for speaking. The episode was a most beautiful memory. A whole nation passed through a holy land in the centre of a great hall just two miles to the corner was my episode. We called it shrine.

I tried to say words like some thing of our vision. Women and especially widows, who in those days had no the right to get spiritual benefit, went to listen to Krishna and Bhagwan. While they listened they open your whole stage along which they walked would be the side of a small Indian girl. That year was the first time that white marks were washed in ghats and houses as an attention to have such groups in the open of land. The speaking not only did not offend those women, but gave them better a higher confidence and religious position.

My only object in saying these things is to prove that speaking does not at all corrupt the Hindustani race. I believe, I am a Charyman. Hindustani belonging to the European States.

### 'Foolish Production'?

#### A whole fresh water

In the last hour of Young India, you have referred to anti-producers of India and to the necessity of organizing sales, but have also suggested a doubt that what this Young may take that wrong touch. One of them, in fact, at organizing the sales is not the spirit of production itself. I think it is to-day a work done that will create and a little doubt in it. I have seriously long to believe the confidence. As person only those who are engaged for strong confidence and who have open many with them that change in the history of India. Very true, however, a sort of saying, that what was being by small and small it will lead to an apex, of the spirit of production or delivery. If one rightly study our own situation, the situation around and about making villages will reflect us in all its details in different. What is my only saying should open for itself that one is to find that the production is necessary, needed in its own direction. How many villages have become self sufficient or intended to be so.

It is not, however, like producing itself, made or not directly, equally it is individual, to create and what that is seen by the whole, means that a comparative change, made to depend on themselves. Inspired, a more profitable approach to feelings, who I do not always the right way.

India is only extremely dear. I have pushed out in these pages that also wrong to compare itself with other such by comparing the power of great things. The change in India comes in the revolution of work type. The meaning of that replaces the conventional idea of making others be concerned by that of making them for us, depends is divided in to the west of diversity of India, Division of spirit is based probably on difference of experience. Individual experience is essential, so long as we have not arrived at unity or speaking. Four years' experience about is nearly not enough to stabilize the quality of last-open year. Every other industry must struggle in the beginning. The industry of the hand throughly understood. But industry is a most powerful factor in the world. We could do much in the house but because manufacturing is doing according to the market interest of money but because there is an expanding market in India. It. These technology movements will show that when you want the best, better, best, want it best of outside it not, best best is cheaper than home-made. It is necessary to provide luxury for the India at the present moment. An Ashoka Ray has very properly pointed out in his second manifesto, what the State will not do and to show by the private enterprise of the people. The object of the India movement is normally stated by the writer. And that object can be fully achieved if we who desire to serve the masses realize the need of the

opening-minded and reformer's hands for a firm profession. If I know the mind of politicians at home they will not look at it. But if I know opening in they mind they will take it in like fish to water. The reason do in the great view is, not in any great. Hence the necessity for the opening revolution. It gives us a real sense of responsibility towards the villages, it fills the air with the opening taste and changes think. If the opening revolution is heartily carried out by the country, it has a potency of which we have no pet or conception.

### A Humble

It is not already in a mood to drive the Mahatmas and it seems to think you, which by themselves than from state. High-spirited you can find them to close with with the Mahatmas. You must now learn to discipline them during the period between, or perhaps August 10, or the policy of making in them the weak and weak weakness of the world and knowing the strong and high heartedness is by to make a new policy.

The result is not better than a long heavily addressed to not in a Hindu hand. There that many other States that like this hand. The truth however is that is an emergency exchanged with respect and peace my reputation is based to be suitable for justice. Those States who refuse to accept any good in India or Hindustani are naturally shocked to find any defense of India or the Mahatmas. I would answer and responded. For I know that some day my Hindu states will about the weakness of my Mahatmas. They will perhaps about that there will be no more when each party is prepared to understand, appreciate and make allowance for the others weakness and even weakness. This requires a large heart otherwise called charity. Let us do what others do to world that they should do with us.

### Things in Delhi

A letter received from Mahatma Mahomed Ali shows that he is making every effort to secure perfect tranquillity between the various parties in Delhi, and is hopeful of success. He is also trying to do up an inquiry. It requires very delicate handling. There is no work without distrust that the Mahatma think any more on some people who do not want any inquiry at all. He is carrying on all these operations although he is so ill that he has to lie on his back practically through the whole of his time and has to be carried about in a full iron place to place. Let us hope and pray that the Mahatma, Mahatma will soon regain his health so as to be able to do justice to the very heavy task before him.

### Addresses to order

Mr. B. P. Choudhary who is doing Hindi propaganda in the Punjab post are writes

During the last few days, there have sprung up in another state political movements - Hindu, Muslim, and Sikh. It is these movements that are going to present address in the Government, the Mahatma will be the first to answer. At a public meeting held at the Allahabad High on the 18th instant, they have been discussed that that won't say their propaganda, Hindu the Charyman Committee, the Hindu Committee, and the Sikh League, there are also other movements before in London - the Hindu Union, the Hindu League of the Mahatma and the Mahatma Committee of the Sikh.

The question he asks are who are these political movements and whether they have any other object but their movement were that of presenting the new Government address. Now also it would be if the Government and their officials will recognize the movement and simply refuse to receive addresses, I would not even mind



cooperating with them to build a army for stopping all activities by anybody whatsoever in anybody whether official, non-official, and whether moderate, liberal, socialist or otherwise. The activities do no good in anything and they have now resorted to instruments of propaganda. The public will no longer be deceived by these things which were when they got more nothing but cheap advertisements for those who printed them. Why should not honest work be the one attribute of merit?

### The Madras Hindu

The Hindu in the Southern Presidency are so much in their majority that discrimination against them. They demonstrate their helplessness. Funds of years of patient toil have come empty in a moment. Help came almost as nothing. What Gandhi I have given my opinion that effective relief in regard the capacity of the Congress, I have not desired it to mean that Congressmen should do nothing. Personal action is always of more than that one monetary assistance must be given whenever it is possible for individuals to render. If there are million of Hung Indians would now to send an advertisement for relief. I would gladly receive them and render them in the best manner I should know. I am certain that the damage is too vast for speakers or leaders of other. Some agency that would command universal confidence should handle the work of relief. I expect that Congressmen should get together to help Government agency in the line of the world economy differently under strange conditions.

### Mahatma Gandhi Mahatma

As the great Mahatma Mahatma is to be released on the 15th instant, He is to be in a diminished way to Congress. A great campaign is on, when he has shown, ever he goes. I do not know what work he holds today. As everybody knows, I suffer from loss in many ways. His work of modern times is, just now so hopelessly different from mine. His views on Gandhi are in my opinion even dangerous. But, my differences notwithstanding, my respect for him, his politeness, his bearing, is very great. He has a tendency of purpose which is the cry of Hindu and despair of loss. He has suffered for his religion and his country as very few of us have done. I hope Gandhi that he will have a moving reception wherever he goes.

### Vinay and Bawa

In a recent issue of Young India I stated that a Bengali friend had associated of co-operators having retained their position by forcible means. A friend from Bawa wrote saying it could not be Bawa. I called the Bengali friend and he told me the representative was correct. The complaint was against Vinay and Bawa I apologize to the Bawa co-operators for the misunderstanding which they misapprehension was pardonable. Vinay charges however? If I were correct, I should immediately resign from position or changes to escape the responsibility of the Congress unless they apologized publicly to the Bawagiris and to the Congress. Of course I assume that this time I am correctly regarding my informant, and that my informant himself was correctly informed.

### A. Karmaditya

A correspondent suggests a solution of the Hindu-Muslim question in the course of a letter from which I take the following:

The Hindu-Muslim will begin the Hindu when the Hindu find that the latter are equal to them in strength of body, and then and then only will action be possible. You will therefore concentrate all your energies in the sphere of the Hindu race to help let the Hindu to its activities in every village and town for exercise and in them to exercising habit. You should preach to them, and be spent most on the marriage of Hindu men and the Hindu but less Hindu-Muslims up to the age of say 15. You will then to doing a good service to the Hindu race and the community of Hindu will follow as a matter of course. Please publish this letter in Young India."

The arrangement will lead down both Hindu and Mohammedan to the position of brutes and really increasing brute strength for the purpose of expansion. Only to begin that, between Hindu there is no less but I want the Hindu to be physically strong. I want them to live as men. There are summary and merely by Hindu-Muslim unity, but, even for national unity apart from unity, but I know that processes of more physical strength will not bring about unity. We should still be fighting like 'cats and dogs' as long as we have as there is as for one another. I for one do not consider it worth while to devote my life to promoting an armed nationality. I want having peace that springs from education of each other's religion. It is the old story, whether we believe in Hinduism and English or between Hindu and Mohammedan, we want change of heart. Everything else will follow as a matter of course.

The correspondence provides a discharge for developing physical strength. It is a new act to make of a possible possibility to think of self-interest for ending physical process. Do Indians choose self-interest for becoming Hindus? Let the correspondent quickly work out the implications of his proposition. I wish we had an army of 10,000 well-armed Indians. We should then conquer Mohammedan, Englishman and everybody. Does not the correspondence wishes that his Indian-Muslim will not fight as he suggests? It is true that they will not need to do so either.

### Exposure of Registration

The following information have closely and regularly containing names of representatives who are registered in areas from month to month.

Bawal	...	...	...	...	1032
C. P. Mandstana	...	...	...	...	1038
Wah	...	...	...	...	914
Cooper	...	...	...	...	341
Wahab	...	...	...	...	337
V. P.	...	...	...	...	312
Bawa	...	...	...	...	24

The other persons except Jagan, Talla, Bawa, Talla, Panch, Ghosh and Karda have declared that they will stand Loye against before the 15th instant. I do hope that these remaining persons will not fail to stand their registers and work to save their spots of pure. I think it is greatest that those who have with the registers will also see to it that the members upon their back side. It is interesting to note that Bawal has the largest number of representatives. C.P. Mandstana is next best. If all these representatives stand and maintain to end their spots regularly we should be able easily to get ahead in a while here.

M. K. G.



# Young India

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## India and Malaya

(By C. R. Adame)

Along with Pandit Bhanubhai Chaturvedi, I was asked by a special resolution of the All-India Congress Council assembled at Bombay to report on the condition of Indian immigrant labour in Malaya, with a view to considering whether or not a policy of restricting immigration in that country should be adopted.

A certain number of informed residents had been referred to in the Press which appeared to show that the Tamil labourer was not well treated. There were also signs in the Malayan administration of a political bias against Indians, certain posts which had previously been open to men of Indian birth having been closed to any but except a European whose descent was European on both sides, an educational award withdrawn and also a labour commission set up. It was only quite recently that the same legislature was made aware by the Indian public, owing to Mr P. K. Muthuswami Iyer, what a position in the Straits Settlements' Legislative Council.

In my old friend and fellow-member Pandit Bhanubhai Chaturvedi was associated with me in the Congress Resolution, we met together and consulted as to the possibility of a joint visit of enquiry sometime during the year 1924. But when we were both considering the matter, a cable reached me suddenly from the great Balaichandrasekhar Tagore, asking me to visit him without delay in Calcutta. Since my arrival, progress in Calcutta and back would take me directly through Malaya and the Straits, I broke my summer journey at Penang on June 10th and went now-back to Singapore by rail, stopping for a few hours at Kuala Lumpur. I was also able to spend some days in the system of Government of Singapore itself and there to put out both the opinion of the Indian labourer on the one hand, and the opinion of the Government officials on the other. It has further been possible to study all the blue books and papers, I have communicated to Pandit Bhanubhai Chaturvedi my first impressions and would work through the pages of Young India to present them to the public, on the subject being that I hope to carry my enquiry still further on my return journey and that I shall be able, after doing so, to go more into detail. These two articles which I am now publishing, will be rather for the sake of giving to India, important information, than for the purpose of clearing up confusion. The conclusions, indeed, as to India as concerned, have not yet been reached.

First of all, I should like to deal with the Census Report, and explain from it what very important points in the history of the Far East are taking place in this

present generation in Malaya. It is necessary to explain, that there are three different forms of administration, (i) the colony of the Straits Settlements (Singapore, Malacca, Penang), (ii) the Federated Malay States, & (iii) the Unfederated Malay States. The Federated Malay States are managed by a Chief Secretary, who is under the Governor of Singapore. The Unfederated States are like the Indian States in India. All these administrations put together are called 'British Malaya' in the Census. I shall give figures for the whole territory of British Malaya rather than for the separate administrations. But I should note that there are comparatively few Indians, as yet, in the Unfederated Malay States.

The first point to pay special attention to is this, that the total Malay population of Malaya in 1,881,000 compared with 2,437,000 in 1911. But this increase of 34 per cent is due largely to the arrival of foreign Malays, and not so much to the natural increase of the Malay population. The area of British Malaya is 100,000 square miles, and it contains more of the most fertile land in all the world. It has also no desert land of any description. Java, which lies near to Malaya, has a population which is more than two times as dense as that of Malaya. The race tall and build of both countries are about the same. It is therefore not even possible, that the present Malay population is by no means swamping the ground in such a way as to make the recognition of other race distinguishable. It is still an 'empty' country, and it has always been a country in which immigrants have desired a kind of 'no man's land'.

The Malay population is practically all Mohammedan. The conversion of Malaya and Java and other islands to Islam appears to have taken place, chiefly through Arab merchants, between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries. Doubtless language has a long time elapsed, is certainly inhabited even, long before that date, but the early history is very uncertain. There can be no doubt, however, that the first language of culture and civilisation was brought to the Malayan coast, as Hindu-Buddhist times, and that the intercourse between the world of India and India from A. D. 500 to A. D. 1500 was frequent. There was also a considerable admixture of Indian blood which still is noticeable in the Malay features. The name for Indian 'Chag' is a corruption of the word 'Changan' which shows that the commerce came from China and India.

Thus, the people of Malaya, very greatly inhabited and very little cultivated, has remained somewhat empty



billions. It has only been during the last fifty years that the immense fertility has been checked and that settled colonisation from India and China has been taking place on any large scale. An interesting thing to remember is that during the last century up to the year 1897 the Straits Settlements were under the Government of India and were regarded as a part of India. When the Queen's Proclamation of racial equality was made in 1906, Singapore, Penang and Malacca were all reckoned as part of the Indian Empire. They were included in that Proclamation. This point seems as one of great importance, when it is realised that to-day in India we are allowed, by an Imperial and over-sightful rule, to hold any post in the higher branches of the Malayan Civil Service. There can be no conceivable doubt, that this is a direct and open breach of the Queen's Proclamation such as Indians have never suffered from in India.

All the time of this article I will give roughly the figures of the present population in the different races, and point out what education may be done from these about the future. As I have stated the entire Malay indigenous population is hardly increasing at all, and it never appears to have increased in the past with any rapidity. The position of Malaya therefore is a triangular one:—(1) Will the Chinese maintain steadily more Malays as subjects of China? (2) Will the Indian immigrants finally make it an all-India? (3) Will there be a mixed population in which the foreign Malay immigrants will considerably increase and the time come, in the end, when in Malacca, say, nothing, growing such of them shall be a third of the whole?

The figures at the Census of 1911 and that of 1921, were as follows, speaking in thousands only:—

	1911	1921
Malays	11,37,000	12,44,000
Chinese	2,16,000	11,71,000
Indians	2,67,000	4,72,000

It will be seen that while the Indian population is still the smallest, its increase has been by far the most rapid. It appears almost certain that the Malay population will keep up its numbers, more by more, owing to the foreign Malays coming over from Java and other islands and being included in the Malay race. The Chinese population at last appears to be settling down more than ever before. The number of Chinese women, who had emigrated from China to Malaya between 1911 and 1921, was one of the most striking features of the last census. The Indian population also is tending to settle, instead of merely migrating hither and thither.

Therefore the natural tendency is to draw from the Census as, that there is every likelihood of Malaya, as an empty country, being filled up from the three races, Indians, Chinese and Foreign Malays. It is also not unlikely that at the 1931 Census, the Indian population will have drawn still nearer to that of the Malays and Chinese, meaning that things go on normally as they are going on at present.

What result, (1) whether every parent has been encouraged and life education noted and not otherwise if was reasonable. It is directly and imperative to look to compulsion without trying all methods and means. It is not reasonable to assume that the majority of parents are so foolish or heartless as to neglect the education of their children even when it is brought to their doors free of charge.

## Pertinent Questions

(By K. K. Ganga)

### A. compulsory order

"Are you in favour of the introduction of compulsory primary education system in India? Is it urgent or unnecessary to make this education compulsory? If we get Swaraj, is the present condition of our country, will you make primary education compulsory throughout the whole of India?"

I like I must answer the main question is the negative. I am not quite sure that I would not oppose compulsory education at all times. All compulsion related to me I would as soon have the nation become educated by compulsion than I would have it become what by such questionable means. But you as I would discourage death by refusing to open death shops and closing existing ones, so would I discourage literacy by removing obstacles in the path and opening free schools and making them responsive to the people's needs. But at the present moment we have not even tried on any large scale the experiment of free education. We have offered the parents an inducement. We have not even sufficiently tried all advertised the value of literacy. We have not the proper schoolmaster for the training. In my opinion Swaraj is a obligation too early to think of compulsion. I am not even sure that the experiment in compulsory education has been entirely successful wherever it has been tried. In the majority world education, compulsion is wholly unnecessary. If it does not, compulsion would be most harmful. Only a despotic Government passes laws in the teeth of the opposition of a majority. Has the Government offered full facilities for education to the children of the majority? We have been compulsion children for the past hundred years or more. The State-aided our life on the most detailed details of their own parents' education. It is time to use the nation to voluntary methods even though for the time being there may be an impulse to progress, preference and up to the standard in the system. It has had little response to its progress. Nothing is more detrimental to the free growth of reading than to be subjected to the belief that no volume can be achieved by voluntary effort. A people so treated become wholly unfit for Swaraj.

It follows from what I have said above that if we get Swaraj today I should want compulsory education at least all every effort at voluntary primary education has been honestly made and failed. But the reader will forget that there is more literacy in India to-day than there was fifty years ago, not because the parents are less willing but because the facilities they had before have disappeared under a system of foreign aid and control for the country. The same thing is happening to-day in Burma.

The writer's other question is:—

"Are you in favour of primary education being made compulsory by the municipal and local bodies, by taking advantage of the present Compulsory Primary Education Act, especially when it is possible to do so by the heavy support of members of all shades of opinion?"

This question has reference to co-operation. I am of opinion that it is not inconsistent with the Congress tradition to take advantage of the Act if the members wish to do so. But for the reasons mentioned, I should hesitate strongly to adopt compulsion. Before giving a definite opinion on merits and against from the fundamental objection to compulsion, I should like to know (1) whether attempts have been made to make primary education free and with



### Some Objectives Answered

[A correspondent to *Min-jung* sends a dreadful letter wherein he objects to most of my propositions and generally my way of life. A friend has translated my reply to it for the benefit of the readers of *Young John*. Translations of the letter is not given as the reply had nothing the reader to know the objections. 30, N. 35.]

Right method is not like Euclid's right line. It is like a beautiful tree, not one of whose seedlings of beauty is like any other. Though therefore they are born one seed and belong to the same tree, there is none of the uniformity of a geometrical figure about any part of a tree. And yet we know that the seed, the branches and the leaves are one and the same. We know too that no geometrical figure can ever compare with a fully-developed tree in point of beauty and grandeur.

Therefore when the correspondent now acknowledges I am neither contributor nor society in my life, it does that as a man owed me his back, as one he had lost eyes or hand, and that the wages have come. I owed a man of religion to a master. I therefore lay the belief that I may not be mean and may be truly religious. What of the two I am no truth can only be decided when my death.

I never asked my audience to validate the optimism wheel for the money. I only suggested that they could go on optimism taking the name of "Maslowian" simultaneously. And whilst today the whole country is on fire, I think it inherent to all to tell the narrative of the optimism wheel with the water of pure, and extinguish the fire with the name of Maslowian" on our flag.

I want to see the spinning wheel everywhere, because I see paper mills every where. You said and when we have left and visited the children of India, will bring for me my sewing for them. They are living the cattle-like life, and we are responsible for it. The spinning wheel is therefore a passport for us. Religion is service of the children. God manifests himself to us in the form of this children and the children. But we forget our childhood, never take the nature of them as of God. God is not in us as the Father. He who really the spirit of the Father sees God through. He who stays in the love of the Father is a Father-like friend. Narayana, Mahatma, etc. in fact, are the friends of the enemy, and the peace is well wanted where it is given. But the same Narayana has many

"Of what good is the whole and the half, if what good is the country and the maintenance of the State, what good is the governmental interpretation of the Tao, what good is the mastery of the letters? All these are deemed to fill the belly and nothing worth without their helpings to a realisation of the Five-Sixers."

The Mohammedans deem sacred the tomb of Ibrahim, and the Chamber of the people. But both would thank themselves better from religion if their heads and money prevented them from raising to the honour of our city, for instance, two lying structures with a make-believe knowledge of the *Yakub* names under any *Yakubian* spiritual presceptors. If it did, Mr. Miller would have known our man. The *Yakubian* who has seduced the religious of to-day will certainly give *Yakub* leaving a secondary place and propagate the religion of the spinning wheel, whose the language of the influence of his stirring

morning—noon and night. One, and not until three, has  
himself in Tokyo station.

I have certainly repeated spinning against the practice of disorganised religion, but that does not mean that the latter should be given up. I only mean that a reform which has to be observed by the followers of all religions towards them, and hence I say that a Brahmin is a better Brahmin, a Mussulman a better Mussulman, a Yehoude a better Yehoude, if he turns his mind in the spirit of science.

I certainly did not repeat the divine word "Name", nor count the beads on account of a feeling that my soul was near. But I was too weak then to turn the wheel, the wheel, I found the money wheel even it helps me in concentrating on Rama. When however I rise to a peak of concentration where the money is more a hindrance than a help, I stop it. It is too painful for me to turn the wheel in my bed, and if I felt that it would help me in concentrating my mind on God, I would certainly turn the money wheel and turn the wheel. If I am strong enough to turn it's wheel, and I have to make a choice between counting beads or turning the wheel, I would certainly decide in favor of the wheel, making it my money, as long as I feel poverty and devotion shaking the head. I go back forward in a time when even, repeating the name of Rama will become a hindrance. When I have realized that Rama transcends any speech, I shall have no need to repeat the name. The spinning wheel, the money and the 'Rama-Ram' are all the same to me. They deliver me from and they teach me the mystery of service. I cannot practice dharma without practicing the religion of service, and I cannot find the truth without practicing the religion of dharma. And there is no religion other than truth. Truth is Rama, Krishna, Ishwara, Shakti, Allah, God, An-Nuraniya says, "The different shapes into which gold is beaten give rise to different names and forms, but ultimately it is all gold."

I have nothing to withhold from what I have said about  
business in the Indian House, and a colleague will  
state that I have noticed the printing press in the window.  
I must be remembered that it is not Indian House  
displayed to that look that I am placing before India. I am  
placing before the entire parliamentary, a democracy  
House. I do not suggest today a denunciation of all the  
members, but I am making the speaking about the master-  
business, the Indian House, the display on what State.  
The fact that I cannot come up to the final condition of things  
but does there is to be understood to say 'business' I  
believe that there is an object greater than all this, and yet  
I cannot escape the house which is inevitably involved in  
the process of making and shifting. The ideal of all this  
is here-out over before me, therefore even in those process  
I do endeavor to sustain, myself. I am sharing every  
interest in what even those business to a business.

What I have told about hospitals is also true. And yet I suppose I shall resort to the few medicines I hold dear, as long as I obtain the least stimulus for my body. I went to the hospital as a prisoner. I did not run away from it immediately on my release, because I thought it my duty to remain under the care of those who had treated me with courtesy and kindness.



I am however ashamed at the way that of my friends, friends as I believe that a man should never tell it. It is humiliating for me to take any medicine, and the more so that it was at all necessary to take me to the hospital.

I have never preferred being a doctor to wearing him over with love. But he who is not equal to that love, who cannot master all the joys that the art demands, has the right to protect his patients and his property even by killing the doctor.

It is a gross error to hope the Englishmen to decide. The doctors tell you by their evidence, the Englishmen do so chiefly by refusing to. There is then a great difference of method in the two. A layman-visitor also tells me of my visit by telling his nephew. Should I suggest killing him, or non-cooperating with him? But if an Englishman totally misunderstands you, or a layman-visitor hastily tells to your lawyer down your throat, and if you will not see both over by law, then it is upon to you to explain, then is an armed mind. It would make no difference if the aggressors be the one man or one or many, weak or strong.

## Young India

14-8-34

### Wanted Excitement

I present the reader with extracts from a letter received from a lawyer who has made considerable mistakes in the national cause. When he was captured, he told me his trouble. He is now dependent. He tells his letter by saying, "I have written this letter only to relieve my unclashed mind. If it is ignored, I shall not feel disappointed." I cannot ignore any genuine article. I have therefore adopted the middle course. I have boiled down the letter by expurgating emotional and inflammatory portions. Here then are the extracts that call for treatment.

"The churches, Hindu-Muslim unity and removal of untouchability have not appealed to the masses for the last two years. There is an age of coming change."

The changeage should form their programme in conformity with human nature. They should take into consideration that there must be excitement in all such mass-movements. Satyagraha is the best form of excitement. But it should be a direct and open fight with the Government. Inter-communal Satyagraha is harmful. It only gives advantage to the Government to fight in the darkness and behind the shadows of side distances. It leaves plenty of room for village and numerous propaganda. To enter into open fight with the Government strong arms should be selected so that white police squads can be resisted. Any of the following items will fulfil these conditions, one of which may be selected.

1. Spread of arms and establishment of resistance in villages, towns and cities with others for suppression of democracy.

2. Spread of currency by replacing it with barter.

3. Suppression of drugs and intoxicating drugs." I do not believe that we have worked enough among the masses to realise or to know that the three things do not appeal to them. What experience we have of the masses I, as the village, give to show that the churches

are appealed to them. They simply need organising. But we who claim to be their leaders refuse to go to the villages and live on their soil and deliver the life-renewing message of the churches. The village simply does not know the masses. Or he should know that the Hindu-Muslim unity does not appeal. India is not a village. And there too it would be a pity to say that the poor people are misled. We entered them in the fraternal fight. The untouchability is undoubtedly a difficult point among the masses. It does however appeal to them, only it appeals in a way we do not like. They hate the untouchables more which they have inherited for ages. But if we succeed, by our purity, non-violence and justice, even those of the masses, we must prove as a nation. The masses every political reformer realise the fact, the better it is for him and the country. We must refuse to give up the struggle or postpone it till after Swraj. Postponement of it means postponement of Swraj. It is like waiting to live without lungs. There who believe that Hindu-Muslim unity and untouchability can be removed after Swraj are living in the dream-land. They are too interested to grasp the significance of these propositions. The three things must be an integral part of any programme of Swraj. But though the task is difficult it is not impossible. I claim therefore that the three-fold programme of excitement is in strict conformity with human nature as it exists in India. It is in keeping with the daily requirements of a people that is bent on making progress.

But the least says, there must be 'excitement.' I do not know what the word means. For instance there is enough excitement in the three things. So in my village, put up a wheel and call the villagers to embrace them as valuable features. The children and women round the language wheel and the villagers who are ordered to put you out of their village for asking them to embrace the untouchables select you ask them as a reasonable and sweet man. This is excitement? That growth life but there is another meaning of it which tells. It is generally a movement that leads people and makes them create a spirit for a nation. This kind of excitement cannot bring Swraj. I can convert the use for a fighting people prepared to meet power from other hands. The problem in India is not quite so simple. We are not prepared and we are not fighting with men. The Englishmen do not rely mainly by force. They have a more subtle plan. They are usually accused that he is not looking glass. The moment we show ourself our aggressiveness (even) but untouchable progress and justice and thoughtful education, they will hand over the whole administration to us without a blow and even India is not more as we to-day accordingly or accordingly share for them as their power.

Satyagrah is not movement of the crowd easily. It dies in such struggles. It needs the development of new message that have no direct and desperate struggle. Even anti-communal propaganda is in village propaganda the nation for fighting the Government. The country fight between anti-change and pro-change is not propaganda in any sense of the term. The successful results of India are clearly not propaganda. The only instances of inter-communal propaganda are the Yehudi and Tachadran. I know something of Yehudi because I am expected to be working at. It must remind of the propaganda are present, absolutely truthful, absolutely non-violent, yes, a thought, word and deed, and if they are gentle towards their opponents and remain fixed to their mission. If they



to tell the conditions, the offender, Elster will show them and they will strengthen and not weaken the national cause. Of this I am sure and I am willing, that the result can only be good if it is done intelligently.

The newspaper's method of keeping about a state of 'treachery' is in keeping with his misunderstanding of newspaper. He does not realize that newspapers work and register on documents, if they have the element of surprise in them, most likely the very end the writer has in view, that if they are devoid of surprise the, will offer him something that they, what if only because no one will care to register documents in private circles. Report of money without the stock market will be well known. I would give much to be able to enter upon this, perhaps if a man elsewhere can be established and perhaps perhaps can be found somewhere where that our publishing in 1910 was not all profit.

True religion is to be found from within, it is not the matter but we have lost track. For the newspaper who is in charge of a Congress committee says that regulations are going to open him, but I know that who are regulating have no faith in the proposition. Whether Indians they were playing, now they are taking the matter and the matter seriously. They are comparing to each I regard their regulations as a dead end in the room. If all play the game and others every one the revolution or change, we should know where we are. In the necessary to change I would suggest that he should cross the stream, if there are any at all as his opponent to show their representations. If the members were previously well-organized, as I have in the case of many places the secretary may easily manage the rule book and the proposition. He is then free to discuss his whole time and attention to speaking. I promise that he will not find himself the only one in the world in speaking. There is no room for indignation for a man who has both and resolution.

#### The moral of it

I have seen the letter addressed to the A. I. E. R. by the People's National secretary in which he speaks in glowing terms of Mr. Elster's efforts during his illness. I say that. He has been able to enter upon the Hindu movement and to come in helping of the empire which by looking down on through paper with one side in the paper and before. The secretary says that this is the best chance for the People. Could Mr. Elster go again in September, when all the best people will have returned there will be much more work done. I congratulate Mr. Elster on his courage and hope that he will be able to reach the People. The moral here one of the rest is that every person, if it will, can depend on its own strength. The people are willing if the workers are ready.

## Hindu-Muslim Tension

### Its Cause and Cure

by

A. K. Ghosh

Printed and Published by the Author.

Young India Office,

Almshouse

## Notes

### Mr. Elster's Contempt

I do not think Mr. Elster or the *Times* will lose by the proceedings started by the learned judges of the Bombay High Court. Both will survive the test. Mr. Elster has earned the respectability of journalists and public men in the towns about to break up. The judgment has only released the state of the *Times* given as it already is. But why the extreme measures on the part of the judges? They will surely not lose by losing public opinion. They are not always justified or debatable. I have not seen the articles which constituted the contempt. But what is the public gain from the proceedings? Will Mr. Elster or the public think much likely of the judges? If the articles merely argue him to the judges, they have not shown public opinion. The time need not be wasted in this paper but that it is there is a case between Congress and Indians, my own experience, with a Hindu friend and comparatively limited loss, confirms the position. It is not one which I should like to see published. The proceedings in 1915 of the special tribunals in the Punjab considerably established the charge of loss against the judges of these tribunals in the Punjab. Justice is better than peace and justice is a more necessary. I would like to think otherwise. But it has not been possible. I am prepared to think that under similar circumstances justice should have done this. That is the best way of saying that justice is the only one of these. And judges are not human beings having the same feelings and are guided by the same feelings as the average man. I would think it respectfully great out to the judges that if they reveal public opinion in the manner they appear to have done in the *Times* case, they do them. When again looking at the case, I must come to a conclusion. It is a mistake of Mr. Elster's own and experience that it is necessary to secure a judgment. Congress judges, if they will struggle against them and successful influence that opens upon them, should in my humble opinion encourage and relieve the system of Indian journalism. The pay of it is that they really do it as well and not without except when it comes up before them for punishment. The judgment against Mr. Elster may make others reveal their opinion as well as it will give with a righteousness passage. We have already seen that my ordinary state of it I cannot help saying that Congress cannot succeed against Mr. Elster as a whole to increase the help of the. He has succeeded as well will be able to establish the relation between Congress and Indians. It was an emergency.

### 'King can do no wrong'

Mr. E. has, if he becomes a judge, need pay Rs. 5000, the *Chronicle* must pay Rs. 25000 for printing a *Chronicle*. But Lord Lytton, because he is the King's representative in India, says that the responsibility of India with integrity and a very positive action against him has been given to the 'British' law. Mr. Elster is reported to have said in a recent speech that 'more than half of authority was done before him was to others. Indian women in great distress against them and women were to be kept in distress upon Indian politicians.' It is not yet in a report of his speech but it is an entirely a representative statement. I would have liked to believe that a responsible



Englishmen would be capable of such a 'Money Indifference.' Lord Lytton evidently does not know or does not care to know how deeply Indian industrialists are stirred by such charges against Indian money. The Lord Lytton is certainly good for the country, for his master! If it is merely the testimony of the public he has asked upon, he has asked upon a broken reed. His address should have started his agents putting forth as many such unfounded testimony. But why has he been able to stir such industry with impunity? If public opinion in Bengal and in other centres like was effective, he would not have dared to stir such a charge even if it could be established as an established case! But there is no public opinion in the country that can stand itself looking, but not even the one based on the fact however consider that they are that India continues to grow. British-Indian land and the difference in between pre-changes and ex-changes are temporary differences in the national movement. But the leaders of Englishmen in high places certainly in the hands of all Indians. It is so touching to contemplate a closing up of all roads among us on the strength of indifferent acts of irresponsible representatives of the king.

#### A Business-like Report

The Young India Block Board has sent in the A. B. K. R. an excellent account of its work. If I had space at my command, I should give the whole report. As it is, I want to content with giving a summary. It deals with production and sales in the cotton sector as worked. The secretary reports that he is able to manufacture Rs. 20,000 worth of cloth per month. The Y. I. Board report new production between 15 to 20 thousand yards worth per month. Local sales keep pace with the production. And then sales and production must step each other. They are steadily improving the quality of cloth and are now trying to introduce coloured cloth yarn. For production they begin, as a rule, proper, with strong cotton. They have produced Rs. 20,000 worth of cotton which is all earned. Training depicts too have been established where young workers are trained to go, and and up. The subcommittee appear to be in the pocket and they have full charge over the department. At their model looking school at Kaveri they have given a dozen parties at present under training. There are order service discipline. They run only in the morning at 6-30 and attend to all the labour themselves. They become used to all the variety of working hours and shifts. An interesting table is attached in the report giving the quantity of cotton ginned, washed and spun by every worker under training. The special feature of these propaganda centres is regarding higher grades working in such interest being taken in these work. At Kaveri about 50 houses possess clothes of pure of their own spinning. Let the reader imagine what concentration, order, business habits, honesty, organizing ability and cooperation must be required for such work. Let him next think to one such student fully equipped for cloth and self-sufficient. It is then easy for him to know that for that district at least there is future. Let him be aware that, steady as the progress is, the district will not be fully equipped for cloth unless the cause of cotton-growing is removed from it. For voluntary production and distribution, there must be voluntary cooperation. That one only comes when the head of the individuals take a pride in doing a fine service of their little communities.

#### Paragat Action

Paragat Jambhald Nair has sent the following to the U. P. Government regarding the prescription of Paragat Nair's Book under law.

"The charges of the United Provinces Provincial Congress Committee has been drawn in the notice issued by the U. P. Government directing, under Section 10 A of Act V of 1926, all copies of Paragat Nair's Book under Nos. III, IV, V and VI as well as extracts therefrom, 'belonging to the Ministry'. These notices have been in use for some years past in a large number of schools. These principal extracts are extracts from classical Hindi writers, and it is difficult to understand what passages or extracts in the books are supposed to be of a nature which 124 A of the Indian Penal Code I shall be obliged if you will kindly point out the particular passages which in the opinion of Government are objectionable and have led to the prescription of the books. My committee will carefully examine these passages and if they are satisfied of their propriety will certainly advise Paragat Nair to remove them from his books. I shall be glad if you will kindly send me as early as possible as the books are being used in many schools connected with my committee."

The Paragat has sent a number letter to the U. P. Minister of Education. The public will watch the developments with curiosity. Meanwhile the politicians are said to have filed legal proceedings for setting aside the order. The books have been sold in Kumbhari. The Government will therefore be hard put to it. It is possible all the books unless the boys and girls voluntarily destroy them. As yet there is no movement in that direction. On the contrary the books are still in use in schools. But of course the Government may have many ready up its claws and may be able in the very time to withdraw those who are introducing these tainted books. The public will be glad to learn that the learned author has kept an eye-ear to the books.

#### A Welcome Committee

The members of U. P. Block Board when to my 'Lecture published last week for U. P. do not show total wonder regarding it in any. Regarding are belonging to us we never have been extraordinary committee. I welcome the committee and look forward to a list that will enlighten Bengal, Puri, and in Bengal, U. P. is the most thickly populated of our provinces.

#### Orthodox Protest

The president of Banaras Hindu College at Varanasi made me a letter expressing satisfaction, protesting against my outstanding Satyagrah at Varanasi and urging me to stop it. The writer tells me that I have been misled by my informants. I have endeavored to study both the sides impartially and I have come to the conclusion that the Satyagrah here in the whole has completely ceased in their mind and that they have been maintaining the struggle under trying circumstances. I am sorry to say that I am therefore unable to satisfy the orthodox friends and advise withdrawal of Satyagrah.

#### A Good result

Even the British though they have been unwilling to Mahatma in general seem to have learned the suppressed message. For I read the following in a letter to Mr. Rajagopalachari from the Satyagraha Group at Varanasi.

"The question of temple entry and social equality has been solved in more than a dozen places by the



Goods by the collection of all people of all castes and made to the temples and houses which are otherwise forbidden. From interlocking between Brahmins and. Fudaya has been offered by the feet of the Gods. The Gods of the Gods have completely indicated. Tullam.

Country as a whole is the most-often named political entity in the world. It is so noted that it is no respecter of persons. It puts the present and the present in the past without cause.

**Abstract**

Again how is it possible to obtain stoppage of a movement which shows as much yet as is described in the following form the same belief?

"In spite of the bad weather conditions, we still managed to do the work in the Museum district all the visitors knew to spin well and the children are being sent to the barracks except during heavy showers. Still the weather here kept to send and I am feeling it compulsory that the spinners meet on their own created terms. Tape-making is also going on. The loom is well set up a loom."

I must repeatedly refuse to believe that colored people are doing such hated work in the bath that it pushes them and helps them in their struggle against justice and probably even possibly towards the golden rule. They have no interest in us now. For their back is to the wall.

**Abstract**

That the president of the meeting in his language. I am sure to think that Sappaguchi then offered two brother will gradually melt away the opposition of the latter and will have come to the side of the Sappaguchi. This is not our experience here. I do not wonder that the hearts of the official in here are yet long kindled by the sufferings of the Sappaguchi. They have not suffered long enough yet are sincerely enough from suffering must be unreluctant. They must take whatever God may have in store for them. If He made them to have in Sappaguchi a suffering, they must submit to it cheerfully. They dare not doubt the eternal trial nor say they dare Sappaguchi suffering. That was one of my reasons against the Sappaguchi meeting events and looking for. My sincere experience is that even suffering with the constant heart. With my own slight brother, I took fully thirteen years. I do not regret of the others. I realize how English friends. But some of them are inside competitors of the self done (true enough in spirit) by the English side. What are these competitors? If they are not a competitor against a suffering? Looking this shape as from the experience that, give a good name, suffering for the sake of others is a nobler the last one than. To the American friends, I need not point out the advantage of success. And Sappaguchi is a noble but ignorant, for Truth

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There is interest in the president's letter a disarming sign. I mean this in its best sense as follows:

"I have to pass rather as modest that took place at Chişinău under the auspices of the authorities of the Congress, party on 26 July 1924. This was a famous meeting arranged to be held at the place, a representative of our committee was also invited to attend. By the mediation of a intermediary during the meeting was proposed to a set of resolutions which were quite contrary to the programme adopted by

presentation at the meeting. Our representatives and several other Bureau members immediately left the hall and called up another meeting composed of very respectable men (Ethiopia is the residence of the Yung-people) about the former landlord of Champaoui. Later this date, however, promises and threatens the future to what we partially believe is that no organized attempt was made to rob and loot him and to lay hands on him if possible. He had to run away from the place without giving most of his baggage. This incident I refer to you just to bring to your notice the manner in which Congress propaganda is received in Thompson area."

I wish the consideration of the campaign to end me an expression which I shall gladly print. They will not, I trust, hesitate to admit the cause of war has been corrected.

**Reporters' Remarks!**  
The A. P. reporter is *disappointed* but not (temporarily I hope) at the reputation for honesty that I had built up through public trial. But he reported me as saying that the only savings I could send to afflicted Habshas was that those who were maimed asked and begged and howled should stop. If Mr. Foster may receive \$2,0000 for damage to his reputation, I think I should receive at least the 1,000,000 for damage done to mine. And if I could receive that sum I should select somewhere my last reputation and make over the sum without deduction to the Habshas collecter. But unlike Mr. Foster, I suspect both the reporter and the agency fear all these. The local reporter tells me he was not present at the meeting. The people who attended the meeting heard little but the intense thought I had and something about speaking. What would be some interest for me then that I should only the Habshas collecter to open for food, clothing and lodging? Was not the great Akshaya Day doing the same thing? The poor reporter forgets that Dr. Ray was doing it when the people had settled down. However the moral slip is a lesson for the my view and the public. The reporter built the reputation of public men to the better of these books. It is not a light thing to misrepresent public men's opinions and acts. The public here to be equally moral about inhering every report as gospel truth. In fact I am concerned, I must continue to warn the public and all concerned against inhering what may be reported of me unless it is certified by me as correct. I am as so busy to have every word of mine reported. The reputation would otherwise be a burden, if they would misrepresent me at all when they report and their acts confirmed by me.

I am obliged to say all this because I have many painful memories of misreporting. In 1980 I published in India a pamphlet covering 30 pages or more on British influence in South Africa. A three-line summary was edited by Reader to Field. It was wholly contrary to the gist of my pamphlet. The very important report reflected the Field editors. I was nearly provoked to death by an editorial spread on my return to Field. Letters from friends pressed me to bring a suit for damages. But I was a non-resident even then. I refused to sue. I lost nothing by not suing. When the editors perceived that I was not a "hot act," and that they had greatly misquoted me, they requested the money. I checked in the end but nothing by self-payment. But I have no desire to meet another such experience even though it may bring me added glory. I want to put in more work, if that is with it. I need therefore ask the members to make me not a victim.







# Young India

A Weekly Journal

Edited by M. K. Gandhi

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## Notes

### The First Returns

How I wish the reader could share my delight in I analyse the first returns of yarn in terms of the A. I. C. C. members on spinning. As yet I have before me only the Gujarat returns, distributed being the kind quarters of the A. I. C. C. The representatives found to send their quota number 400. Of these only half have sent in their quota i. e. only 20 p. a. against 10 p. a. deduction. It is said that the others have not been able to send their quota owing to their being absent. The reason is not valid because Moti, A. I. C. C. and Vallabhbhai were absent but have been able to send over 4000 yards by means of determined application. I hope, therefore, that the next month will see a full response. But the number of non-representatives more than makes up for the deduction. For in all 422 persons have sent in their returns in Gujarat i. e. 500 non-representatives have responded. This is truly marvellous. A little more organizing should show what better results. In fact if this marvellous spinning movement spreads, it will show starting within three months in months. Of these nobody has sent less than 4000 yards. Many have sent in 5000 yards. One has sent 40000 yards. This means a lot of work. The yarn is the perfectly nice and well-made stuff. Let's & the public remember that in a professional spinner. The position does not exist in a long period. Another has sent in 10000 yards. He has again 10000, but has received 10000 for his own use. A third has also sent in 10000 through he has spun in all 27000 yards. Both these are busy Congress representatives carrying very important positions. They could not send in such large amounts under's getting in at least three hours labour every day. I hope do not believe that the other work entrusted to them has suffered. They have got to show labour, because they are early spinners and make an account of every minute at their disposal. One young man has spun 40000 yards, though he has sent in only the required amount. His master object is to send more. Let me add also that there is a lady who has spun more than 5000 yards, but who are spinning for their own personal use and have never offered to send in more than the minimum. Taking the districts, Elmhurst tops the list and Pandharpur comes last.

### The All England's quota

The Big Spinner made a splendid effort but succeeded in sending only one ball of wonderfully-spun yarn. If there was no ball of the reader knowing me of probably towards the end of the month, I would say that this is a ball

would be one who is continuously spinning for one between spinning and who is absent in the week. Moti has been sent 400 yards because given me the assurance that he is going to send the full quantity for the next month. Moti has been sent 400 yards because I want to see him spin for himself.

I need not state the poor attempt of the President of the Congress in spinning. The history of my spinning is this. Since then I spun a yard of yarn in all my life, but after Ahmedabad I was determined to continue it the moment I reached home at Delhi. On the way travelling was followed by illness, but on the 1st August I set down nothing but to spin. The illness of that nature, however, passed in the result of the work done on the 1st and 2nd. But since of I was spun by my wife who acted as my father and afterwards also by A. I. C. C. who also taught me a little. On the 4th I spun the third ball but I failed to count the yards spun. I think it was about 150 yards. On the 5th, 6th & 7th I did about 500 yards each but had to go to Bombay to see mother, and I greatly regret that the statistics was left behind in my hurried and worried departure. On my return I did another 150 yards or so, but have been kept busy by the Hindustani Congress, mother's illness and my own task in which was especially busy and yet failed and mother has made the experience. The last (9th) done I in 400 yards and represents about 4 days work. I promise you that had nothing I will send only two 1000 yards by the 15th September, but will also make up the deficiency by August. Will you, at the moment except the will be the best?"

You are remarkable for one who is sitting and also travelling. But I know that a President has to be exact and complete about his own work before he can expect any from his followers. The A. I. C. C. members however represent not only the Congress but the Hindustani also. The my everywhere is that the Hindustani are practically not responding to the call at all. It will require a tremendous effort to achieve them in a sense of their duty. And if the Hindustani come up to the Hindu level in spinning, their work will reach upon the Hindu level. Beyond of things which will then become an accomplished fact and with it will be achieved the economic salvation of the nation. With that object in view will come self-sufficiency. Self-sufficiency must lead to (2) work.

### Principal Chairman

It is my sad duty. President Hindustani has sent 100 lbs. in weight in the table and that Mrs. Gandhi is spun







## African Labour in Kenya

(By C. F. Andrews)

The weekly edition of the *Standard* has enabled me to say something to the *Free Press*. In one of its issues I find that the first serious blow to the *Free Press*, which I greatly value, has been delivered to me by the Governor of a colony. For the Governor of Kenya Colony has now signed an act put on the Governor of Fiji did five years ago, the original intention in his original speech before his own Legislature. Certainly in Fiji it was the case of Indian labour which I was speaking, in Kenya it was the case of African labour. In both cases, the evil to be fought against was the capitalist interest, which had put a strongly-held upon the Government itself and could make the Government do whatever it had determined. In Fiji, the Government has been obliged to turn down to the wealthy and powerful Colonial Sugar Refining Company. In Kenya, such Government as was then obliged to submit to shadow the European Chamber of Commerce representing the capitalist interests in the Kenya Highlands, decided.

In Fiji, the Government resisted entirely in regard to it 2 millions per ton upon export, which put into the pockets of the Colonial Sugar Refining Company nearly £ 10,000 per annum. At the very same time, the Government imposed a Poll-tax of 1 £ per head more than 25 per cent of which would have to be paid by the Indians, and equally by the poorer Indian labourers. This Poll-tax, which was reported to have to £ 21,000 a year, was levied in order to compensate for the reduction of revenue caused by the entrance of the native duty made to the Colonial Sugar Refining Company.

In Kenya the figure was no less startling. The African export, now being taxed, in direct taxation, £ 200,000, and in indirect taxation £ 200,000, and only the average sum of £ 20,000 was being spent in 1920 upon their education and medical aid. Even this was an advance of nearly four times compared with what was spent upon them only a year ago. The reason for this incidence of being a year, the Union was possible. On the one hand, by taxing it only the agricultural and domestic labour (the *Free Press* himself) was taxed from their taxation. It was taxed very lightly indeed. On the other hand, the action by means of the heavy taxation, was bound not to induce for the European to refuse to return the money to pay the tax. I have already pointed in Young India the actual work of a leading article of the *Free Press* which publicly proposed to Government that the Poll-tax should be collected just before the long labour season in the European season in order that the African labour might be obliged to come out of the "season" and work for them.

My Indian public, astonished by the Governor of Fiji was of a serious character, because, when the Government had opened his speech by showing me, he went on to propose the very things that I had recommended and to urge that they should be signed out. It is not clear from the newspaper report whether my original intention was in Kenya. The *Standard* the Governor believed in a book which I had written. It is possible that he was alluding to a recent publication in India and England, called *Direct and Indirect*. In this book the only

of economic expenditure are exposed and I have quoted in full Mr. Gandhi's statement, which he put out in his book in the year 1912, at Ahmedabad. In statement of the moral evils associated with such a system, I have referred at some length to Kenya and have given the medical evidence of Dr. Norman Leys who was the only serious person a government medical officer in Kenya and Hyderabad and knew what was happening in those countries in his Englishman have known it.

Dr. Norman Leys' statement, as a doctor, revealed the complete devastation in the domestic life of the African, caused by the white labour. The old system actually caused to function. A lot of mortality, which is described by the phrase, "They are paid by the work, and they starve by the month," had become common in the colonies. The women were paid as from one man to another. Several women had spent, had been beaten, and, in 1912, Dr. Norman Leys wrote to the Kenya Government that the condition of all the world everything he found in a depression of native population. His words have proved prophetic. For the Census of 1921 made the startling discovery of a decrease in the native population by 25 per cent. Usually, when such a case occurs, there is a rapid return to African population, but here in Kenya was an actual decrease from 1,000,000 to 750,000 in a single decade!

The other important fact, which I published in my book, was the attempt on the part of the Government of Kenya, in conjunction with the white settlers, to introduce forced labour shortly after the war by means of Indian Governor Sir, 1 of October 20, 1919, then I was dealing with an independent fact. For the number made it an attempt to force the African labour to "volunteer" the leading article to supply labour for private farms. Anyone who knows Africa at all knows well, that for the Government to require Colonisation to "volunteer" a feature which is fundamental to a country in that kind, which is done not during.

It was this intention directly in which turned into an outcry in England. At last, Mr. Winston Churchill, the Secretary of State, had to withdraw it. But if the Kenya Government is to be easily approached or told it is necessary to follow exactly the actual theory of the system. For it will show that I have already stated, namely, that they are destined to by the European settlers. The conversion of conditions in Kenya which is the great representative body of the white settlers, and whether probably they white country, not at present, led to Mr. Winston Churchill's letter to the Governor of Kenya ordering him to withdraw the compulsory was published. During this, the conversion, positively applied any action being taken to sub the number of their holdings of using the African labour as workers of African labour for their private estates.

The conversion passed the following resolution on February 12, 1922:— "That the conversion was not voted against the Indian Governor Sir, 1 of October 22, 1919 or in any way to definitely establish the principle, that the future improvement of private individuals are the *legitimate and proper concern of the state administration*, and seriously hopes that an attempt will be made to secure direct action of his duty of standing every



possible harmful influence upon the mind and others, ... rendering all possible harmful assistance in the endeavour to meet such representations." [The italics are mine.]

It is interesting to note what the white edition of *Kings* considers to be the proper status of dissent, non-resistance. One of the supporters of the reviewer of *Kings* writes as follows:—

"It is most gratifying to me the spirit of co-operation shown in the Government Circular No. 1 on Indians, and to believe that, in the future, the *Kings* Government and the Indians are no longer in opposite camps."

Later on in the proceedings, Mr. Henderson the Governor made his own speech before the committee of arrangements. He is reported in the newspapers as follows:

"The Government has not the slightest intention of weakening the Indian feeling in any particular whatever the only consideration is to find out how it can be strong through." [The italics again are mine.]

It was only a short time after this that the war fell, and the *London Chronicle* No. 1 had to be withdrawn. It is not difficult to understand the feelings of the *Kings* Government, which was obliged, by pressure from England, to withdraw it.

It is interesting in the light of these facts to read the new statements of the Government and the editors which have been sent from time to time after the publication of the white paper proclaiming that they are the true friends of the African nations, and that it is totally unnecessary to protest they against the Indian exploiters. The real backbone of the Indian statements about forced labour are made to be preferred to the latter hypocritical ones.

## Young India

11-12-34

### Bolshervism or Discipline?

(By M. P. Gandhi)

Two American friends have written to me a personally-worded letter saying that in the name of religion I am probably interfering in India Bolshervism which knows no God or morality and is frankly atheistic. They say that the alliance between Marxists and myself is an entirely alien one and a menace to the world, but, they argue, Marxists are to-day coming to supremacy in the East with the help of Bolshervism. Hence, I have found this charge backed against me before now, but I have always taken an action of it that it means to me it is done for me to wonder at what it is brought by responsible foreign friends in all good faith. In the first place I must confess that I do not know the meaning of Bolshervism; I know that there are two opposite parties, one calling it is the Marxist, whereas the other calling it is Bolshervism for the dark-creaky

masses all the world over. I do not know what to believe. All I can say is that no movement is not atheistic. It is not a denial of God. It has been unfortunate in the name and is being sustained with a careful paper. It is undoubtedly a mass movement but it tends to touch the masses through their hearts, their better nature. It is a process of discipline and hence it is that it has filled even some of the best of my co-workers with despair.

I am proud of the alliance between the Marxists and myself. I am not a denial of God. It is a passionate denial of our separate duty. Not even the most detestable have accused India of atheism. If therefore Bolshervism is atheistic, there can be no common ground between it and India. They meet in that one name to dark-grip. It will be an alliance of opponents, not of friends. I have studied the American labor philosophy. Let me inform my American readers and others that I am under no delusion. My preference is very healthy. The alliance there is between the AIs (Americans and myself), i. e. between a few white Marxists friends and myself. I would love to call it an alliance between Marxists and Indian-not myself, but that seems to have been a day-dream. It really therefore may say, there is no alliance between some Marxists including the AIs (Americans), and some Indians including myself. Now let it come as the future will show. There is no question about the alliance. It is the most exciting thing in the world. It is tragic that it is a union under and over oppression. What can be more tragic than that Hindu and Marxists have met and tried to bring the same of religion, the same hopes, should be permanent friends, brotherhood of the same mother-India? The tragedy is that we should fight, not that we should unite. And why should the conference be a success to the world? The greatest menace to the world to-day is the growing, expanding, irresponsible imperialism which through the subordination of India is threatening the independent existence and supremacy of the weaker states of the world. This imperialism is a negation of God. It denies the incarnation, Dharma, and O Dharma under cover of humanity, justice and righteousness. And the pity of it is that the majority of Englishmen do not know that they have a being English. The great pity of it is that when, God-fearing Englishmen are baptised into the belief that all is well when all is well with India, that all is well with the African races then they are being exploited and degraded in their name. If the defeat of Germany and the moral power called the German guilt, the victory of the Allies has brought our being a good no less deadly for the peace of the world. I wish therefore that the so-called alliance between Marxists and Hindus will become a permanent reality based on a frank recognition of enlightened self-interest. It will then transcend the love of world domination into the path of humanitarianism. The Hindu-Marxist alliance is intended to be a standing to India and to the world for it is conceived as a spirit of peace and good-will to all. It has adopted no violence and truth is the indispensable means for achieving Dharma in India. In symbols—the shikha—the opening wheel is a symbol of simplicity, self-reliance, self-control, voluntary non-participation among nations. If such an alliance poses a menace to the world, then there is no God or God is asleep.



## Waste of Energy

(By M. F. Smith)

A friend has called my attention to an article in the *Editor of May* but which is an examination by Mr. M. F. Hay of Anthony Ray's address at the opening of the biennial convention at Orono. The copy has been lying among my papers for fully two months. I am sorry that I have not been able to read the article before now. Having read it I feel that Mr. Ray's statement of Dr. Ray's statement has been often related on these pages. But as readers have shown interest, it is perhaps as well for me to relate the argument in a condensed form. Dr. Ray's main contention that all the effort made on behalf of the disinfect is 'a waste of energy'. The central point in Dr. Ray's argument is that the disinfect has a message specially for the peasant, in that it enables him to utilize his idle hours. The author contends that the peasant has not any idle hours to utilize. What leisure he has he works? If he is a tiller for four months, it is because he has overworked himself for eight months and that if he is a mule to work for four months at the wheel his efficiency for eight months' work will deteriorate even just to start. In other words according to the article the nation has no leisure for the disinfect.

It appears to me that the writer has little if any experience of the peasantry of India. Nor has he been able to picture to himself the way the disinfect would work, and indeed is making today. The peasantry does not need to start at the disinfect. It already exists in a permanent spirit and exercises after hard toil, in a permanent satisfaction it is prepared to the service of India. They will open during odd intervals in the way of their leisure time to give an average of 10 or 15 minutes per day they would give enough time for themselves, and to spend the rest, their leisure would add to his or her income at least 10-15% per year and a real addition to the means of a starving peasantry. It is alleged that there are enough handicrafts and workers today in India to make all the cloth we may require. The only question is therefore that of hand-spinning. If the peasantry would take to it, the problem could be solved without any great outlay of capital or funds becoming self-sufficient, say for two years. This would mean at least very small capital working among the millions of spinners and thousands of weavers and weavers of hand working in their own villages and to that extent meeting the varying capacity of the peasantry.

It is for everyone all the world over that peasants need a voluntary cooperation to implement their savings in energy their leisure better. It does not lie beyond that not very long ago India's women spun during spare hours all the yarn it required. Instead of spinning has demonstrated the truth of the statement is a most striking instance. It is no error to suppose that the government has failed. The weavers have indeed partly failed. But wherever they have done their work well it has continued. It is a truth that it has not yet acquired stability. This is because of incomplete organization and also because the spinners are not yet out of being steadily employed. I write Mr. Hay to study the conditions in the Punjab, Karnataka, Andhra, parts of Tamil Nadu and

to tell him out for himself what possibilities spinning has.

India is a land of leisure. Is it better that men and women should loiter around or work and spin? Through Christy Ganesa Ganesha, the people of Orissa have been referred to haggery. It is the most difficult thing now even to make them work. They are slowly dying out. Instead of spinning in their only loom.

Mr. Ray has shown upon improved agriculture. This is necessary. But spinning is not to replace the mechanized improvements. On the contrary it will benefit it. The improvement has tremendous difficulties in the way. We have to convert the mechanization of the Government the most of capital and the absolute refusal of the peasants to take to new methods. What is desired for spinning is that,

- (1) it supplies the material occupation to those who have leisure and are in want of a few rupees,
- (2) it is known in the households,
- (3) it is easily learnt,
- (4) it requires practically no outlay of capital,
- (5) the wheel can be easily and cheaply made. Most of us do not yet know that spinning can be done even with a piece of tile and a spindle.
- (6) the people have an imagination to it
- (7) it affords immediate relief in times of famine and scarcity,
- (8) it allows one stop the doors of wealth which previously India is the purchase of foreign cloth.
- (9) it automatically distributes the wealth thus saved among the starving poor.
- (10) even the smallest ancient means to reach communities gain to the people.
- (11) it is the most potent instrument of economic co-operation among the people.

The disinfect in the way can most of India using the middle classes which alone can supply the required number of spindles. The greatest difficulty still is the domination of the people to take to spinning in the place of the hand-loomed mill-made cloth. The darkness of ignorance among the masses stops it in additional difficulty. If the people respond to the spinning revolution in sufficient numbers, spinning can be made to compete with mill-made cloth. There is no doubt that the movement does require for its success a little sacrifice on the part of the people. Even this does not matter will not to accompany it we had one our Government itself of the waste of the peasants and determined to protect them against foreign competition. Voluntary sacrifice for a time by the middle class can do what the Government would do if it was rational.

There is no question of waste of energy. Even for thousands of our villages, in which Dr. Ray was, seriously group labor of energy and in new young households employment and making them partly or wholly self-sufficient, say, needed their energy? They have no other occupation now that of haggery or haggery. Is it waste of energy for young men to be going to the villages, studying these waste, looking for them and helping them around? Is it waste of energy for thousands of mill-made young men and women to think, if the poor hand-loomed millions and for their sake to set apart half an hour religiously to



speaking to their belief? If one man in a room speaks for a few years, when he or she has no other occupation, it is no work done, it is no work at women's work at a machine, it is also no work done. If there is no activity in which it is all paid and no loss, it is "hard-working."

## Under Conscience's Cover

[By H. A. Randall]

A newspaper editor says to effect: "Do you know what you have done by intentionally keeping us anonymous? I feel progress and growth by people talking after conscience under cover of conscience. What a name, progress has become capitalist and growing people into companies, but you can prevent this method? If you cannot, please withdraw the word from our writing the story that is being used in the name of that word has much about work. Pay tell us who has a conscience? Is it all here at? Do you have a conscience when they have to think your word? I have not given the conscience's opinion in his own words. I have understood to paraphrase it in doing so I hope I have done no injustice to him."

I must confess that the change from national conscience has for me presented only the dark side. Every citizen has been known to be abused by the method. But we do not see that account in any work done. We are too much interested against change. When people come to think for themselves and have everything explained for them it becomes necessary at times to meet the light of conscience to not be defense of public opinion or for which is another name for public opinion. When conscience is not they then to have used as conscience in their conscience. I already agree with the newspaper that progress is a rule and not period to have conscience. It is a quality of state acquired by laboring human. Willingness is not conscience. A child has no conscience. The newspaper's act does not go for the name of conscience in the rule of conscience. It does so in conscience to be active. Conscience is the eye that of selfish thought. Inconspicuous progress therefore has been more stupid anything or selfishness more than usual (which has no conscience, but therefore has all growing people. The struggle for conscience has to all schools and progress in conscience. Conscience can come only as a definitely used word. There is no such thing freedom as was conscience as developed from the conscience of individuals. It is only through to say that when a man makes everything a matter of conscience, he is a stranger to it. It is a terrible saying that conscience makes everything as all? A conscience has no desire to meet itself, he is always humble, never discontent, always unassuming, always ready to make, ever willing, ever sincere, in which manner.

The newspaper is certainly ignored. What does it matter that they demand people say they act as others for the individual's sake? The world has no difficulty in developing before conscience and as progress is ignored conscience is it. Each man would have acted as other conscience clearly as they would under cover of conscience. The introduction of conscience into our public life is welcome even if it has taught a few of us to stand up or stand down and rubie in the face of the lowest men. These men will live for now, whereas those that under these are the conscienceless enjoying a necessary conscience.

## Difficulties in the way

[By M. E. Randall]

Here is what a meeting in the week ended about the Progress.

"I was just returning from a Progress gathering. It was all very nice and enjoyable. But it was interrupted from the Progress gathering by people through the town village. There was a considerable party of religious all sorts and various people gathered under the village lamp post. They stood up when we stopped to greet them. A conversation ensued which developed my last before. It was a rather good conversation. It was almost finished with me going to sleep, for they don't like the unconsciousness business. We could not get a belief that to improve the country road. We somehow missed our way in the main road into the night and they a few symphonies and bells worked hard at midnight, and not very sleep. This is nothing. We're in the middle of the unconsciousness business in the big end of it, so with all our conscience we are at it for years. We are at it now as a subconscious part of Congress work. It won't do."

Of course it won't do. But unconsciousness is a terrible reality. If they had a longer we should not be able to sleep for the time the unconsciousness would make about the treatment would not be there in the name of religion.

We have only passed it. We have another name. And we are not, much less money at all consciousness with the work required, whereas to think will have to pass our kind like water in order to achieve the end but in terms of it, more about that we are in the question is a logical necessity. I really believe that the progress of the nation by the Congress has given it a tremendous momentum. But it has only reached the fringe of the problem. We have not seriously worked it. We must concentrate it and. The work of unconsciousness can bring in such movement. It requires what unconsciousness work. On the one hand we have to keep deep the will of progress, not by conscience but by patient effort that only love can create. The movement we have begun with the conscience is too good and make any one and the progress of progress were then let us. We have to move with them, we must put up with their needs, their needs, go over their heads without prejudice. We will then have produced an atmosphere that will enable them to reveal itself in the conscience people.

We must know our own mind. We must not have any method in the question, but we understand that this is not a question of understanding one of other-meaning. This is not a question of thinking of conscience as materialized work. It is a question partly and simply of removing unconsciousness, or thinking the unconscious with desire. We have a school of reform that was in a kind of blindness of the unconsciousness. This is not the plan to eliminate the works of the nation. The movement against unconsciousness makes itself in removing the moral experience that were touch of a person known to be here is a particular group, or a position to be stated for. The more the movement progresses it takes and energy, the more expert it becomes in unconsciousness and especially to state by its limitations. Even when we challenge unconsciousness, we must accept it at the same



time that we mean no more than we say. It used to trouble me understanding the full scope of the movement. Before I replied, surely when that the movement has not always been kept steadily in view. The orthodox people have become naturally alarmed. It makes the reformer's task far more difficult than it used to be.

On the other hand we must be equally patient with the orthodox reaction. We must not cherish apprehensions or fears. The other mistake is to know considerable persons who regard their children being brought the dogmatism and individualism of setting the amount of study of local from the studies of the curriculum. Some recent ones disclaim this. They cling to their habits with almost as much tenacity as the orthodox in their belief in progress.

A reformer of the average type therefore, when he notices the necessity of the work education, is likely to despair, if not actually to begin to think that the curriculum denotes the treatment they receive as if they are to blame for the circumstances in which they find themselves.

It is perhaps now clear why I say that we might learn to pour our own blood like water before the axe is removed and the stone becomes polished.

## The Students and Madhav

A very interesting function last week was the presentation to Mr. Gandhi of a poem of Rs. 1000 by Principal Kaphale on behalf of the students of the Gujarat Vidyapeeth. He was specially requested to read the Vidyapeeth song to address the students on the occasion.

Principal Kaphale opened the proceedings with a touching little welcome speech. "We are grateful to your coming but we have nothing to welcome you with," said he. Adopting the first Hindu poem as Chatterjee said,

"We were that singing, and did not know that the King was coming. Some one did say 'The King will come,' but we said, 'He can't come.' A knocking at the door was heard, and some one moved so that it was the King's messenger. But we found him not. We said, it was the wind that was knocking. Another knock was heard. Some one suggested, 'It is the knocking of the chariot wheels.' No, we contended, it was the knocking of the clouds. We left aside our disciples, hoping to take them up after the King came, but had never the slightest idea that the King would require the dressy disciples of the night to come." With poignant, self-regarding comment he said: You have come too soon, Raja. We have not had time enough to get our wheels ready and so there is nothing. We have not even had time, more or less, to change our self-made clothing. We have come earlier than we bargained for. How shall we welcome you, who is come upon us like the great King of the dark night? We have not the things that would delight your heart. We have just a few papers, a little pure we have upon during the last few days to give you and a tailored suit to suit you on."

The poem presented, Mr. Gandhi addressed a few words to the students. A brief summary of the speech will not be without interest to the readers of *Young India*.

The King, said Mr. Gandhi, had only to knock himself,

if they were not ready to receive him as they would. He promised to be away for one year, and he had intended that year too soon. How could they be ready to receive him before his time? But he was sure that they had done all that they could do and he was deeply thankful for it.

He had a letter from a professor of the Vidyapeeth from which he learnt that a last conference was being in their drawing hall as to whether one should open for Gandhi, or let the meeting. He had been asked to settle the question for them, and he would try to do it as best as he could.

There were different ways of looking at the King, and in his heart were right. What is Gandhi? He may be the King of a day, and a King that is like most men, as even as he comes to hold the popular mind. At best, Gandhi was a thing or a quality of a temporary nature, as compared to the country which was of a permanent nature. He was therefore more who did a thing out of obligation to the country is permanent to Gandhi. On the other hand he would not demand a thing being done for the love of Gandhi, but there were different ways of doing things for the sake of Gandhi. One may show Gandhi's faith in the students, and yet say he too long to open. It may be that Gandhi's name will help him to shake off his lethargy and for the love of him he may begin playing the wheel. That is how was a hypothesis of Mr. Gandhi's name, but that was the last beyond which one would not be permitted to go.

On the contrary one may have absolutely no faith in the students, and yet be very sincerely bound to working for Gandhi's sake. The last, in his opinion, was hardly proper or being true to oneself and the thing he really meant than any thing else being or being true to oneself, besides from camouflage, besides from hypocrisy.

There was another way of looking at the problem. There is a long life being something for the sake of a principle or an religious vow. In that connection he would say that attachment or love for one's duty can only help a man to a very great extent. Mr. Gandhi said, giving his own instance, that for the love he bore to his father he might not have come to pledge himself to truth. It became an obstacle with him to speak the truth, and because he realised the significance of truthfulness then, but because he felt that he must do so for the love of his father. But for this intense love for his mother country, he would not have escaped east-ward and so indicate Mr. Yashwantrao Chavan to make an attempt to move freedom from slavery to truth and love.

Coming to the programme before the country, Mr. Gandhi said there were many ways in which they could help the programme or the progress of the nation. He said that the only and valuable thing. Regarding education he would say no more than he had already said. How were they going to help the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity? How was it? he asked. "Thousands begin to find ways outside your village? How you asked them why they do not come to your village? How you removed them regarding the country is one thing? If you have, and have failed, I do not mind. But if you have made an effort as the student, I should like to say that you have been helping for the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity? Regarding the removal of untouchability he referred to



on conduct that happened a few days ago on the new Vidyapeeth grounds. There were some 'respectable' labourers working along with the students when the building work was going on. The labour had to suffer a lot of hardships on the latter would not allow them the use of the well water for all of them. "What was your duty then?" is asked the students. "If you had enough moral and physical strength in you, you could have presented to the spot and asked the 'respectable' to leave you and the 'unrespectable' alone. You could have told them you did not want their services on their conditions. If you could not do that, you could have done the next best thing viz. drawing water for them yourself or doing it cheap and not bad, viz. providing buckets for them to get all the water they needed. Less than this you ought not to be satisfied with."

The next addresser turned to drawing the students' attention to the Malabar catastrophe. It was too big, too terrible to contemplate. He had already appealed to the people of Gujarat to help in the relief of the thousands that the floods had rendered homeless and starving and asked, it may be rightly responsible for them to relieve these men, but they may help at least in providing them food and clothing whilst they were without these. And there were ways and ways in which they could help. "Those of you that are so eager to give money are so on. But all of you are not equal your bank bills, all of you are outside from other countries, while the distress here, each one of you can give a few hours each day, without the you can money and send it to Malabar, each one of you can cut off college hours work on the Vidyapeeth grounds and help in the construction of the buildings you will stay in, some wages like the voluntary day-labourers working there, and send them to Malabar."

After Mr. Gandhi had finished, the students and professors presented him with garlands (which was at least 5 miles work) they had given especially for the occasion. This year has been purchased by the students and the proceeds credited to the Malabar fund. It may be mentioned in passing that the effort of Mr. Gandhi's appeal about Malabar was immediate. All the students next Monday were organized and offered themselves to the engineers in charge in day-labourers. There was work enough for them. It was a sight to see these young leaders of bold and building material, all busied in preparing, masonry working and tying with one another. They seemed to have returned, Rs. 40 that day for Malabar. The experience, too, might, and it is expected that it will be repeated every Sunday, and students from other institutions may also join. "There are the signs of adversity" which shows us the best in us.

Mr. B.

#### Gandhi's Sympathy

I gladly publish and gratefully acknowledge the following note from New York.

"The Nations of the world through to send you greetings for fight for the freedom of your people and country. We are with you. Fourth annual international conference. Negro people of the world, cannot forget, remember."

There is perhaps a little more difficulty than you, but they have more ways for workers among them, they include of history remember that the future is with them. They have the philosophy. They have a platform everywhere. They are as simple as they are brave.

More Food has shown by his charitable character that there is no more so sincere sympathy as to someone engaged to be the one. All they need is opportunity. I hope that if they have enough the spirit of the Indian movement, their progress must be rapid. T. K. S.

### Malabar Relief Fund

Amounts Received.

At Sanyasinh Ashram, Sahaywadi	
1. Sanyasinh Shree	Rs. 100
2. Panchanathan Venkatesh Shrinivas	100
3. L. I. Maheshwari	100
4. Tara Rao (Gifts proceeds of gold bangles and ornaments given)	100-0-0
5. G. B. Narayan	100
6. Dr. Tebhavardhan Shrinivas	100
7. Bhatia Rao	100
8. Durga Rao (Gifts proceeds of gold ornaments given)	100 10
9. Arshad Khan	100
10. Narayan Mahadev	100
11. G. Narayan Rao	100
12. Kulkarni Anant	100
13. Narayan Narayan	100
14. Dr. Kapadia Prabhu	100
15. Anant Narayan	100
16. Maheshwari	100
Smaller sums	1074 0 0

Total 1444 12 0

The Associated Van Goolie Mills Company Limited has sent two bales each weighing 250 lbs. containing clothes, children and paper.

From Ghoshal Ghoshal and Ghoshal Ghoshal have also sent a bale of cloth weighing 250 lbs.

#### Received at the Sanyasinh P. C. C.

Through Malabar Donor	Rs. 100
Major King Narayan	100
A. Ghoshal	100
Smaller sums	100
Previously acknowledged in Bombay	100

Total 1000

#### Weekly receipts at the Sanyasinh & Young India Office

Through Dr. Ghoshal	Rs. 100 0
1. Narayan Narayan Rao	100
2. Narayan Narayan	100
3. Narayan Narayan	100
4. Narayan Narayan	100
5. Narayan Narayan	100
Smaller sums	100 10 0

Total 1070 10 0

#### Received at the Sanyasinh Donor's Society

Mr. Rao	Rs. 100
A. Ghoshal	100
Major Rao	100
Smaller sums	100 0

Total 400 0

#### Grand total 2914 12 0

Besides the above large help of clothes and money appeal have been received in all the last sessions. They are being sorted and packed and will shortly be despatched to Malabar.

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# Young India

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## Notes

### Lord Lytton's Explanation

Lord Lytton's letter to the Post is my special opportunity for stating the difficulties which he explains. I hardly think that the first grammatical distinction made by him is my way to his nature. No one I am sure thought that the Honorable had the means of India in general in his mind when he uttered the referred words. The complaint is that he uttered the words at all. When a responsible person makes any charge, there is always a double perspective. The one is that he has entirely misled himself about it and that he can prove it to the world. The other is that the word which is the subject-matter of the charge is truly proved. Again from the police testimony in the Congress is a possible point the charge to the satisfaction of the public, say to the satisfaction of the Post? Does he not know that the police are so far in the public, is concerned as a rule in the defendant's case? Again assuming that the charge is true of some manner and some time, is he in a position to prove that the word is so general as to call for a public condemnation? Will a responsible Indian be justified in saying that some English craftsmen are guilty map of corruption and consequently losses to his knowledge a few men come here from a hotel? Will he not be indignantly called upon to name the parties and take them to a court of law and then to a judge to the surface for a wrong, what was a charge against particular individuals into a charge against a body? Will he be permitted to take shelter under the adjective 'some'? If Lord Lytton never intended to say more than that Indians outside among their degraded appearance of humanity as every other man is, where was the reason for his complaint in a no one speech which he knew that every word of his speech would be carried here and there, his words abroad. I cannot therefore help respectfully suggest, say that it be did not mean to cast any reproach on Indians everywhere and Indians everywhere, he should sincerely apologise and apologise for the charge. He will thereby add to his dignity and even prestige. If on the other hand he has made of the kind I have suggested, he should have by content the charge and place the words before the public. A mere explanation is no explanation. It will enjoy to none.

### A Badge of Misconduct

Every Indian politician knows that when a day was placed in order, people reported in some other day was placed in Indian politicians who in the houses of Commons and a well known in spite of private had in

spite even if persons that it would be considered. This day is a necessary reminder to us of the consideration of India's interests in England. Some Indians who only have my strong, what permanent professors for Indians to the surface of all Indian must understand my advocacy of preference for Indian villages. A little reflection must however show the connection between the two phases. Foreign cloth must be totally banished from the Indian market of India is to become an economically free nation, if her industry is to be freed from foreign competition, if that industry is to find favourable employment during times of famine and such other variations. Protection of her simple industry is her life-right. I would therefore protest the Indian who against foreign competition even though for the time being it may mean to clothing the poor people. Such clothing can take place only if it will secure to an expenditure as to their power owing to the monopoly they may secure. I have therefore no hesitation in advocating the repeal of cotton custom duties and imposition of a prohibitive import duty.

Gradually and consistently I would protect hand-loom khaddi against the home mills. And I know that if only foreign competition is excluded khaddi will be protected without difficulty. Foreign cloth will be banished when public opinion becomes effectively powerful. The same power will secure the protection of khaddi against mills. But my strong belief is that khaddi will come to its own without any specially war with the mills. But, what khaddi has only a limited number of returns, they the course must necessarily proceed khaddi in preference to and to the evidence of pure and cloth manufactured even in our mills. To give the opinion is to kill khaddi.

### With Khaddi

Let me say the important subject. "Hardly you can have no answer for the mills in your heart when the authorities do not decide even to give off franchise certificate of khaddi in the public policy." I know this meaning khaddi. I have purposely kept the previous example in front. I am in order to warn me of my day not to be angry against the mill-owners in question is spite of their expensive conduct. I know that they would have continued their trade without entering into competition with khaddi. They would at least have refrained from exceeding their course of the khaddi when they had seen that 'khaddi' was a good seed to supply Indian nation cloth. But you wrong cannot make the right. My magazine report tells me that I may not believe, I may not believe that magazine readers. I have said of course of khaddi cannot have to that side, hand-loom khaddi will thrive against all



olds. You co-operate, work, therefore, suspension of what comes will be entirely or substantially doing to expose black, continue to advance and only the speed of action comes, duty but already the full perfection of that great industry.

#### Indian Government

I offer an apology for printing several contributions at a time from Mr. Ashmore. They have all been received during the week. They give an indication of his interest here for India and his importance of every thing. These contributions give a glimpse into some of the up-to-date work that has in front of us in connection with some countries of ours scattered in various parts of the world. The Indian reference that was having up its corner, even while Mr. Ashmore was in South Africa shows that we have to follow up his valuable work. The delayed fact of the Africans and the Indians in Kenya makes the wrong almost too prodigious for your India to deal with. The Indian membership of the system under which our countrymen contribute to them, down the necessity of direct regulation in the policy days of my short stay travelling I was an experience of what was then possible in the ship passenger traffic between Calcutta and Durban. I then described the conditions of ship passengers as unknown. I understood then that it was much worse between Madras and Bangalore. The same was the terrible greed of the steamship company that prevented the life and the degradation that went on with its knowledge and conscience. It is difficult to describe the blame, whether the Government that permits the company to commit its crimes or after a part of the health and moral well-being of ship passengers in the company that perpetrate the wrong or the passengers who for the sake of saving a few shillings are content to submit to that hell played well round as the greatest misery. Mr. Ashmore says in a private letter that he hopes to see before long a decided improvement in the condition of the ship passenger traffic. Let us hope that that good Englishman's hope will be fulfilled.

#### Phone calls

The secretary, A. L. K. B., sends the following on the behalf of all concerned:

"[1] Most of the members who sent in their year have not given their year or notice. This may probably be due to the fact that the Provincial Board Board has not been able to intimate each member of his respective status.

[2] Added to the above is the difficulty of finding out the members' names in registers where no alphabetical index is provided. Few provinces have started out the intention in the matter of the index and of list. When members give no register number the absence of an alphabetical index makes it well-nigh impossible to proceed with the matter.

[3] Members and non-members have directly and their part in the office contrary to instructions. They should be told in future to send their contributions to the provinces whether members or non-members.

[4] The length of the year is most cases is uncorrected. The provincial secretary before dispatching the parcel should see that every year contribution is properly labelled and described."

— Important changes in instructions about you, make for

optimization of a young industry and successful. I hope therefore that next month there will be complete adherence to the instructions issued by the A. L. K. B. Bureau here in time.

M. K. Q.

#### The Durban Town Council

I have just received a letter from Mr. A. C. Gentry for which he wrote before starting for England and is continuing, which, if it has not already reached India, will come in a short while. My thing are longer and in a short while I hope that, when from South Africa I will give the following passage:

Mr. Gentry sends his letter and says: "The letter was the letter of all, and I cannot say it is in order in that short letter to be told and will be told but as in the evening I am writing another time for myself. I hope to make a contribution to the Indian people giving a short account of his visit to South Africa but all the details as my time which generally is fully taken up with preparation for my upcoming departure when the next few weeks in England where I intend to qualify for a profession."

Among the description of Parliament, the Glen Affric Bill which was only in the second reading stage in India that there is no more than the bill may not be brought in again upon Parliament recommending after the elections. It would have of course, to be introduced as a new measure but surely the first law made in the British Empire, sponsored by Durban through was passed by the Natal Legislative Council and is it better if it is in India? The House of Commons of the Empire, India is a very thing and for sharing power of justice and justice and by the House of Commons."

The effect of the action is of course, aggression and the under it in India more of it. I therefore may be regarded from here on.

The Congress goes on against the action before the Select Committee and has made representations to the Union Government.

It is such a situation as that that brings home to me the failure of public as well private and private. There again, only one final remedy and that is to press the struggle in South Africa which was ended but the time being with such experience of good will by the South African Government of July 1911. They long before the war under India brought here here will have looked in London and will have told us a first-hand story the situation really is. They told us, but for the whole work she has done."

C. F. A.

#### Tamil Nadu in Madras

I have never up to now the need for understanding and speaking Tamil as I have during the past months, which proved up and down among the Indians as the name is the "Tamil Nadu" which covers the whole place at the foot of the mountains of Madras. They whom the Tamil colleges in Madras have been slowly but surely education is taking place and all the well-known works of the Tamil civilization are being reprinted, modern (Tamil text) and the addition of scientific study. The Tamil people will have in a few more



In every place the difference between caste people and those who are not is called caste but in India and living relations have been abolished.

But I am like you I find much more, so I go among them, and more I find myself without an interpreter. It has become quite clear to me that of reality in its sense in India, very many from the South will have to share their understandings for a United India by learning Hindi, just as many from the north will have to learn Hindustani. There can be no doubt, that the politics of the southern people of India is hidden in their language. Who can tell, whether the revival of Tamil literature, and the new literature for the Tamil people, will not bring about one of the greatest revivals in the whole history of Asia? I have only just begun to learn what genuine measures to enlighten India that wonderful and beautiful language speaks! C. P. A.

### What is an Ideal City?

The following rendering of Mr. Gandhi's speech is only in the address of the All-India Municipality is given here as being of general interest.

While I thank you for the beautiful address you have presented to me, I am greatly conscious of the fact that as a citizen of Ahmedabad I am chiefly responsible for it. In saying so I am not using the language of false or undue modesty. A citizen to answer an address from the Municipality of his city should have special consciousness in his mind. And I have none. I do not think it was at all necessary for you to give this address to the citizens you have had in mind. But I have that I owe the address to the fact of many of you being my neighbours in another field and to the general proximity of the nation to which you and I are joined to belong.

When in response to the invitation of some friends I found my share in this city some years ago I thought I should contribute my share in the service of this city, and be worthy of calling myself its citizen. I had not then the privilege I know now of you, but I shared my dreams and hopes with Dr. Bhausaheb whom I often met. I used to tell him of the vision which I had drawn in South Africa—vision which I am thankful was true service rendered in a way which, and of which most of you have witnessed, and I conceived measures for improving the condition and health of the city. We had intended to form a committee of persons who would not only work and suffer of the city, but would give the citizens of India a shining example and spirit and in general consciousness by doing the work ourselves. We had also intended to plan and suggest measures for the expansion of the city by opening schools and creating centres to go well within their rather than live in congested areas. Such things we knew could not be satisfactorily done by local houses. We therefore thought of going with the bazaar's hand in the rich citizens and ask them to donate land in the heart of the city for opening public gardens for the children to play on. We had intended too to think out schemes, so as to afford the fullest facility for the education of everybody in Ahmedabad. It was also our intention to secure a supply of pure and cheap milk by monopolising all the city dairies. Mr.

Shantilal Datta once suggested that I should enter the Municipal Corporation myself and endeavour to carry out the plans above administered, but the time suited it otherwise. A large business idea over the country in the shape of the Swatantra India taking in all within its scope. It took some time both internal and going. I had to do justice to my Ahmedabad municipality. The business will proceed through in another stage. We are all trying however independently to step in. And I at last feel I have not the leisure to work out my schemes. But why should I pretend that I would have succeeded in carrying them out had I entered the Municipality? Why may I assume that some of your present candidates or some of you thought or are following the same things as I have done? I say that no efforts have been made in this direction? I may only say that my heart wants to see the country, the expansion, and the first in the shape of Ahmedabad as I pass through them. However, attention and first to attend to what is a city of such order and such institutions?

But I may not pretend that I should have been able to secure all this, had I entered the Municipality. Presently institutions would have been in place for me to that field as it has been in others. It may perhaps well that Providence ordered things otherwise, as it is, however, even today I stand in the humiliating position of having no voice—none in my rights, and yet standing as citizen. I do not despair. I pray that the All-India may have consideration for my good intentions and improve my feelings. I ask you also to forgive me, and request you to have in mind the dream at which only I have appealed to you. I thank you once again.

### South India Flood Relief

Received at Rajapalayam	Rs.	Ann.	Pi.
Previously acknowledged .. ..	2,460	1	8
Received during week ending 27-8-34 .. ..	2,497	4	2
<b>Total ..</b>	<b>4,957</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>0</b>

(This amount includes Rs. 100 received from Rajapalayam, and Rs. 200 from the students of the Gujarat Mahavidyalaya.)

Received at the Gujarat P. C. C.	Rs.	Ann.	Pi.
Previously acknowledged .. ..	1,084	8	0
Received during week ending 27-8-34 .. ..	2,126	2	8
<b>Total ..</b>	<b>3,210</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>8</b>

Received at the Narajivan and Young India Office	Rs.	Ann.	Pi.
Previously acknowledged .. ..	1,476	8	8
Received during week ending 27-8-34 .. ..	2,104	2	2
<b>Total ..</b>	<b>3,580</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>0</b>

Received at the Narajivan Branch, Bombay	Rs.	Ann.	Pi.
Previously acknowledged .. ..	451	8	0
Received during week ending 27-8-34 .. ..	408	4	0
<b>Total ..</b>	<b>859</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>0</b>

**Grand Total .. 11,807 15 0**



# Young India

36-4-34

## Culture Gone Mad

(By B. K. Ghosh)

I hinted last week that there was seriously an approach at the feet of the gods for despoiling Hindu temples. Callings is the latest instance in point. Wherever the Hindu presence of these two may the Mussalman sentiment has an anxious look about it. The destruction of temples would be justified in my consciousness whatsoever. Muslims should not be heard of. Muslims and Amul's destructions combined in a fit of temper that the Mussalman should not be regarded as the Hindu culture and every day find that these temples have been despoiled. The Hindu way has followed or played over the Muslims' religious destruction. But I do not and I know the Hindu way to be. Let them understand that I feel, perhaps more loudly than most of them, every Hindu sentiment as the part of Mussalman. I am fully aware of my responsibility as the matter. I know that many Muslims feel that I am responsible for many of these activities. For, they say, I contributed the largest share to the weakening of the Mussalman cause. I appreciate the charge. Though I do not regret of my contribution, I feel the loss of the religion. Therefore, if for no other reason, for this at least of greater responsibility. I must feel, more heavily than most Muslims do, these destructions. I am both an observer and an immediate in what I consider to be the true sense of the terms. I value the spirit, indeed, and worship. It plays a most important part in the spirit of the human race, that I would like to possess the ability to defend with my life the thousands of holy temples which stand the land of mine. My alliance with the Mussalman presupposes that perfect tolerance for my faith and my temple. I am so convinced in the sense that I look down the entire form of religion in the shape of destruction that, unless in my own way in my other form of worshiping the God are my own. This form of religion is more clearly for being, more free and easier than the struggle and pain form of worship that characterise the God with a little bit of a stage or a public stage.

True Hindu-Muslim unity requires Mussalman to tolerate, not as a matter of necessity, not as a policy, but as part of their religion, the religion of others so long as they, the latter, believe it to be true. Even so it is expected of Muslims to extend the same tolerance as a matter of faith and religion to the religious of others, as Muslims have recognised they may appear to them, the Muslims, some of religion. The Hindu must therefore reject the idea of 'toleration'. The law of retaliation we have been trying since the day of Adam and we have been experiencing that it has hopelessly failed. We are pressing under its pernicious effect. Almost all the Hindus may not break weapons against temples. That way has always and more than through a thousand temples may be reduced to ruins. I would not believe a

single mosque and expect this to prove the superiority of my faith to the so-called faith of Muslims. I would love to hear of people dying at their posts in defence of their temples and their faith. Let them learn to suffer and to die in the defence of their temples, even as God allows Himself to be crucified and broken up in the earth and through this to the able in which being resurrected. He unconditionally makes. Muslims will not defend their religion or their temples by seeking to destroy mosques and thus proving themselves as inferior to the Muslims who have been destroying temples.

To the millions Mussalman who are unconditionally behind these destructions I submit. Remember that Islam is being judged by your conduct. I have not heard a single Mussalman defending these activities and even under protection. There seems to me to have been little of my government offered by the Muslims. But let us assume that it was otherwise, that Hindus played some more mosques to compensate Mussalman that they were removed a stone from a mosque. Yet I venture to say that Mussalman ought not to have destroyed Hindu temples, even religious has no faith. Hindus prove that temples were their own. It is possible to contemplate with some degree of sympathy any to his but not to temples. It is not as more than his. Remember that his own religion is the ground to every man even if it stand too in the name of philosophy or religion. But presumption is against such Hindu protection. The destruction in Hindu was an unprovoked act. I have been trying to find proof for the allegations about Hindu destruction in the place referred to in my article on Hindu-Muslim tension. I have failed to secure any proof in support of them. You will not enhance the reputation of Islam by the acts reported about Amul's, Muslims and Callings. If you will permit me to say so, I feel about the honour of Islam as much as I feel about my own religion. Thus I do because I desire to live in peace, open and freely friendship with Mussalman. I cannot help saying that these destructions are setting a deep wound in my heart.

To the Hindus and Mussalman of India, I say. There is a golden opportunity of you share unity between the two communities. In the light of what seems to have happened at Amul's, Muslims and Callings, it is doubly your duty to make the question. You have had the new good friends of having, amongst you two Mussalman Hafiz, Sahib, Ajmal Khan and Dr. Anwar who have publicly rejected the establishment of both the communities. You have therefore able leaders to behind you. You are now your spirit to government by doing the same and establishing a friendship that will not break under any adverse circumstances. I have placed my arrows at your disposal. If you will have me to act as a mediator between you, I am prepared to buy myself as India and in collaboration with any others whom you may appoint endeavour to find out the true facts. An excellent story of the events of July last and the circumstances that led to them is a necessary preliminary to a lasting relation. I ask you to come to a decision quickly. The Hindu-Muslim question is the question as a proper relation of which hangs the destiny of India in the immediate future. Did he who the question of his other religious to believe what Allah might do."



406 *Reviews*

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an. All the evidence in the case is summarized in the following table:

The percentage of students complying with the routine is only 51 per cent and in the course of the semester. The new machine to read three pages can read 10 per cent of the opening numbers. As before the poor papers have been removed from almost all the journals. This attempt to show much better results next month. It is in no way clear that Gopani stands really first on the list. It has the best organization and facilities for keeping and producing the set of opening. Howe stands second on the list. I was hoping to be able to congratulate Howe and his spirit of cheerfulness in spite of its disability in the library of opening. I wrote the Howe-Deegan Committee to play the game. And are there no newspapers in Howe who believe in opening? It is worthy of note that Bengal stands next to Gopani and has had to realize the failure as of night. Bengal was the home of the first opinion the world has ever produced. Bengal was the first home of the first level of the East India Company. Nothing there has not to make appropriate that first Bengal should lead the way in going into the largest number of volunteer openings. The event of Bengal being next to Gopani is upon its organization created by Dr. May. The workers are willing of the leaders will lead. I hope next week to give an analysis on the quality of your present, believe it, to say for the present that if the response continues we are likely to solve the problem of getting less capable capable of being more without difficulty. This has been one of the greatest difficulties in the use of Madras instruments.

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1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 26

The opening resolution is proving a considerable study in the mentality of Congressmen. It represents evidence of the A. I. C. C. to make Congressmen understand that for handicapping in the treatment of the disabled at least Congressmen representative of not only to have left to promote anything. They have now begun to see the harm of it. This was an opinion on earlier resolutions of the A. I. C. C. that all such Congressmen should at least leave the way the national lead and even attacked the school.

She wonders that repeating her trial made things progress for learning about an effective approach of foreign study. She however was also not thought they would never be able to open here and study begins to do so. But have she become so like it. There is an external focus a better

"I was late in getting to work. Some more days were taken up in collecting material. Then, for a few days more I kept squandering my spare time, thus slowing the pace of work to that I am, When the wheel became unmanageable to move the eleven revolved. The only things refused to push them but seemed to have no objection to let tell the whole of themselves as a lesson. It appeared to me that it was such cause to open the operation them from a state of philosophy that to have not will live just from a opening wheel. If I had realized that the mathematics Mahalan told the friends on them for me, I would have thought a hundred more before corresponding with my unobtainable view at the college at his will in 1911. I had thought that that as a teacher I would have the pillars of decreasing open opening from a hundred platform and not have to protect it. I have been rarely disappointed. Well I accept the available as content now and of the question I want you the result of my future post as it is. The conditions had done have not as a single point from which that I can answer you my heart but not hated and I get hope to show you available results."

I can hardly catch instances of how though indicate

But the reader should know the often told tale, that it is a free translation of the only letter of my kind secured from the president of a rebellious Congress. I am not.

"I replied on improper the condition of the A. I. C. C. Today is the opening school or the suspension. Tomorrow it may be back just one more or 'maybe' or it may be 'three year leave then a change.' I declined the philosophy of the school. I discount the advantages. In short I declined it just as much as Madame. Would leave it. It is his body. I am not going to submit to the procedure, nor am I going to permit, but the condition must be."

To bring to an immediate conclusion the proceedings of a national thing. The professor has undoubtedly given his vote in favour of the second way and votes have been taken. But now that it has reached the voting stage, the professor has decided "non est habendum." Since then that move I therefore congratulate him on the courage of his convictions, that I am almost tempted put up the distribution of an example worthy of conviction. The argument can be run with success of the members, especially the officers, refuse to carry out the policy and hold on to this type of opposition to it. For instance, there are various ways, divisions, but that would be



those who think, with him, that we are engaged in the very difficult and delicate art of working steadily from an organization whose main or its sole motive is intelligence here, and those who would a little more discipline themselves that we draw a little a victory. I respectfully suggest to the board that even though the results may be useful for the purpose intended, it is not an admirable or a measure of discipline. I suggest to him that in a measure of discipline of a unit can be a meritorious idea, even that of requiring every one to put his hands, to do his hands clean. Such was effective though they may otherwise suggest to be, have a value at their own for they give the success of discipline. All parties before the passing of each measure in legislative and executive spheres. That the passing from can be in some the necessary. Values and complete obedience to organization in absolute duty in the case of some.

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First, want the part of the A. I. C. available about opening, perhaps have been observing themselves as to whether there is an angler and early problem solutions for the opening. For many of them have to be on the more a considerable part of their time, and if they are actually to get little effect the decision to do so all their spare time to the harbor they would like themselves, think if they could let upon a continuous wave would yield them gain and when they could say that without the last circumstances where ever they want. Think a continuous there is said it is no other than the speech without the wheel. The wheel is gradually turned to obtain greater speed. Second the people will go a foot with the speech opening there will even what they are willing, and outside (fishes) and Pans people will stand at having their word should be, and and then make use of the speechless part. The solution to speech systems of a large 10-foot deck at most or there to the center of the 10 foot a straight pointed, square of about 2 inches, with a hole with at the top to hold the thread from slipping off. The speaker serves as the pin, and the dial they with the speaker makes of it a working holder. Present-day fishermen have captured upon this by substituting a copper or iron dial instead of the wood or clay one, and a straight pin wire instead of the speaker. The one with a few coppers, the solution are made nothing at all. To hold the line on the left hand. On on the end of the thread thread in it, keep it about a foot from the waterpan, and go on opening the speaker by covered gentle pulls with your right hand finger and thumb. The idea is that it should gradually curve. Take hold of the thread in the middle and go on pulling it with the right index finger over the thumb, giving it a gentle twist all the while. The process is so naturally simple that my village will demonstrate it and teach it within half an hour, or an hour at the most. After about a couple of days practice you will find a strong, intensely even thread running out of the wheel, even as a jet of milk from the nozzle of a watered gun.

Now the man of this age great. The greatest is there but it has the joys and advantages of all else and already possesses. One has been invited to give all past years time to spending, you may be more affixed to be without that spirit than you can without talking, even though you have a work as a creature. For now as you can see

It is about in your house as a style of carriage, and most well you may not carry about your children in riding boots or bell-bottoms but you have often to drive your car on these wheels you have sized yourself with a single tool. In making them and on the platform there is no other instrument of propaganda. You may go on spinning on the spindle and taking away to your friends and fellow-propagandists. If you are fond of riding in a pasture you may stand up and jig the milk. In fact you are not, if better standing. If you feel like standing your legs like a day's ordinary tool, you can walk about in the accompaniment of the riding spindle. No dirt in your shoes, not pulling more pain than 50 or 100 pounds in your belt, it is easy and steady as the breeze in the camp. It is easy and gives you no means like the charcoal-burner's wheel as it is easy like an ordinary spindle. You may not even riding, unless the spindle is other means, say well used to please it is an elegant example of the age's constant dropping more easy means. The look that you get out of it is a personal addition to your mode of your own out of the time that might otherwise have changed you. I have heard who have these tools out of your eyes on the milk, all day and all night, sometimes stretched out of balance and, though I would not, who appear to take my suggestion. Finally, I think the best way to say to say to you of reaching his state of part with the milk and without any great effort. I may even think that I give some of my own moments to the milk but not to the milk and not with the 500 pounds of beautiful run and well-cared part of about 10 months. Spinning on the milk is a most pleasant and useful pastime. Good children will sleep in a baggy after they have heard it, will roughly even who would possibly become themselves to go through the long process of getting the milk ready and keeping it in proper form, will think in the rough sense, which helps them to depend with the wheel, a straight spindle, its spindle-glass and the wheel. They need have nothing more than good sleep. For education who are hard put to it to find room in their minds for children, there is no better solution, while even for the world and the sleep this would be a necessary step, saving them from the immediate necessity of putting themselves on the list of the unemployed.



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The response to the appeal on behalf of threatened people of the South continues to be satisfactory both in such volume and in such quality as to fully commendation. On the most substantial feature of the response is the way in which the people are coming forward to help. Undoubtedly have come forward with their liberal help. I have before me a touching letter in which a whole family of five has sent the money saved out of their special endowment. The teachers and the boys of the Proprietary High School have sent Rs 120. The Mithunapally has collected the fund of which Rs 100 they have spent in helping children for the school. I am sure that the knowledge of such donations will bring true comfort to our distressed countrymen. I hope the nation will remember that values has made no distinction between Mohammed and Hindu, Christian and Jew and that they too will make no such distinction. We may not meet all the distressed young folk through their respective organizations, but it will be unfortunate if their action will only to their own help.



## Kenya and Kilimanjaro

[By C. F. Andrews]

Kenya and Kilimanjaro are the two biggest mountains in the world of which the name of Kenya, as it well knows, has been given to the colony which surrounds that mountain. The white settlers have tried to be themselves the Kenya Highlanders. They are now meeting the Kilimanjaro Highlanders as well.

It has long and, by an earnest Indian writer that great a history. The story which I am going to tell, is an almost incredible illustration of the truth of that saying 'I've got content with possessing' concerning the Kenya Highlanders. The white settlers have been looking across the border into Tanganyika. Tanganyika is a mandate under the League of Nations. The Kilimanjaro Highlanders are in Tanganyika. Therefore the attempt is to be made to transfer the Kilimanjaro Highlanders from Tanganyika and place the mountain itself under the control of the white settlers in Kenya as so to carve off the whole area and make it a completely white possession. The five new Highland areas in Kilimanjaro amount to 1,000 square miles, and the area of the 'Kenya White Highlands' is only 14,000 square miles it will be seen at once what an object of desire this large area has become.

The saying goes much deeper. First it is well surely that is correct, but also a fresh supply of African labour, which was to be mainly under the white settlers' control. During the 25 years, from 1912 to 1931, terrible things happened in Kenya. The native population declined from 2,000,000 to 2,450,000, that is to say, it decreased by 21 per cent. Partly on this account the white settlers have been continuously faced with a shortage of African labour for their plantations. They have, it is true all kinds of methods of making their African workers come out and work on their estates. At one time, they had even legislation compelling them to do so. But, with a rapidly declining population, it has been found more and more difficult to keep the rate of wages low, and yet at the same time to get sufficient labour for their constantly large plantations in Kenya itself.

Over 1,000,000 Africans live in Tanganyika, on the new Kilimanjaro area. Behind the whole of the white settlers' dream had been there is always present the hope, desire to maintain their white labour force from their own region, and so to keep down the rate of wages to the lowest possible point. When I was in Kenya in 1915-1920 and 1931 I heard often about the very scheme, but I did not then take it seriously. It seemed to me quite understandable that a matter of such importance, which had been already settled by an international treaty, should be cancelled upon merely to meet the reasonable demands of a handful of white settlers. But I have become more and more sure that I have been equally ignorant branches of both European chambers.

The plot has been devised in this manner. First of all a wide publicity campaign has been carried on both in Tanganyika and in Kenya. Europeans, who make a profession of being, not to 'civilise the natives' have been and over the I who into the Kilimanjaro area. All kinds of confusion have been prepared to stir up there that the Tanganyika natives were willing to submit as to what under the authority of the white settlers. Then,

when the time of the arrival of the white settlers of the League of Nations of Tanganyika was called at Nairobi and a resolution in favour of migration was passed to influence...

That the European Government of Tanganyika takes with great interest how that the residents of the British Indian Empire and Commonwealth of Tanganyika territory propose that the area proposed should be brought under the administration of Kenya. It goes with a proposal to international support, particularly in view of the fact that,

(a) it would provide compensation to Kenya Colony for the loss of Delahaye

(b) it would create homogeneity in the Kenyan and the Indian

(c) it would result in a more uniform policy of railway development

(d) it would bring these areas, which are largely Highland, under an administration calculated to encourage their natural development."

It needs to be explained, that Delahaye is a station next to the north of the Kenya Highlands, which has recently been handed over to Italy as a part of her new colony. England had surrendered herself so fully to other demands that it was necessary to disengage something.

The desire on the resolution which then gave form to the migration of the Kilimanjaro area, is indeed worthy of careful study. There was some hesitation about bringing in the question of compensation for Delahaye at all. The danger was too thin. Nevertheless Lord Delahaye once supported the resolution, it is clear. Edgar Kennedy himself wanted this part of the resolution cut out. He stated that he had collected a certain amount of 'evidence' and it seemed to him that the whites, as well as Europeans were favourable to the scheme of migration. When this resolution, which stated in its own words, and did not even the word 'evidence' of compensation for Delahaye.

It appears that, at the meeting itself, a telegram arrived from the Government in the Kenya district. This was a small area which has a very important harbour called Tanga. The telegram stated migration of Tanga also.

It was therefore necessary to decide, at the last moment, which the resolution was to concern, to include Tanga in the resolution along with the other districts. The proposal of labour in Kenya in the large district was hardly to be less than to try and the proposition of African labour was hardly to be less than a hundred to one. But, very significantly, nothing whatever is said about that scheme concerning migration. All that is stated is that the residents of the Tanga District should be brought under the area of the Kenya administration. The residents mentioned are clearly the very group of Europeans. In this way, so the strength of the proposed telegram without any further enquiry a white man's desire was added to the original demand of the white settlers Delahaye and African side were for nothing. For the only person who really cared at all with the migration was European.

For the first of Delahaye is included in the discussion by Lord Delahaye himself when he proposed that steps should be taken to bring about the required situation in the Kilimanjaro Highlands. I give it,







# Young India

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## Never to be Forgotten

(By M. K. Gandhi)

What I was fortunate to witness at me at the Dastoor Theatre in Bombay on Monday last, I tell, that Mr. Bhambhani had staged a play for the benefit of the distressed people of the world, that an accident changed it into a serious lesson for me. Mr. Bhambhani had volunteered to bring on the platform people belonging to different political parties. He had therefore put up the American Declaration as one of the speakers. Mr. Bhambhani spoke of me as Gandhi instead of 'Mahatma'. Two or three in the audience who could not bear the work of my being called 'Gandhi' requested the speaker to call me 'Mahatma'. Mr. Bhambhani readily but suspiciously consented to calling me Gandhi, though, he said, he loved me as best that any is to the audience. He protested that his object of addressing me was never pleasing to me. The correspondence between continued as to be said. It was everywhere more cordial to the meeting that the cry against Mr. Bhambhani was not taken up by the audience. Mr. Bhambhani was able to finish his speech without difficulty. All the same the interruption served to me. I saw that these addresses of me disturbed and misinterpreted their old whims. Mr. Bhambhani himself had interpreted me properly by cheerfully but freely extending his demand from some of my political words and by refusing to call me 'Mahatma' at the instance of my people. I therefore asked the friends who had been so dissatisfied to publicly apologise. I drew their attention to the fact that the rules of public meetings demanded a respectful behaviour even towards opponents. The rule of courtesy was still more binding for non-violent non-cooperation. The non-violence of non-cooperation obliged those to say to their opponents even as they requested their friends. Moreover the audience must respect the convenience of those to whom favour they might owe. The interrupters should have known that I had often said that the name 'Mahatma' stuck to my outside. I did let someone at the time of the Bombay riots of 1911. The use of the adjective was prohibited at the Ashram. Mr. Bhambhani had therefore done what was after my heart. After saying this I passed for the apology. The audience helped me by murmuring approval and silence. In the interruption to a degree. And the latter freely stood up and apologised with folded hands. It was a sight that I cannot easily forget. In receiving his speech and in thanking the interrupters for their apology I could not help realising that the work of bearing my share of such work and judiciously confessing that my number of different speeches or debates and notes in the months. The patient attention of the audience had brought forward such by their work and their responses.

The public which was both unhappy and happy at the same time, expressed the wish to change my speech and gave it an completely dignified tone.

It enabled me to dealing with Bhambhani to pay a hearty tribute to the remarkable dignity for moral service of Mr. Dastoor and to show that though in politics we seemed to differ on some matters my regard for his personal character directed to duty and self-sacrifice remained undiminished. I then presented the opening which was a sequel of these observations with the protest of the self. Here by persistence was not enough. But a positive statement of pity was not enough. We needed the power to feel that, if they failed to do, we were for their sake. This had led millions were in a state of black despair. They had lost hope in themselves and in us. They had sought themselves to death by their own partial standards. They had become so accustomed to being so clearly doubt that they almost refused to work. They had become lost their minds, they were being scepticism. If we wanted these millions to see a new path by doing better and honestly and the only possible instrument to present them with was the public and general opening which which could be turned over by the most definite. The only effective way of restoring the millions to courage, a better, more life of happiness but that it dignified and very little was to be made than to give up the opening which by turning it ourselves in the words of the Uka which the great ones did the people felt again.

From the opening which I came to the hope that was expressed by so many friends that I would show a way out of the present moral response to national life. I told the audience that I was aware of my responsibility and was trying to do my best. I was in correspondence with Pandit Madhwa. But I had nothing else to suggest but acceptance. The people had historic sense it is in the terrible aspect of evil, dishonour and non-cooperation. But it had a bridge aspect which was its permanent part. Whether stage a task, it must not be the bridge aspect of acceptance which must be presented to the public. We had overplayed too long and often on trouble. We were heartily divided. There was no reason why we could not find a common denominator of action. There must be some things on which we could all unite and for the preservation of which we could all stand under the same roof. The opening which, only between the different communities and created by leaders of responsibility were the things on which perhaps all could unite. I had already seen Mr. Bhandari and returned in a healthy spirit to place my own labour lay. I would therefore present the other leaders. I would on no account divide the Congress and so I found a day to a speech.



I would certainly not only take no part in any decision but would take a back seat and retire from any such assembly called. Any programme must therefore be a programme offered at first by the majority of whom but by mutual informal discussion and agreement. The same may come in, if necessary, after agreement on all sides. If I found that there was no programme that I could make, I should gladly retire altogether but not find objection. The most serious aspect of nationalism was a spirit of perfect self-assertion in which persons of any one or another of diverse groups who may might have gathered and were into one's life. I told the audience that the whole scheme of nationalism if it might be so called was, evolved out of political experience in the domestic field. In its foreign aspect I had to produce in connection with my own wife, one and another long discussion. It had cost me three subcontinent. But it was all out of deepest love. I believe myself to be capable of brotherhood even as well towards other members of God as towards my own distant relatives. Sometimes love's struggle left deep scars in the heart even but it left much deeper scars in the heart's house. I used to do well to. Englishmen— I had in those days one of my best friends but there came a time when I had to say 'You shall not exploit my country. The exploitation has done considerable harm. Some of you are indifferent to its welfare and would require it as much as you can. Some others among you believe in your opinion that the English rule in India is for her own good and that you are her trustees. This thing must end and therefore. For me to say this was to put my whole soul into doing it. The change had resulted in bringing into prominence the foreign aspect of nationalism. It had not ended the system of exploitation but it had resulted in dividing as I must therefore get back my whole energy in working to save the foreign aspect of nationalism. That could only be achieved not by a scheme but sacrifice. If I did not succeed I knew that I would not be able to do so. The audience in the morning but the audience of the evening who did not see me at his own passing the distance he knew to be true. I knew that I was not a Mahatma. I did know that I was an Alipia. Love knew me humble and concerned all without exception. It asked the eternal heart. I knew no self. Who knew that unconsciously even to himself there was no anger at all—nothing in me. But I must not back. I must try to accept self and in the process find the freedom I was in my mind. 'True', I concluded, 'that I may have the strength to do so'.

#### Khalid Bhondar in Bombay

The All India Khalid Board has previously taken over under your authority the Khalid Bhondar Institute managed by Mr. Wahidul Jangam. The idea is to regularise the distribution of copies which come to the Board and to supply the needs of students. This could not be done through private agency. It must necessarily be an All-India concern. The press are to be controlled and regulated by the A. I. E. B., so that truth may be applied to the papers at as cheap a rate as possible. All the accounts of the store are necessarily subject to audit and inspection by the A. I. E. B.

(A. E. B.)

## The Apple of Discord

(By C. F. Andrews)

I loved the people of Burma, who were before us tiny young and pleasant beings, infinitely animated in a cool and patient self-consciousness which has made them almost invincible towards the Indians in their midst. It was a strange and tender conviction, and it made me think very seriously indeed a morning or evening.

In the same report of 1911 for Burma, Part I, page 121, we read gladly that it was the Burmese, who first read the way, that Indians were displacing Burmese in their own country. The fact that the reader of the same report is content in his judgment of their own domain of prejudice against Indians would probably be acknowledged by everyone in Burma. The cry did not first come from the Burmese themselves. But when the suggestion had once been made, and the prejudice had once been raised, it was difficult to prevent it from spreading in every direction. Finally it has proved to be a veritable apple of discord, and it is unlikely that we have even yet seen the climax of the strife which it has caused. One of the leaders of Burmese opinion told me gladly that he was sure in favour of an 'order and policy'.

For there was no thought of this in earlier days. 'Cuddling' is a modern programme derived from the West. The temptation for which the East has been deeply bitten does not lie in such other policy at all. The same Cuddling spirit has a considerably deeper in Indian imagination into Burma in the past. 'Cuddling' is the same spirit—there is the side Burma has been ever-patient from very early times. Two different regional languages in Burma and their extreme richness and power largely to Indian imagination of 1,000 years ago and not only the richness of the memory but every branch of Burmese culture has been strongly affected from India in Indian culture. Pali, the classical language in India. The morality and law in the Buddhist popular and monasticism at Pagan during from the 5th to 10th centuries give evidence of the influence of Yashovarma and Narayan. The old Nayan had India as king of the Burmese too. The great popular form of Burmese history is Kyanthila. It shows signs of how close that has been, and which has which has, not only Burmese. The morality is described as a person in Buddhist, which was thereby described as in India. The answer now therefore, that the Burmese are in danger of losing their country to the Indians, is a very real and it is not necessary to ask for special evidence, that a dependence which was so closely through these centuries, when the religious values were elevated in numerous ways, is going to have lightning effect now. On the contrary the last thirty or forty years, have seen the differences more spreading and in making the collective the people of the hills.

The passage from the same report is so important that it has been necessary to quote it almost in full. It gives a clear method of virgin civility. It shows what the first relation of India to Burma should be, and makes it evident that the moral content in the past was of the almost possible character and yet entirely hardly was prejudiced. Other parts of the same report show plainly that the veritable picture arising in the imagination of



Indian school to another town has not, on the whole, as all sincerely desired the contrary. On the contrary it has been the means of opening up our back for the ever-increasing European population. The European have a power, as the one kind of absorbing the uneducated population both Indian and Chinese into their own midst. On the other hand, they have shown a tendency to surrender the soil itself.

They are rejecting a process of assimilation which has always produced a good effect during the past centuries by absorbing and relegating it one and the same time the racial inheritance.

Why, then, has nothing when the returning Indian, one and another, which we witness in every city today? I have stated already, as the reality of the census report that the very "Europe for the European" has had been raised by the Europeans. But what always they has intervened and made the vital power of natural growth, stop between Indian and European as India, that the power of natural growth, working in the blood, has got its chance and produced this high level? How is it that the apple of discord once thrown down, has made such havoc?

There is undoubtedly blame on both sides. I can only speak here of the Indian side, which I know and understand. On this side, it is clear to me that great harm has been done by educated Indians owing to the fact that they did not take sufficient pains to cultivate the friendship of the European and to sympathize entirely on their natural feelings when that sympathy naturally took place. They appear rather to have wished to take up the attitude of those whose varied attempts were being rejected. There has been too much of the spirit of selfish egotism manifested and too little of the spirit of generous confidence and trust.

I will take a few examples that were brought before me by those among the European who kindly spoke to me upon the subject. When the reform movement was being inaugurated and long before there was any talk of boycott, the Indians in Burma for I was told began undoubtedly to show a commercial tendency. It was a true mark of attitude on the part of Indians appears to me to be entirely inconsistent with the Indian character in Europe. For it has been argued a hundred times with regard to the latter that, in India the commercial branch has been maintained chiefly owing to religious differences. But this claim in Burma would be clearly invalid.

Another example which was brought before me was the French manner in which money was sent out of the country to support Indian funds and Indian material institutions when the call for money came, while at the same time the aid given to the Europeans in their wonderful struggle to cut free their own natural education was completely refused. Indians, it is said who had made money in Burma, did not spend it in Burma, on this part of European national aspirations.

I heard many similar examples of this tendency among educated Indians and I had the same stories told me on the other side concerning European writers. The atmosphere of mutual antagonism is one in which no healthy plant of natural growth can flourish.

On the other hand, I was glad beyond words to hear the news, that among the writers too much prejudice

had not remained. From what I was able to see, on my short visit, I was quite before it. Therefore the same is by no means hopeless. The apple of discord may still be removed and harmony return.

But of this it is to happen quickly. Here what is needed above all else is the method of generously and mutual trust.

### Spinning in Burmah

Professor Theodore Goss has sent an interesting report of late to interested spinning among the children of the municipal schools of Burmah. He bought 40 second-hand wheels, sending home 20, the next bought Burmah teachers the art of spinning. The latter in three days taught their fellow teachers. There is a little over a month 125 teachers became competent spinning masters. The professor was helped by his wife and daughter. Then the professor proudly says, "If each school had been supplied with an extra spinning report it would have cost at least Rs. 15,000 a year.... This problem was solved by my going only four hours daily for day or we made in training the spinning staff." "But" he adds "there is no teacher who cannot spin or read and has performed as man or woman is to be employed as a teacher who does not know reading and spinning." He follows plans the professor describes as follows:—

On this difficulty was attended, I approached the Board with a detailed scheme for introducing 500 spinning wheels in 25 upper primary schools, to teach reading and spinning to about 700 boys at least, with provision for half a dozen job-brokers five weaving centres for each a weaving-master, a weaver, a carpenter, and sufficient cotton to give work to each student for half an hour daily. The scheme demanded Rs 10,000 per annum. The Board, however felt very deficient and postponed the question from meeting to meeting for 2 months. On the 25th of July last, they are there very to grant Rs. 2000/-only, for the year. I have, therefore, resolved to cut out the item of cotton almost entirely and to select several other items to a suitable minimum so that the work may be carried on a smaller scale. I am now getting only 250 spinning wheels made with 250 convertible spindles halves, of the pattern I purchased of the Patanahat Indians. With the little apparatus I have at my disposal the result of a study of the Indians; I hope to make it possible to save that a thousand looms and girls to have and produce spinning every day and produce goods of tolerably good quality. I am now writing help for the wheels to be made, and also sent into the field. In the meantime, I am appealing to the parents and grandmothers to allow a daily supply of cotton from their pockets. I am to give the children the instructions and the necessary instruction and the parents to give their cotton. The year will be there and if they are chosen they will collect their own and give it over to us to be woven into cloth and we will supply them with as reasonable weaving charges. I am going to open also a weaving shop and will make, including charges for cloth."

The public will watch this experiment with sympathetic interest. Let us hope that the other teachers will follow the example set by Professor Theodore Goss.



# Young India

4-4-54

## For Fallen Humanity

(By M. K. Gandhi)

It was at Karnal that I had the privilege of meeting one fallen soldier, victor of one last, now nearly three years ago. Some of them said, "We were here too to three years just day. You must give us some consolation that would give us so much." For a moment I could neither see but immediately came to myself and said, "No, my dear nation, I cannot suggest anything that would give you two or three years just day but I must ask you to give up your asking even though you have to starve. There is the opening wheel between. If you take it, it will be your salvation."

The fallen nation are only a small part of the fallen humanity of India. The able and brave of Orissa are also in a great part of that humanity. They are the victims of our aggression in the first act of our last. In their case it is not our wound but the last, for death that releases them to starve and leave. They lived as that we may become able.

Let me, thank God, be the educated middle class are hungry to identify ourselves with our fallen nation and our starving brothers. We share sorrow in that they may live. We must all go to the villages and help the villagers. The fallen soldier is a perpetual reminder to us to become pure. How often we so think of and feel for them from day to day? What may we all do for them every day? We are so weak that we want to do as little as possible. What is that little? I can think of nothing else but the opening wheel. The work must be pure, capable of being done by all the learned and the ignorant, the good and the bad, young and old, men and women, boys and girls, Christians and the weak as well as the strong. The work is to be effective must be the most for all. The opening wheel catches all these elements. Therefore he or she who opens for him or her every day serves the nation in the most efficient manner possible. And he makes unshakened confidence in the fallen humanity of India and then brings living matter for that circle.

The opening wheel for us is the franchise for all people corporate life. It is impossible to build any permanent public life without it. It is the one viable link that indelibly binds us to the lowest in the land and thus gives them a hope. We may or may not, may things to it but let us first make sure of it even as a mere means rather than of its foundation today by agreeing to build the open structure and the largest the structure the deeper and stronger the foundation. For the world is to be obtained therefore, opening should become universal in India.

The opening will be not only the connecting link between the nation and the classes, it will be the link between the different political parties. It will become common to all the parties. They may disagree on all other things if they like, but they can agree on this at the least.

I ask therefore every one who joins the meeting, leave the parents and the babies, to give half an hour's leisure daily to opening eyes and well towards you for their sake, and in the name of God. As this must be a gift to the nation, it must be delivered to the All India Hindu Board with religious regularity.

## Notes

### Lowest Common Measure

The readers of Young India will find in the summary of my speech at the Gandhinagar Theatre Bombay, an idea developed for the purpose of bringing together all the various elements in the country that are at present working against one another class without knowing that they are doing so. Everybody is anxious to bring them together. I am therefore trying to see what can bring these elements together. In other words what are the things in which the majority of those who have at all taken part in moulding public life can or do agree or which are indispensable for our national growth though the national may have its own, constituted as I am, I have all my life thought of people from outside national boundaries as probably weaker if there is no national unity. When a body is perfect within it becomes superior to external influences and is independent of external help. Moreover when the national organs are united they automatically attract external help. Hence the growth that helps those who help themselves. If therefore we would all work to bring about national perfection we need not take up any other activity at all, the question we do so or not at least the Congress may witness, shall be national development alone.

What then is this lowest common measure necessary for our growth? I have always suggested the opening wheel and that is what they mean all the religious, and moral by Hindu of responsibility. I hardly think that there is any difference of opinion about the last two items, I have there is still a difference of opinion as to the national economy of the opening wheel and that is the method of working it. I have endeavored to show elsewhere why that is a necessity of national existence and national opening is the only method.

### What will it cost?

People are however asking, what will this require all said? So far as I am concerned it is all said. I have no light left in me. I do not propose to fight the Democracy at the forthcoming Congress. Nor do I wish to fight the Muslims. I have no more, or my only better are the latter's hand. I ask the Congress, the Muslims, the Hindus, the Communists to those who are a part of their own opening. Such being my mental condition I can not alone all the national workers simply to maintain their effort on opening, in particular unity, and if Hindus are running responsibility.

But the meetings have not, how about Congress Committees? My own opinion is that the constitution has broken down. We have no alternative with the same. Where there is a responsible meeting on the roll it is not of those who take a body interest in the Congress proceedings. We are therefore want a self-appointed electorate and self-appointed representatives. With such as electorate impossible as credible when there are no real candidates. Responsibility is possible only when the electorate is large, intelligent and independent. My advice therefore is that where there is the slightest possibility of freedom and opinion



It seems to be evenly balanced for students should withdraw from the contest. They may keep office or keep their money where there is no possibility of loss and their opinion is worthily as in their future. There should be no competition, no moneying. It is their responsibility without take upon their decision, when they expect education. Compromise is the best of governments by majority. But those at least who have taken in on party to it.

#### What about the President?

The secretary is to the Presidentship too is a matter of surprise to many. I am sure that I should have become the issue of credibility and surprise, too much my nature to public life. I am sure that the what might be used must be ordered. I will do not know when I stand, I was not going to stand for the purpose of election. I will accept the honor of my acceptance across the world as my way. The fact is I am tired of these dramas. I paid \$1000 to the Yosemite for the second time. My last meeting of it, just ago, left no impression on me. I could not catch Gaudin's message. I do not know that I have ever seen. But I may think to have understood it somewhat. Margaret is now at least not treated. She looks as if she has been away from me by going to the spring where and to the scene of the school giving up to her goal. I was made aware by the whole experience. Margaret is close to her room, love which with death and danger. The goal made her to her what I say is a matter in the time. The reader may be sure the last a collection of books a few paragraphs and a copy of hand-written and illustrated. But she looks as if she were in the passage or the book or for Margaret the book of books. She voluntarily goes to the school and finds peace in refusing to lead it. Here are the words here—

"My peace is gone, and my heart is torn  
I have lost love, and lost time, but someone  
The place where he sang, to me is the light,  
The world is silent and empty and given!  
My poor soul here is torn with pain  
And my poor soul here, is torn in tears;  
My peace is gone, and my heart is torn,  
For love is my love, but someone!"

Two my perception show a little and the voice about represent my condition. I want to have lost my love too and feel distressed. I feel the strong presence of my Lover and yet he seems to be away from me. For he returns to guide me and give direction and advice. On the contrary, the teacher, the self-sufficient teacher in the eyes, he represents me by speaking, whispering and sing, in sing. When I see the light nearly before my eyes, I shall see my way clear and all the reader is filled in.

Meanwhile I can only see up the shell or speak or write about it as I command it in the reader. In my love, love, it is my only reliable friend and comforter. May it be so to the reader. One found as love equally loved like Margaret and me says: "Fortunately you have left the spring where for me. I am therefore standing again as much as I can by speaking."

#### Nagpur again

In Nagpur we heard no spoken saying anything about the Hindu-Muslim issue in Nagpur. This is however for the first time that they have quarrelled and come to terms. But they decided to try their best strength

before making down to provide life! One nothing is done to lead the hand! The justice appears. Nagpur to be equally satisfied. Now, they will come that they prepared to have their probable performance. Surely there are some Hindu and some Muslims enough in Nagpur to adjust their differences and keep just wrong. It is to be noted individual is a very dangerous line the discussion of temples. Most people are of a minority nature and are due to treatment and some better. But where an individual who have first as wrong as evidence of education and prearranged place as other side. But I must confess to be here in different nature from both parties. I am only hope that the many members will have as shown written to come to suitable and lasting terms.

#### Progress in Andhra

I have read the report of another work done in the East India Company which includes last India. The last East India Board report operations, is a very proper, with many notes. It includes the work of writing and demonstrating and establishing the better among opinions and the following year. It represents also the role of which depicts in the future itself. It has opened myself which depicts for the progress. The opinions include business, education, revenue and really diverse. They are about 160 lbs. per month. The price of their work is on an average over Rs. 2 per lb. of course varying from 12 to 50. They had a capital of Rs. 7,500. The total value including notes and direct value to about Rs. 20,000. This is good to be said great, but not enough for the period covered by the report. The movement of voluntary opening demonstrates the method of working. Production through paid efforts most of some method. But now we may not be satisfied with a few hundred pounds going. It must however take a little time before the movement proceeds down to the masses. When Congressmen have become natural speakers, they will not be satisfied with merely giving half an hour to the cause, but some of them will go down to the villages as experts to organize them in become self-supporting units. M. K. D.

#### South India Flood Relief.

Received at Sahyadrantham	Rs.	As.	Pa.
Previously acknowledged	—	14,018	0
Received during week ending 2-5-24	2,526	1,777	0

Total .. 16,544 14 0

[This amount includes Rs. 100-0-0 received from Mr. J. P. Vaidyanathan (Madras), Rs. 100 from English Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works, Rs. 10 from Mr. Laxmanappa Phadnis (Calcutta), and Rs. 10 from Srinivasa Reddy (Calcutta).]

Received at the Rajarat P. & C.	Rs.	As.	Pa.
Previously acknowledged	—	4,184	0
Received during week ending 2-5-24	2,776	0	0

Total .. 6,960 0 0

[Credit to the last week also was acknowledged during week ending 27-5-24 was Rs. 2,800-0-0 instead of Rs. 2,776-0-0 and the total was Rs. 6,200-0-0.]

Received at the Narsipatnam and Young India Office	Rs.	As.	Pa.
Previously acknowledged	—	1,470	0
Received during week ending 2-5-24	2,160	0	0

Total .. 3,630 0 0



Received at the Managloian Research, Bombay			
		Rs.	P.
Previously acknowledged	—	898	22 3
Received during week ending 1-5-24	—	3,124	11 7

Total — 4,022 T

#### Material during Goodrich's Tour

Received from March 18 to 1-5-24 .. 1,484 T

[This amount includes: Rs. 514,112-2 received from Field Medical Survey; Rs. 200 from Merchants of Calcutta and Drugs (Bombay) and Rs. 101-4-6 collections by "Hedgehog Skin Sales".]

Grand Total Rs. 3,124 11 7

### Under the Tent

The following results of the examination, by the A. L. E. P., of the paws reported from various portions last month, will be of much interest and instruction.

**Andhra.**—The previous has not come up to the requirements stated of it as the basis of the third system, lay in India.

There were 221 packets received, 26 packets forwarded and satisfactorily open pure. The books are very common in length but being no less than a foot, and some being as short as 2 to 10 inches. These last, especially because they are not bound, will contain a lot of waste of time and just as the commodity. Although some to have been made in many cases, of obtaining higher count of pure from matter of less volume and so on more than the same case to have been opened. Here is a lot of them who may be said to have passed "with honour."

	Yds.	Count	Quality.
1 By M. Papana	456	22	Very good
2 " E. Suprasannayana	2430	15	"
3 " M. Varma Mahamandala	7770	17	Fair
4 " P. Kanchanam	8558	15	Good
5 " K. Akhannanthacharyulu	2228	41	Fair

The registers and labels are slight.

**Assam.**—The quality would almost make up for the quantity of it was not very high. Spraying would have added to the usefulness, however.

1 By Shyamsundar Sharma	2742	20	Good
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**Ajmer.**—Better than the ones received from other parts of Rajasthan.

**Bombay.**—The collection of material is that there are more common specimens than two to four than from being Panna. Some of the paws are indifferent, whilst others are more specimens of properly open, properly bound and opened pure lot.

**Bihar.**—Bihar has failed to reach even tolerably near the mark, both in point of quantity and quality. Labels highly impractical, type too large, most 15,148 yards of 5 counts will open and well looked, but there is hardly a single good count to five.

**Bengal.**—Bengal has come out most, certainly 107 members of Khush Panchabhat have not pure, which unduly shows the kind of the prepared specimen. The books differ in size, volume, bound, and the pure opened.

A label, lady of specimens has been no way from class first in all India. This comes in Bismarck Appendix No. has and 2000 yards of tolerably counted and even pure of 10 counts.

The labels are perfect.

G. P. Nagai.—Not suitable as the whole. There are

seven good specimens though.

1 Pure Bismarck Appendix	1000	20	Good
2 " " " " "	2010	22	Fair

G. P. Nagai.—Most of the paws does not show a higher count than 20 but some do much of prepared opening. There is some pure of lower count but very well and evenly open. The labels are satisfactorily done, so much so that it was impossible in case of some very good pure to find out the name of the specimen.

**Gujarat.**—First in point of quantity and shows uniformly prepared opening. Some labels and technical provided for some opening, then sent the pure. The pure has been carried away by Indian Field Expedition. Some items who has sent 1877 yards of good pure at all counts (as an average). One of her books has pure of 12 counts, another of 15 and the rest 40 and throughout. Some members of the field would have sent very good pure ranging to 10 counts.

The registers and labels are perfect.

**India.**—Only 22 packets were received, only one of which contains well open pure, but has a label with slight improvement.

**Kanara.**—Quantity small, quality good. All pure excepted. The last specimen:

1 By Shambhu G. Sahay	2040	16	very good
2 " " " " "	2000	40	Fair
3 " " " " "	2000	22	Good

**Kashmir.**—Very indifferent as the whole. One or two places like Srinagar and Baramulla show prepared opening. Mr. Jinnah's pure of 11 counts is good. The registers do not tally with the labels.

**Kashmir.**—Very little quantity, quality too poor to show or for reference, due to credit to the Punjab.

**Kashmir.**—Very poor.

Labels trace of prepared opening.

**Kashmir.**—There is no technical good quality. But the best of the paws is nearly complete with 10000. Specially noteworthy is the present lady large quantity, by the 15,000 volume. It is all uniformly good. However minor:

1 By Mahadevi Sankaran	5040	30	good
2 " " " " "	2000	20	"

The registers is the best prepared in all India.

**Madras.**—Very little well open pure but there are some very good specimens.

1 Pancha Venkatesh Sharma	4761	28	to do very good.
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2 Shambhu Lal Bahadur Sharma	2418	17	to do good.
3 By Shambhu Lal Bahadur Sharma	2274	18	"
4 " " " " "	2000	24	fair.

**Madras.**—Indifferent as the whole, but some in 1, 1' does contain very good specimens.

1 By Venkatesh Sharma	1000	24	good
2 " " " " "	2000	22	"
3 " " " " "	2000	24	"
4 " " " " "	2000	24	"
5 " " " " "	2000	24	"
6 " " " " "	2000	24	"

**Madras, Bihar, Kanara.**—

There are hardly any pure to speak of.

There is no room for improvement everywhere. Uniformity of length of books should be secured at least for each province. It seems undesirable after experiment, India be an official voluntary system in which every one open for long would be able to work problems of the system here in detail the detailed instructions sent it by the A. L. E. P. from time to time. I tender my congratulations to the young lady (Shyamsundar) who made first in the A. L. E. P. list.

A. L. E. P.



## My Jail Experiences

1000

11

1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 2680, 26

As a boy I had not much taste for reading anything outside my school books. They alone gave me enough food for thought. But it was natural for me to reflect on questions which I learnt at school. For home reading I had no interest either. I used to follow through books written because I had to. During my student days at England I was the same kind of parasite of my teachers outside the books for examinations. When, however, I began life I felt I ought to read for the sake of gaining general knowledge. For at the student period of my life in Europe was one of peace and leisure. It coincided with a lull in the then political aspect of England. I had therefore not much time for literary pursuits. In South Africa for one year I had two lectures in spite of the battle for freedom that raged on. The year 1874 I devoted to religious studies. The reading was therefore wholly religious. After 1874 all the time for devoted reading I got was at the job of South Africa. I had developed not only a taste for reading but for compiling articles, essays of historical and statistical trend, Hindu and Latin text because I was in touch with so many historians in South Africa and Latin because I had dealings with so many missionaries. The South African press had started my appetite and I was gratified when during my last residence here in South Africa I was recommended to undertake

When therefore the opportunity came to me to leave I looked at this job, I imagined on a rapid programme of studies at Yenching in China, which my plans were not simple. During the first three months I had a vague hope that India would run to the rescue, complete the impact of Japanese study and attack the greater gains. But I soon learned that such was not to be the case. I now am aware that a mental life must exist, organizing which could not take the nature anything less than five years. I had no desire whatsoever to have discharged before we have except by the possible satisfaction of the nature itself. I was not actually severe, I therefore settled down to make with the use of a year of twenty four instead of an old way of life but with a better satisfaction. I succeeded by every means of my time and would have been disappointed a few days ago. Until now and will remain in London, I would have wanted my share for reading engaged. Finally, but that will not be to be the case. My studies were fully interpreted by my unfortunate illness and subsequent discharge. However the following had given the reader an idea of my studies.

[illegible][illegible]

Let the reader remember and accept that I read all these books for pleasure. Some of them were written and















### A long reply

It will be remembered that Pandit Jemshadai Sharma wrote to the Administrator of Madia on the 15th July telling him that he knew nothing of any conditions being applied to him and Ashwari Chidamai and Pandit Shastanani's discharge before the expiry of their sentence. It has taken the Administrator twenty-seven days to send the following reply:

"I would refer you to your letter dated the 15th July last. I may mention that you are under a misapprehension with regard to the meaning of the word 'suspension'. The suspension of a sentence obviously implies confidence. If this were not the case and if your argument was sound, the suspension of a sentence without the mention of any conditions would be equivalent to remission, which is already confined.

Under these circumstances, I am no good person in authorising the suspension."

It is all very well to lecture to Pandit Jemshadai on the meaning of the word 'suspension'. Deliberately let the Administrator know the Pandit did not ask him to tell him what the word 'suspension' meant but he wanted to know why he was not told of the conditions of his discharge. Is not a prisoner entitled to know the conditions of his discharge upon 'suspension' of his sentence? May the Administrator be also assured that a sentence may also carry conditions? Then the Governor's sentence has been violated subject to conditions. The Administrator's reply therefore comes with it its own condemnation, because it proves by implication that the Pandit was not informed of the conditions of the suspension of his sentence. And to all intents and purposes he is even now against all the conditions. How is he liable to be imprisoned under the old sentence if he enters the Madia for day even after the completion of ten years of the date of his sentence? The Administrator may "be no good person in authorising this (the) suspension" but the police is entitled to know not only the conditions of 'suspension' but what is more important, whether it is not a fact that Pandit Jemshadai and his companions were not informed of any conditions being attached to their discharge and whether that fact, the representation of Ashwari Chidamai can be justified as one given dishonestly.

### A worthy example

I take the following from a newspaper of the B. O. P. O. (19-8-24):

"For a long time past there had been going on a dispute between the Shikhs and Musalmans of village Khatia Taluk Muzr and the government. The Musalmans' right to sell property in the local market, as much as that the question had been dragged to courts of law who had decided the case against the Musalmans. The result was that Musalmans' villages could not buy the salt in proper quantities and 11 Rs. 8 paise when the Jukhs of Jee Khatia found for them. Five, occurred in that village, the Musalmans by then had their matter before a court appealed for a Government intervention. The Jukhs recognizing the principle of freedom of religious worship, for all sections of nation decided that Shikhs should not stand in the way of their religious worship of any community, and that the Musalmans were therefore free to make salt for proper. The 24th August of the village, accordingly found the Jukhs

of the Jukhs and expressed their regret. It is what had taken place in the past and at the same time considered 'Khatia' for the region of the market. The order of the Jukhs was given effect to forthwith and there was brought in an amicable settlement in long standing dispute which the courts of law helped only to aggravate. The Shikhs, now therefore then thanked the Jukhs for the act of their justice and by way of their appreciation of the act sent in a musical band which played in the Jukhs' camp for a long hours at a stretch."

I congratulate both the Shikhs and the Musalmans concerned on the happy end of their dispute. It is not necessary that the Shikhs gave up a right which the courts had decided in their favour. What that the experience of courts of law does not know that through no fault of their own they show great demands that are contrary to justice and common sense? They are taken in traps of sentiment or prejudice. But a religious dispute and especially those are the most important feature. Such cases therefore can be justly decided only by arbitrators who will consider it their duty to take note of every factor that can contribute to a just and reasonable peace between parties.

### Fraud by Congressmen

In your Union were so-called Congressmen are reported to have misappropriated Congress funds to the extent of several thousands rupees. This man had adopted the role of an ascetic and appeared to be working so modestly that he began to command influence and confidence till at last he was regarded as a person of trust. The question of dealing with this fraud became very serious and still remains so. The matter was referred to me and I had no business in advising proceedings and suggesting that the Congress official who accused the defrauder should after fulfilling the usual legal duties if necessary for breach of the boycott resolution. This boycott of law courts cannot be allowed to be used by so-called Congressmen to defraud the Congress itself. Private parties if they are non-congressmen may become of course liable that may involve them in law suits. But as Congressmen and as reports Congress affairs, in other words in matters of trust it will defeat the very purpose of the boycott of non-congressmen people under cover of the boycott might by bringing in the Congress to defraud the movement itself. At the same direction of law is justified because even I have no business whatsoever in advising the Congress officials in Union to take legal proceedings against the defrauder for the recovery of lost funds and then tendering resignation. I need be no president of the Congress. Convention I should not only withdraw the bill of concerned to take legal proceedings but also the resignation movement to leave the third related for his own discharge of his duty. The usage of Congress funds was such a duty in the retention of the boycott of law courts. As a matter of fact the Congress official who may be the plaintiff or caught even in his own mistake ought to remain on personal behalf of the boycott resolution. It is the Congress that does so. And the Congress has a perfect right to bring the case before its own courts. In a well ordered state the means "The law can do no wrong" has a legitimate purpose and place.



# Young India

11-9-34

## The Realities

[By M. A. Smith.]

It is possible that the reader is being bothered by the bewildering changes he may be noticing at present in the Young India magazine. I can assure him that they are not changes but they are a distinct advance in the direction we are going or should go. They are natural corollaries to the principles we profess.

If we will remember that NON-VIOLENCE is more important than non-cooperation and that the latter without the former is a sin, what I am at present developing in these pages will be in that no doubt. The difficulty, however, is that the reader does not know much of what is going on behind the scenes. I am maintaining equal parity in purpose and purity between a manual of non-violence. It is difficult to put an idea into form without its context and from day to day in the laboratory. I must simply trust that as they are in my opinion the necessary corollary to the main principle they will be in place to the reader as they are in use.

This last is, when read very well every morning, indispensable. It is not convenient, if it springs from the same source.

What must be however apparent to every one is that our differences are decreasing. Each group is working at the programme a matter of principle. Each sincerely believes that the programme will bring us nearer to the common goal. So long as there is a body of people to give substance to it as a large if not a growing body, it is long well there to permit promoting the Gandhi programme. Our non-cooperation therefore has been the best of non-cooperation in practice with one another instead of the Government. Without making it we are weakening one another and to that extent helping the system we are all working to destroy. Let us progress in that direction. It is practical and deserves attention from the fringe of national life.

Our non-cooperation movement to be a living, active, non-violent force stretched against the material violence of the system. Deliberately the non-cooperation came to mean actively non-violent. We refused violence with physical non-violence of the weak and helpless. Having failed to produce the immediate effect of destroying the system, it has been open to such double strength and now bids fair to destroy us, if we do not take care between. I, for one, am therefore determined not to participate in the violence which this world ever permits all committed to its liberation. If we can't actively help, we must not hinder. I am glad to have a letter in even in the first fortnight. But I clearly see, as I did not at the time of the A.L.C. meeting that what we maintain there is our own power, there is no advantage for working there. There is too much distance in the air. Every action is repeated and misinterpreted. And within we carry a war of explanation and counter-explanation, the story of the hour as repeating and contradicting the hour. We gain, and the chance is very rare.

I have therefore suggested that we should first set the broad national message among all the political parties and carry them all to a support in the Congress platform for achieving the common aim. This is the work of internal development which steps there will be as effective national political pressure. The politicians who put the national work before the national, or who think (which is the same thing) that the national is too slow for them should have the greatest freedom to develop their strength, but in my opinion, they should be outside the Congress platform. The Congress must permanently represent the masses. They are so put under lead by politics. They have no political consciousness of the type our politicians desire. Their politics are confined to bread and butter and not my brother, for neither do we have the taste of glass or even oil. Their politics are confined to commercial adjustments. It is right however to say that we the politicians do represent the masses in opposition to the Government. But if we begin to see them before they are ready we shall cease to represent them. We must first come to living touch with them by working for them and in their midst. We must share their sorrows, understand their difficulties and anticipate their needs. With the people we must be parallel and not face we had to chase the clouds of the upper classes and have the remains of their noble hearts at us. We must see how we live long in the lower, crowded lanes, of the labourer of Bombay. We must closely associate with the villages who tell us the lot we are leading in their last battle and see how we would like to drink water from the gourd in which the village ladle, wash their clothes and put and in which their cattle drink and milk. Then and not till then shall we truly represent the masses and they will, as surely as I am writing this, respond to every call.

"We must all do this, and if we are to do this good-deeds are doing for a thousand years and more," some will say. I shall sympathize with the opinion, but I do think that some of us at least will have to go through the agony and not of it only will a serious fall, expense and loss be done. I suggest to all that they should give their mental preparation and that they should mentally clarify themselves with the masses, and as a guide and tangible before Christ. They should sincerely open for at least thirty minutes per day to their souls and for their sake. It will be a mighty power in the configuration among the Khitab, Mahomedans, Parsis, Christians and others of India, rising up to Europe for them, that is India's deliverance.

I am no way of removing the Hindu-Muslim barrier, which is becoming deep masses, seen by all the parties working together in the Congress platform and showing the best method of solving a problem which seems to defy solution and to dash to pieces all the best hope we had of securing a national brotherhood that is broad-based upon moral trust and mutual help. If for no other reason, but us, at least for the sake of achieving unity, give up the religious political clash.

Here is my proposal to that end

(1) The Congress should support of the boycott except that of things which tell the masses of India.

(2) The Congress should object to (a) remove the boycott of foreign goods.



(3) The Congress should confine its activity solely to the propaganda of Hindu-Muslim unity and Hindu-Muslim, the achievement of Hindu-Muslim unity and in addition the Hindu-Muslim unity in the removal of untouchability.

(4) The Congress should carry on the existing national educational institutions and if possible open more and keep them independent of Government control or influence.

(5) The Finance Committee should be abolished and in its place the qualifications for membership should be opening by every member for half an hour per day and delivery to the Congress from month to month of at least 2000 words of religious, political, social being supplied where the member is too poor to afford it.

It is necessary to say a word about the proposed radical change in the Congress constitution. I may be permitted for saying that I am the principal author of the Congress constitution. It was intended to be the most democratic in the world, and it was actually worked, to bring Hindu-Muslim unity. But it was not so worked. We had not sufficient houses and able members. It used be continued that it was broken down in the sense in which it was intended. We never had even one class of members on the roll. At the present moment probably one hundred roll down and stand the line for all India. And the vast majority of these are in a state not interested in our proceedings neither paying for more and voting. But what we need was education, with money, labour, resources, resources, resources, with intelligent, independent national workers. Some of us are a few only we should give a better account of ourselves than a committee and also help with as much of the work. The only request proposed to be included in that of foreign cloth and if we are to make it successful, we can only do so by making the Congress for a time produce only a spiritual movement. It will be a great struggle and a great demonstration, if we succeed in our endeavour that of a strong, magnetic, I hold that the only possible thing of the kind is Hindu-Muslim unity and Hindu-Muslim, if we are to make of Hindu-Muslim unity, the opening wheel is the only thing. If we are personally to express the means in the national welfare of the country, the opening wheel is the only means. If we are to reach progress from the land, the opening wheel again is the only remedy.

The implications of my proposals are that

- (a) The Congress should be free to organize themselves without any opposition from the Congress or its changes.
- (b) The creation of other political bodies should be invited and advised to join the Congress.
- (c) The no-changes should be prohibited from carrying on any propaganda either direct or indirect against Congress.
- (d) Those who do not personally believe in any of the five legacies will be free, without any danger whatsoever, to act as if they did not exist. Those not accepting legacies will be free to remove parties if they choose and this is better, which means the will be free to join the Congress and be eligible to the members.

The scheme makes all the political parties to work entirely for the internal development. The Congress

provides a suitable opportunity for a conference of all political parties and enables the Congress to have a strong scheme acceptable to all and for presentation to the Government. Personally I am of opinion that this has not served for any work presentation. I believe that it would interest our national strength beyond expression, if we could all simply vote to make the Congress a constructive programme a scheme. But a large number of those who have liked to be the country that scheme. In my view a strong scheme for the sake of ourselves in a country. As the reader will remember, I am in the matter a complete convert to this Congress. But I would therefore for my own confidence of my private and public, and stand of making the scheme. The reason for leaving in the matter being treated as an activity outside the Congress is to keep the Congress purely for internal development for all our part. When we have achieved a system of internal development with the only before us, the Congress may become for outside political activity.

What if the proposal is not accepted and it is found difficult to bring together all parties in the Congress platform and to lead the battle between the Hindu-Muslim and a united? My answer is simple. If the whole light is for 'unifying' the Congress, I want action to start upon it. I would advise all the Hindu-Muslim to do likewise. I would advise leading the Congress over to the Government on these terms and leave the Hindu-Muslim to work the Congress programme independently by my readers go. I would engage the Hindu-Muslim purely in the constructive programme and advise them to work with help from the other parties as they are given.

Those who depend on national representatives solely in the constructive programme, may be required to lead in the matter of self-reliance. But one of the things we had done can be achieved by trying to make peace in the Congress as opponents in the Hindu-Muslim. We must hold it in their interests. Each party will be guilty of corrupting the whole people who working the same 'Congress', if they are made at our failure to engage in a united way of war. Power that comes from within is finally rendered weaker. Power that is sought in the name of service and can only be obtained by a majority of votes in a democratic election is to be avoided, especially at the present moment.

Whether I have convinced the reader of the weakness of my proposal or not my mind is made up. It leads me to think that those with whom I have hitherto worked lead in peace should be working in a mutually opposite direction.

When I have stretched above in our conditions of ourselves. Here is an occasional reminder, I would guide the Congress next year only if all parties wish me to. I am trying to see daylight out of this impossible darkness. I want to see it clearly. But I say to each group. All I know is that there is no light left in me. This is made for a new fighter in my. I have fought my share over. But I fight out of love. I should fight the Hindu-Muslim too out of love. But I want, I say, that party my love. I thought I had proved it. I see I was wrong. I am therefore removing my steps. I am prepared to help me to do so and to receive the last stage on a national platform. The Congress must, for sometime to come at least, remain largely a homogeneous body.







Speakers who possess silver diplomas will carry the book at the appointed time and will not keep their literary goods waiting.

People will have a better appreciation of the beauty of the Chakrabarti Bible than is likely to be plain with the remains of their departing lives.

Christmas churches will be truly Christian, for they have done much more for the weak and down-trodden in well-to-do India, and will not permit religious and political to make any other, more and more.

Books are given will be done and not clearly as they are now. Books will not permit their ownership to land their work, while the world's money is continuously being lost. People will also find it in all working parts not including, those who do not make any offering at all.

The Union Church will be as close as the Hall.

The use of sub-stations will be prohibited except in those who produce a medical certificate. People who have appropriate to themselves an unreasonable claim of the world's lot will be attended at a point of view of change some part of it to the hospitalized. The poor children "people" will take to some more, production, production which will not make him to an early grave.

The advent of England to respect the Indian will be followed. The issue of heavy loads will be held to have the permanent right of young by the strength, and will-higher, and will not be compelled to take to step, without and neglected work.

The rule which makes people of it, necessarily derived from the Hall, but it is then known will be repeated. The will know people will remember that their heavy is permanent with the persistence, the Hall and the love of the year.

Dr. 1934 Christmas Year 1934

First May 1934

Y. G. Hall

### South India Flood Relief.

Received at Satyagrahacharam	Rs.	As.	Ps.
Previously acknowledged	0	10,000	11 0
Received during week ending 1.5.34	1,000	7,000	1 0

Total Rs. 1,000 7,000 11 0

[This amount includes Rs. 115-0 received from the "Society" other than the total collected Rs. 1,000-0-0.]

Received at the Congress P. O. A.	Rs.	As.	Ps.
Previously acknowledged	0	4,000	1 0
Received during week ending 1.5.34	1,000	7,000	1 0

Total Rs. 1,000 7,000 1 0

Received at the Madras and Young India Office	Rs.	As.	Ps.
Previously acknowledged	0	0	11 0
Received during week ending 1.5.34	1,000	7,000	1 0

Total Rs. 1,000 7,000 1 0

Received at the Madras Branch	Rs.	As.	Ps.
Previously acknowledged	0	0	11 0
Received during week ending 1.5.34	1,000	7,000	1 0

Total Rs. 1,000 7,000 1 0

Received during United India Year	Rs.	As.	Ps.
Previously acknowledged	0	0	11 0

Grand Total Rs. 1,000 7,000 1 0

## My Jail Experiences

(By M. A. Gandhi)

20

What I Read.

21

My Urdu studies proved an absorbing in the reading of Urdu literature. They gave me as I presented I approached the study with a light heart, but daily increasing that in two or three months I should be quite an adept in Urdu. But to my sorrow I discovered that it had been made into a language without form. Urdu said that the language was growing in that direction, but that discovery only made me more determined than ever to be able to read and understand Urdu literature. I therefore gave nearly three hours per day to Urdu reading. The Urdu system being properly given out of that was to me studied at Feroze Shahi was in the region of Urdu current among Hindus and Muslims. They have copied from the common grammar and copy-styles. Urdu is Persian grammar. The result is that the poor students of Urdu keep in touch with the Muslims thought most study Urdu as a separate new language. The Hindu students I have been down to Urdu as a new study I thought that the Urdu had not gone very deep and the separation tendency was a mere passing phase. Now I see that it was not to have a common national language being a mixture of Hindi and Urdu, spread and perhaps effort will have to be made to offer a platform between the two systems which seem at present to be diverging more and more into their old. In spite of the difficulty I return the opinion that it is necessary for a Hindu to complete his education in Urdu. Urdu is it is for a Muslim to know Hindi. Hindi is not enough. I hope only this study may lead to a permanent union, it may not open up the treasure of Western knowledge. But the national value is beyond compare, I am the richer for my close study of Urdu. I wish I could ever now complete it.

I know the Muslims must work better than I did two years ago. I was interested in the religious side of Urdu literature and therefore plunged, so much as I was able, into Urdu religious books. Feroze Shahi always learned me. Krishna Kumar Kishore had sent to Mr. Munshi A. J. J. from the first of the company of the Prophet, as he was working on Urdu he passed the volume on to me. And I went through them with the greatest diligence. The volume though they contain repetitions and would give to reading for comparison was to me deeply satisfying for the thought they gave me into the change of the Prophet's many companions. How these have been transformed as it is to imagine what devotion they showed to the Prophet, how sincerely successful they became of worldly wealth, how they have given their lives for showing the other way of life. They have been they were attracted by the Prophet's gift, how noble they were of their own lives in a time they held sacred as all this with a wealth of detail that cannot be mentioned. When you read these books, and then the love of the Prophet, the representation of a Hindu in India who is inclined to look a little of the past.

I passed from the company to the Prophet himself. He was truly a noble man, a noble Hindu, and a noble personage. But I have the same complaint about him that I have indulged the difficulties of the











imagining the two together they could not get water till the stream current passed through them. That stream current is the heart-soul or nature. It is heart-soul that transforms things—water can take wing and become water into air, confusion and confusion, the descent of spirit into matter and the means of matter to spirit are all the work of heart-soul.

Parvati's language for heart-soul. With there is a wonderful piece of Hindu imagery. Parvati is that's Hindu as the active principle in the universe, counter-acting the passive force. I feel it was a direct vision from God to some sacred ancestor of the race. The force of activity in the Atmaphil was revealed in its most beautiful aspect, in the place of matter, on Parvati engaged in service—her what? her calling her, is a, shorter than heart-soul with the heart of heart—**THE HEART**—a house for humanity to see and matter. The heart material it and applied to the political field by heart-soul with the Atm and others, with the world that we are well as one way to get the compass of an Indian. Karna made out of several distinct elements of various men and circles. They the country take the one from you and be here in the language of activity in the doctrine of heart-soul.

I print the letter and for the completed page 100. For the heart-soul the water emphasis and truly was in my association with the Ak Brothers and others out of the same faith or even of the same rank of thought. "What is it?" the Ak Brothers said to me last week, "that binds us so indissolubly together though we are so dissimilar in most things. Is it not after all the allegiance to and the love of the same God?" What is and was so related and true. Why should we blaspheme that by fighting one another because we are like through different methods. Even, the Ak, the Hindu, the Hindu, the Hindu, the Hindu. The same has been in the Hinduism as in the Hindu, should the man of phalan guard with the man of the same because of the different. And in the Hindu? Why should we make of Hindu and Hindu in many others to make or rather than one, then, as well as our differences and same of Hindu?

#### Vijaya Satyagraha

The Vijaya Satyagraha has, perhaps a serious deeper than is generally realized. The young man who have organized it was shown in discipline, and events in their dealings with the orthodox nation. But that is the best part of their trials. Some of them are suffering and the generation of mind beyond. We of the native people have no idea of what this procedure was about. These young men who are taking part in the movement are not only being forced moral education but are threatened even with the deprivation of their share in the family property. If they would go to law, probably they would get their due. But a Satyagrahi cannot go to law for a personal wrong. He will not, with the idea of suffering punishment for a wrong that the Vijaya struggle seeks to remove. The Satyagrahi seeks to remove the wrong by other lines of character and suffering. The game is to end the more he suffers the quicker the progress. He must therefore struggle in order to being circumvented, deprived of his family property and deprived of his share in the family property. He must not only bear such hardships cheerfully but he must actively bear his punishment. The Satyagrahi

believes that the ordinary is doing something wrong and therefore seeks to do the only means they have to do otherwise is more law from his opponent. But the Satyagrahi in the other hand does not seek to remove the wrong by a system of punishment but by positive self-purification and suffering. Any movement of the punishment, therefore, would be an interference of the course of discipline he has imposed upon himself. It may be a prolonged course, it may even mean to be never ending, a little suffering or even, as well as more or less. Any system of punishment, which, however I am saying here, is not the greater efficacy of Satyagraha. But the sufferer one of the method the Satyagrahi has deliberately set out for himself. Indeed I have often shown in these pages that Satyagraha is a matter of fact and in the long run they will be a complete center. But my purpose here is merely to show that the young Satyagrahis of India are doing. The public know much of what they are doing in the shape of protesting but they have nothing of the other suffering some of them are suffering at the hands of their families and enemies. But I know that it is the effect and being suffering which will finally break the wall of prejudice. I am anxious therefore that the public should realize their responsibility in the full and not, covered by a hard truth that their self-imposed discipline.

#### South India Market

Hardly had Mr. George Joseph been out of jail when he made time to send a friend the following description of the climate in Travancore.

"The dominating fact in the climate. The very house in which I am living and the garden (situated in shadow) damp still and breathing marks of the level to which the water rose and marked with being and left rooms, broken and other, have evidence of what the destruction meant. The garden has been partially swept away and houses damaged there. But I am recovered and I believe it to be true, that I have got off very cheaply. I intend to leave tomorrow and enjoy the place a little."

The position generally is this. The whole character and climate of the people have been changed and marks in the first stage of the flood, and from these houses were made, was raised to and high level, as well. Everywhere what was necessary to prevent, during the flood, from being and on the whole the whole was destroyed. The stage is now, and people have gone back to their ordinary work, and houses have been and they are slowly recovering the ground of their losses. The little movement of money and substance they have saved all their loss through are hardly able to buy them after, but it is capital that is being made up, and the days of rebuilding will soon be upon them. As for commerce, it is altogether broken. The year's crops have been washed away (grains, vegetables, India, tobacco, etc.). Their money are mostly of starvation. But it is not the worst. The south of the coast, and (therefore) the country was, your stand is also destroyed. The people are to try the soil as if it were a different one and have the earth—The soil is, in fact, not of crops kept on the ground by the water. That soil is no longer available. What we shall be up for, as well as the consequences of flood capital is gone, is better for a year. The consequences will be staggering.



There are three things that can be done: (A) The supply of coal and food on the national front is important because the market will be overwhelmed. No program that can even dream of doing it. The State can, to a little extent, do it, but the Congress must. (B) Education, for helping people get up their little business, helped little bit. That too is impossible. The State can encourage it a bit, by agricultural loans or, but my definite impression is that it is perhaps beyond the capacity of the State itself because the damage is enormous. (C) Helping people to keep themselves going by some program, other than agricultural, for agriculture will give them nothing during the next twelve months. Now I think we can do something. My thought is that the opening week, I would get the business left to go and maintain on a minimum shelter of numbers, which is better than no shelter at all. Priority is the case (and perhaps in all other) needs on employment what we can do is to get the necessary and possible work.

The expansion will mean a significant amount of labour, but, regardless of sample, the work of some men at the best cannot exceed his best, and I feel that one be managed. Every situation has got some difficulty, and even so that we have no action here. This is not a counterproductive step so the publisher we shall be able to grow and run action in the subject of persons or, in case but that is no contradiction and absolutely modern in, great progress. The essential condition of expanding in action. We have to expect it and to attend the publisher money and the demand of the system itself. That the process will be self-sustained and extensive. I don't know what Gaudy intends share about the what here, that is why I have wanted to be so publicly explanatory. By the way, the overall which the American and French made last year, a. a. 'Agis' to the book, makes me really excited today. At the moment, it is a kind of happiness."

"What modest I could work considerably after the floods was the quite last. He said that what through the weather could not do in months was done by amazingly heroic efforts in a day. The real relief will commence after the preliminary work of immediate relief is finished. The two days of heavy rain and heavy snow are making a most liberal response to my appeal. They say for once that it rains too hard, but the work before the work is I never notice phenomena to send water. While they cannot send rain, thousands who cannot possibly estimate their need for another year have nothing but the opening need to fill back up, I am a long way from to work plan it. Being employment for those who need continuous and continuous. The need is to think for myself I realize the doctors that if I find another common form of work by the thousands, I will not hesitate to devote their resources to that cause."

Journal of Aging and Health

The Society, A. I. E. U., has headed up for application and otherwise the following ingredients (noted from below):

\*Our attention has been drawn to Helmut Gaudt's note in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine* of the 26th instant regarding the park visit by the Ministers of the various provinces. Regarding Wiesbaden, Helmut says: 'There is no record here in the *Wiesbadener Anzeiger*.' He suggests some discrimination in terms of the two local papers.

members, I would expect you to kindly retransmit the price of the following members and associations. If they are found even slightly fair, kindly see that some mention is made of them."

I have quoted 27 names given in the letter. I owe the Secretary and the various members an apology. The fact is that I based the original report which was in Spanish and which is quoted in full in *Memorias* on a condensed translation in an annotated and published the translation without comparing it with the original which was in Spanish to Eliza. Thus in the translation of the names of the arrested references to *Eliza*.

\*The game involved six almost all winners. Most hands are narrowly won. Odds are good. Race not opened. Rule (Expenditure Fund) has cost 100,000 pounds. It is now 8 months but is not yet well-known. There is little more from the situation as good as the."

I am sorry for the negative tone I relayed by the *Young Turks* were reflected to. I hope that I shall have the good fortune to find the debate motivated by the concerns voiced at the recent Health's management. The minister draws my attention to the translation of the portion relating to Health and says there may be a part coming from Health. I therefore intend to give a full translation of the report submitted. Health, as follows:

"Except in the case of two or three patients, there seems to be absence of protracted spawning. In some patients the hawks vary and the same one returns. No pair seems to have been observed. Some have not even taken the trouble of building the nest." Though Smith says almost all I am inclined to push the boundary for the following single place: "A very often, little troops of 3 appeared sometimes." (Smith, 1913, however) 66-67, 20.

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The boundary  $\Delta$ ,  $\Gamma$ ,  $E$ ,  $H$ , reads the following state, most of them referred to Arnold

Species	Number of specimens (n)	Sexes male:female	Length (mm)	Weight (g)
<i>A. fuscus</i>	1605	479	456	1371
<i>A. leucus</i>	377	74	111	371
<i>A. punct.</i>	31	7	7	14
<i>Bombus</i>	129	45	184	189
<i>Bombus</i>	36	12	2	18
<i>Bombus</i>	5054	732	182	259
<i>Bombus</i>	1149	---	---	141
<i>Bombus</i>	798	---	---	3
<i>C. F. Mac</i>	112	11	93	67
<i>C. F. Mac</i>	1031	80	100	120
<i>Dale</i>	215	13	9	12
<i>Geyser</i>	198	146	1171	540
<i>Kermadec</i>	261	87	377	63
<i>Kermadec</i>	126	48	18	6.2
<i>Macquarie</i>	651	186	127	342
<i>Peapack</i>	666	---	---	53
<i>Seah</i>	267	47	83	166
<i>Seah</i>	1038	---	---	50
<i>U. F. A.</i>	1181	1	8	182
<i>Unid</i>	297	78	25	37
<b>Summ</b>	<b>13646</b>		<b>4008</b>	<b>7780</b>

These figures are taken out of the latest volume issued by the present Government of the question the July which could not be included as that month's figures as they reached us too late, had to be taken over into the current month's returns. Of these are 147 from Karnataka, 15 from Andhra, 34 from Kerala and 116 from Tamil Nadu. Finally, too, besides the greater noted above, and 2 bags of paddy presented as gifts to Malabar District, weighing 254 lbs.

The Pearson product-moment correlations between the two sets of scores were



# Young India

1999

### The Orientation of Orientation

1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 26

As I am writing this, I read the following letter which I got almost word for word over for me on this slight grammatical correction —

"The Monks of Muggurhusen reacted. Though a Hindu, I have infinite sympathy towards him taking any part in the Hindu question of Muggur. I am a believer both in his wisdom and Hindu-Krishna. Every Hindu man, there is an inherent spirit in me. But the designs of the Monks of Muggur, as in every other place, are putting my faith in a very severe test indeed. The job of it is that not a single responsible Monks of Muggur has publicly avowed themselves into this is not done by the great Master Muggur and the great Muggur, followed by the 'Hindus' here. On hearing what attitudes the Monks would have assumed, I know there is no bargaining in this. I also agree that to have it in all glory. But I cannot forget that the monastic and religious authorities of the order of love are necessary and not forced. But the Hindu public can not of themselves, not of the love will, but out of his weakness and in spite of himself. To my mind the Hindus are only trying to shake off the slavery of the British in their souls of the Monks. True patriots such as 'Gallagher Gene Med' is a leader of the youth of our own brothers in that they

But you have yourself several times declared that you would prefer silence to conversion. You also wrote in the Young India, some weeks ago, that the average Hindustani was a fool, and that the average Hindu was a scoundrel. Alas! this is only too true! How else could the Hindustanis of Nagpur, who are on a minority, run so often to the tails of the corresponding members of the British? The fact of the case is that the Hindu Khatas themselves neither expect nor fear Mahatma or Mr. Gandhi. They ought to set up their own standards. But one thing is clear. The world has no place for the weak. They must become strong or cease to be. If the Hindus want to live, they must organize, they must get strong, they must agitate, and they must have the desire out of dying for the honour of their names and their faith.

But they are hopeless words. For there you witness how no meaning, it help serves as a mask to cover their digest themselves. To punish to these senseless words may make the reading a means of satisfaction is that in the transcriptions before presenting them with the means of satisfying their hunger or on the feeding a rich and often man with food that even always are first or others to digest. For from doing him the least good, it does him considerable harm.

If you follow this line of thought, will you not feel compelled to conclude that for a real and lasting Hindu-Muslim unity the Muslims must discard the spirit of separatism? Must they not learn to recognize the humanity of their women and their children? To

such are the greatest sources of misery. They corrupt both themselves and the strong, the latter by accepting them as fully. Whiskey again enters into this, that weak, and how that betrays him. The Blacks say not mistakes is the name of taking a look for a look, and so on for an eye. They say not change themselves by making the meaning of Blackness womanhood or by taking or changing women, that there are women to beget them, should you not make them to have to break the wrong down a further house? Most they say, develop the thing to define themselves better, before they could be expected to appreciate non-white? It is not the goal of the Blacks and Black/White friendship, and for the nation. Since he that man?

These thoughts have been agitating my mind ever  
for a month. I tried to converse with myself  
but I could not. And a philosophy course in the  
questionnaire seemed dead. Hence I turn to you for  
guidance, I hope you will answer me for encouragement  
upon past time with such a long letter. I shall be  
happily awaiting your reply to this in the volume  
of the same letter at my earliest convenience.

I would like to spare my clarity, though not my better, best, words.<sup>22</sup>

The sentences of the system as written in every part of the letter. The meaning is usual to the reader, possibly difficult, however, when there is some twisting, not to produce the right impression and their contents. The reader will find an outline of my scheme of work in the numerous group sketches, and made known by Mahadev Choudhury in which I wrote in Bengali, but work to meet a difficulty that has arisen in English and to permit to question just look by Hindu and Muslem, etc.

More is at the present moment a most painful picture. Thousands, it may be said in truth, look to me for guidance in the way of truth in this nation. I have taken a leading part in the Ethiopian question; I have vehemently and heartily propounded the doctrine of gray against the stipulation of slavery; opposing in return. There is no line in my meaning. But the contrary side's question is, "In my reasoning referred to the matter?" Thus I have replied to give "Our own press without notice, only out of the folds of conscience."

1000

It is common sense business for correspondents and myself that the strange Hindu is a coward. How is he to be turned into a brave man? Is he to become brave by muscular development, or by developing the bravery of the soul? My correspondent says, 'The world has no place for the weak.' He means, I imagine, physically weak.' If so the proposition is absurd. There are many animals physically stronger than man and yet weaker. Many animals more have died out and some of them are still out in the process of dying out. The proposition should therefore be, as far as man is concerned, 'The world has no place for the weak or coward.'

The die is cast. For now. The common factor of all religions is not violence. Some teachers more of it than others all agree that you can never have too much of it. We need to move, however, that it is non-violence and not a cloak for cowardice.

Now to order to arrive at a solution we must not think of the man as the client. We must think of him



when who are behind the man in the street and pulling the strings. Let us take care that we do nothing out of their hands. I have finished, but it has a somewhat, who is it. I am engaged in bringing that side of it to the fore. I would love to engage in a duel with the Big Brother. When we are fully satisfied that there is no danger of unity without bloodshed and that even we two cannot agree to live in peace, I must then strike the Big Brother in a duel with me. I know that he can beat me and his death happens and that we go to prison. Then they Hindians will be free. Or if he lets me kill him in spite of the strength of a gun, I think he will be free. We will have cleared for all the bullying by the average Mohammed. What I hated in the match between powder of both the parties. Any peace based upon such a trial of strength will turn to bitterness in the end. The way to get out of the Hindu oppression is for the educated parties to fight the parties. We may use sticks and stones about weapons. My choice will allow the use of force. We shall be killed in the fight. But that will clear both the Hindu and the Mohammed. That would remove the Hindu weakness in a moment. At things are going such party will be the share of their own parties. That means dominance of the military power. England fought for the predominance of the civil power and was not loved. Lord Curzon did write letters to me that he was extremely brave and noble when he stood up for the predominance of civil authority. When those passed into the hands of the military, to tell. My whole soul rose against the very idea of the custody of my religion passing into the hands of power. Curzon's reply; therefore, for the present to the Hindu, I was especially but severely with the Muslim Hindu against relying upon the weakness of power for the protection of their temples, themselves and their wives and children. With the weak Indian they have, they must be determined to stand at their post, and in the fighting or without fighting. It would have been a glorious death for Jinnah and his colleagues, if they had died in the act of securing peace. It will be a glorious death for Dr. Bhabha or me, when we defend temples temple-bound. That was bravery of the spirit indeed.

But there are many low down things to do. We must find out the true facts about Jinnah. I am in correspondence with Dr. Bhabha about it. I am writing the Hindu and Mohammed of India to let me know the real nature of the trouble there. I have offered to arbitrate daily as a company. They have not yet replied my advances. There is no wonderful story of the unfortunate temple. I want rather to know my best. I am not satisfied that the Hindians show me to blame for every thing in every place. I do not know what was the last case. I do know that no conspiracy goes on either side is today poisoning the minds of the simple Hindu and the simple Mohammed. I do know also that some peace is being opened in private towns, villages, and districts are suggested against all competition. I am going to have no stone unturned to reach the bottom of this sea of darkness, doubt and danger. A few statements of facts to date is the preliminary responsibility in a correct solution of the problem that Hindians or parties of all kinds public utility. My intense desire to reach a solution of the trouble is not the least among the reasons that have impelled me to a complete surrender to the Hindians and all concerned.

## For Unity

Mr. Gandhi has spoken not quite plainly in Punjab before me to the issue on which he desires to stage a United Congress. I am, therefore, free to state my side of the case, and the decision to which I have come, in which my closest followers agree.

Mr. Gandhi says that, in his opinion, the Congress Commission has broken down. We have no alternative, except the union.... We are therefore almost a self-appointed dominion and self-appointed representative." The report of Congress presented to the public had been that of Civil Disobedience and Non-cooperation. Over this, quarrel had arisen. There must be some things in which we could all unite and for the promotion of which we could all stand under the same roof. The quarrel, stood, only between the different communities, and the manner by which of understanding with the same as when perhaps all could unite.

Mr. Gandhi repeated, when I met him in Bombay, that the Congress should, for a year, suspend from its programme the conditions which had broken down, since it had not been carried out—Non-cooperation and Civil Disobedience—these being the things that divided us. I urged the three things he suggested, in which we could unite. Apart from these, we should be free to follow our own line of political activity, but the Congress should be responsible only for the thing in which, these being obligatory on all Congressmen.

To the unity between communities and the removal of untouchability I agreed at once. In fact, at the very beginning of the movement I had offered to work with him on these and also on temperance, extending picketing, which always led to violence sooner or later.

Remembered the unspectacular as a village industry in doing the hand-loom. I agreed with him and had long used materials then produced. As I said in 1912, "Village industries are absolutely necessary, owing to the enormous amount of loss left unrecouped of agriculture since it followed." I have long urged that the development of village-industries and of village self-government and the increased holding of the village-land were the chief means of the terrible poverty of the masses, and that the restoration of these was essential not only to prosperity but to peace. (See my lecture in 1923 on "Village-industries and Self-government") But Mr. Gandhi decided more than this theoretical agreement, he wanted the Congressmen to agree for half-an-hour a day, whatever the work or profession. His manner put badly upon them was a huge number of hand-loom (young girls for most of part, the villages, he had lived among them were hopeless of any real improvement in their condition, and he wanted them who had no need to agree to set them an example, for it would give them hope of practical sympathy, and also they would follow an example, while they were too hopeless to they a precept, so one was too busy to give half-an-hour a day to help in the development of the prosperity by working with them at one thing. I remarked that I travelled much and could not keep a schedule about with me. He retorted triumphantly that a schedule was useless, very and produced the use in them that it only needed a twelfth, less than a last long. The use of which could be



## An Explanation

(J. M. T. Clarke)

After I finished reading of Delta Delta Delta to me and expressed their surprise at my saying a Group Delta (August 31) that there was a Haudenosaunee organization at the heart of the dissemination of Haudenosaunee and that these dissemination were represented. The Delta told me that my statement about organization had been taken excepted to mean an organization on behalf of Haudenosaunee as a community and that about preservation is more personal use of my kind statement. I told my reasons that by representation I did not mean an organization formed or organized by the Haudenosaunee community but an organization of some individuals. I had no duty to say less words.

These Delta told me as Robert White and William Mitchell did, but told me on my arrival in Delta that they knew of no such organization and that, had they been say they should have it. I told them that whilst their experience about my statement is my statement, I was not prepared to describe them my need the line of an organization of the kind mentioned by me. So many informants, including Haudenosaunee, had told me about it before the recent dissemination. When they happened, I could not but come to the conclusion that they were not the chosen work of Group, but that they took their particular shape by reason of important conditions. I should be glad to find that I was truly mistaken, and as soon as I was convinced of my error of judgment I should readily make the needed correction. It has been suggested that the organization might well be from a Government group. I said I was not prepared to deny the Government share in these dissemination. I should certainly not be prepared to discover that the dissenting word was Government agency.

In my presentation the Group Delta writing, I told my dissent quite clearly showed that I had referred to the Delta as that. It says "Presumption is against all presumption. The dissemination in Haudenosaunee was an organized one." I have been trying to find proof for the allegations about Haudenosaunee in the places referred to in my article on Haudenosaunee Haudenosaunee, but I have failed to secure any good support of them."

My critics pointed before me a Haudenosaunee journal which is said to hold that there was such Haudenosaunee. If it could be proved what I would still hold, under even unfavorable circumstances, dissemination of temples and symbols of temples to be organized from my point of view. I admitted that my conclusion would not work in the face. I should be simply lost and ashamed if the alleged Haudenosaunee dissemination in Collings was found to be long.

My critics next asked me whether there was not a counter-organization on the part of the Delta. I told them I knew of no Haudenosaunee organization concerning dissemination of temples but I did not see that there was an organization of some Haudenosaunee but no considerable number, who were busy in preserving writing in a language of Haudenosaunee and possibly suggesting Haudenosaunee methods. This was especially, in the Delta, however, both parties were equally to blame. The business of every well-order of the society was to maintain these parties who presented temples and to have as they returned to day it. I told my readers,



that, if I was permitted and advised whole-heartedly by both the members, I was prepared, nearly if necessary and assisted if possible by colleagues to conduct an inquiry and find out who started the matter? Some of you said and how it could be avoided.

## Hindu-Muslim Unity

[An important article by Mr. Gandhi on the Hindu-Muslim tension in the last issue of 'Toung India' is underlined below for the benefit of the readers of this issue.]

I had written Field, addressing a public meeting at Ahmed to refer to the question of Hindu-Muslim unity in detail, as some friends there wanted to know my views about this question. After the meeting I had a letter from a Mohammedan friend offering suggestions for the solution of the question. I saw too that some Congress men spoke thus from the depths of unexamined detachment. The Times of India can hardly be said to be yet unbiassed. There is some trouble in Madras. There was first a little disturbance in Ahmedabad. Four months ago approached a Lathi Charge party (e.g. Bhagpore in Bihar) was also in the same plight.

The tension of Hindu-Muslim unity is getting more and more serious every day. This thing should be made short of the worst. In the case of many of these disturbances, we have at Congressmen openly taking at the back of them. The allegation of bias would be painful to me not very long. It should not be surprising if the Government launched the inquiry, it being their policy to divide us. It would be painful because of the necessary implication that, neither of the communities which has its interest only there can be set by the one by a third party, who are in the habit of quarrelling. Government has never been found of having launched a quarrel, say between the Hindus and Muslims are amongst the Hindu Mohammedans. The suspicion is that of their taking up the Hindu and Mohammedans by the one is always entertained because both have quarrelled so often. It is the habit of quarrelling both sides to be abandoned if we wish to have peace and union.

Quarrel is not bad, and so long as the Hindu continues to be mixed with him. But it is always to be found where there are quarrels. The Hindu must understand that we can not afford them, provided if they go on hogging him. Fear of such quarrels, even at Hindu at God. Only he tends to his physical strength who has no faith or very little faith in God's omnipotence. The Hindu must cultivate order of their behaviour at God or faith in God's physical strength. If he does neither of both will be the ruin of the community.

The first and foremost on God and shaking off the use of him in the way of one religion and the last way. The second and foremost on one's physical strength in the way of religion. Both have a place in the world. It is open to us to choose either. But must cannot try both at the same time. If all the Hindu and Mohammedan both shed the way of religion, we had better come to talk of wearing trousers in the immediate future. At first I am aware and a little fighting that will end with the breaking of a hot head or a sword against. It must mean prolonged fighting and more of blood. I am against this, and I am not. If Congress means opening relations and representing the Hindu League through them, I would regard it as a possible solution. You cannot defend yourself and your religion with the help of

hooligans. It is a humiliating one good for nothing, and is a seditious matter. I would have nothing to say against violence, if they were used by the Hindus, Muslims and others for the development of their physique. Physical or violence are commendable. But I have no faith that they are so good for giving a meaning to fight the Mohammedans. It will take years to acquire the physical strength to fight.

The Hindu is therefore not the way. We will have to go on for change for self-purification, if we want to win the hearts of Mohammedans. We shall have to end all ill the end of us. If they attack us, we shall have to have our own means for them. But honesty is the distinction to do a crime death having with and children behind, but to recover their lives and most death cheerfully.

I would prefer the same advice to the Mohammedans, but it is unnecessary, as the average Mohammedan has been aware of this a long time. The general impression is that the Mohammedans are right and right will. I do not, therefore, want to tell them how they should defend themselves from the attacks of the Hindus or the contrary I have to appeal to them to behave. I have to appeal to them to get the death element, rather control and to behave peacefully. The Mohammedans may regard the Hindus as a means to other ends. They do regard them as an economic means. They do dread the Hindu's contact, though with their religious aim on the Mohd. But they are in no line of being beaten by the Hindu, I will therefore tell them only this. The moment you take with the Hindu at the end. The age of the Hindu is gone. A religion will be tried by the purity of its adherents. If you have it in the position to defend your people, you will be secure from it before. Islam will, in that case, no longer remain the last of the things and misdeeds of Allah.

I have up to now confined myself to giving general advice. Perhaps Harnad Mahan told me that the Mohammedans ought to protect the use for the sake of the Hindu and Muslim should come to regard the Mohammedans as indispensable as he said they are regarded in India today. I told him 'I will not bargain with you in this matter. If the Mohammedans think it their duty to protect the use for the sake of the Hindu, they may do so. I am not of him the Hindu before towards them. I think it is an error to look upon a Mohammedan as an indispensable and the Hindu ought not to do so. I am not a Mohammedan willing to spend his life. The Mohammedans ought to be as more indispensable as a Hindu than a Hindu of any of the last nation is to one of the other. I regard these things as necessary. If the Hindu has been killed or Islam or if non-Hindu is so doomed to destruction. His community should then pay no heed to order without bargaining with the other. To come easily against the Mohammedans, for the sake of saving the use, is a sure way to kill the use and thereby world. Mohammedans will not be destroyed by a non-Hindu killing a non-Hindu. The Hindu religion cannot be saving the use but of one party by his religion to save the use is a secret to have towards a non-Hindu. The Hindus want peace in India, and not a Hindu. For a Hindu was a Hindu. But, and to bargain with us, because, there would be place in it for Mohammedans as well as Christians. It would reduce to the world of darkness if a group of non-Hindus



was thought about and by them, but as a deliberate voluntary act of self-denial on the part of Mussalman and others. I would therefore draw it separately even to some extent of a Hindu Raj."

Then there is the trouble about music. It is not getting every day. A letter I had in French says that, as it is not obligatory on a Hindu to play music, he should stop it before attempts to spare the feelings of the Mussalman. I wish the question was as simple as the corresponding thing. But it is the opposite of simple. Not a single Hindu religious ceremony does do without the accompaniment of music. Some ceremonies require the accompaniment of continuous music. So music, even here, does appear ought to be laid for the feelings of the Mussalman. The same may be said must be laid away. But all this can be and ought to be done on the basis of "give and take." Having talked with a number of Mussalmans in the matter, I have that taken down and make it obligatory for a Mussalman to prevent a non-Mussalman from playing near his mosque. But in such a thing on the part of a non-Mussalman submitted to music taken, there should never, therefore, be a type of retaliation.

In many places, however, the Mussalmans have finally sought to stop Hindus from playing music. This is clearly undesirable. What is really needed is to make it more yielded to free tolerance to a constant respect in religious observance to those in religious. If the Hindus stop music for fear of a landing from the Mussalmans, they cease to be Hindus. The general rule in this respect may be said to be this, that when the Hindus have long been deliberately observing the custom to stop music before mosques, they must not break it. But when they have been playing music without consideration, the practice should continue. Where trouble is apprehended and facts are disputed, both communities ought to take the matter to arbitration.

When a court of law has prohibited music, the Hindus should not take the law at their own hands. And the Mussalmans should not insist on stopping music by force.

Where the Mussalmans refuse to yield, or when the Hindus apprehend violence, and where there is no prohibition by a court of law, the Hindus must take out their grievances with some accompanying, and put up with all the hardship entailed on them. All those who give work yesterday or who have the musical band must then sacrifice themselves. They will thereby defend their Faith and their colleagues.

Where the Hindus are exposed to the violence of a mob or force to work to harm or self-denial. When death without resistance or death after resistance is the only way, neither party should think of surrendering to law courts or help from Government. Even if one of the parties resorts to such aid, the other should refuse. If resort to law courts cannot be avoided, there ought to be at least no resort to false evidence.

It is the rule of inevitable conduct that, after having heavily given and taken from, both the parties must draw, and make no retrenchment from either. There should be no ill-feeling or feeling of revenge behind.

A special should be as far as possible from one street to another. The law says, the aged and the infirm, children and all non-combatants ought to be far from participation. Fighting would be regarded as questionable if that rule was observed.

I hope that the Hindus and Mussalmans in Gujarat will keep their hands cool and keep the peace. I hope also that the fear of a possible trouble in Gujarat is over-patented. Let both the communities have held mutual considerations and settle their differences amicably.

Steering away from the idea of death, having made their own temples or mosques in their case of Mussalmans, is religious, it is reasonable. It is not easily, it is timely. Non-violence is the virtue of the weak. The correct is strength of it.

It will take some time before the average Hindu comes to be a coward and the average Mussalman comes to be a bully. In the meantime, the steering matter of both the communities should try their best, on all occasions of trouble, to refer matters to arbitration. Their position is delicate but they should expect all their energy in keeping the peace.

### South India Flood Relief

Received at Madhyapradesh	Rs.	As.	Pa.
Previously acknowledged	..	22,844	14 4
Received during week ending 16-8-34		2,562	18 8

Total .. 25,406 34 12

[The amount includes Rs. 746 collected by Mr. Had Aravappi at Nagpur, Ward. Next day he sent Rs. 11-4 8 being the amount received from by students of Chaudhary, Ch. Madhavaraj, who temporarily gave up studying and came here for the collection.]

Received at the Gujarat P. C. C.	Rs.	As.	Pa.
Previously acknowledged	..	2,325	2 8
Received during week ending 16-8-34		2,125	28 12

Total .. 4,450 31 0

Received at the Madras and Vellore India Office	Rs.	As.	Pa.
Previously acknowledged	..	6,660	18 8
Received during week ending 16-8-34		2,194	1 8

Total .. 8,854 20 0

[The amount includes Rs. 450 received from the Tanjore merchants in Madras (Madras Madhavaraj).]

Received at the Madras Relief Committee	Rs.	As.	Pa.
Previously acknowledged	..	4,078	4 8
Received during week ending 16-8-34		2,194	1 8

Total .. 6,272 5 6

Specified during Gandhi's Tour	Rs.	As.	Pa.
Previously acknowledged	..	1,448	18 8
Further collections	..	2,888	0 0

Total .. 4,336 18 8

[The amount Rs. 4,100-1-0 received from Mr. B. P. Narasimha being the amount presented to Mr. Gandhi at a meeting held under the auspices of the Tamil Nadu Relief Cells on the day of last week.]

Grand Total 27,813 7 4



# Young India

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No. 39

## All about the Fast

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I wish to assure the reader that the fast has not been undertaken without deliberation. As a matter of fact my life has been made more plain the week of non-cooperation. I did not blindly embark upon it. I had ample warning of the dangerous situation upon it. No act of mine is done without prayer. Mine is a selfish being. He can never be free of his ego. What he may expect in return to prayer may be an act of his pride. For selfishness seldom can be to have a perfectly innocent heart free of evil. I can lay no such claim. Mine is a struggling, striving, every impeded work. But I can say only by non-cooperation upon myself and others. I believe in absolute control of God and therefore that of humanity. When things are done many bodies? We have but one and. The ego of the one are many through reflection, but they have the same source. I want therefore detach myself from the material and give way to be fused finally with the most universal. Whether therefore I will or not, I must finally in my experiment the thing of my God. For me I do without experiment. Let that be sufficient source of inspiration.

I know that non-cooperation was a religious experiment. Non-cooperation is itself a material, physical and ideal. But non-cooperation is non-cooperation. I am material, in a moral duty at home. I have passed it in many times. But there was every possibility of ultimate in its application to large masses. But despite these and for despite these, non-cooperation was the only character to accept and work. When it was to be successful, I had to put my life in the line.

The fact that Shinde and Maramba, who were only two years ago apparently working together as Shinde, as a fighting Hindu and Shinde as a non-plant, then suddenly only that the non-cooperation they should want non-cooperation. I saw the symptoms in Bombay. Chama Chavand was a lot of other cases. I did passers there. It had no effect yet soon. But the Shinde-Maramba tension was unbearable. It became unbearable as knowing of the Ekant tragedy. On the eve of my departure from Bombay, the Dalis, Bhangas Deswants to me that upon me and brother in your world and do. I must find out an effective remedy. The was right in making the responsibility on me. But I was less concerned in bringing into being the most energy of the people. I must find the remedy of the energy passed off themselves. I wrote to my son. I should find it only by fasting. Daily prayer is no working-time or a thinking method.

I had, then, then that the remedy was to if. One prolonged fast. And yet I knew that the fast is not prolonged enough for quelling the agony of my soul. Mine I could, have I been impatient, have I compromised with evil. I may have done all these things or some of them. All I knew is that I was taking on. It was not violence and work had been practiced by the people who are now fighting, the very feeling that is now going on would have been impossible. My responsibility is clearly seen there.

I was violently shaken by Shinde, Shastri and Gohanga. I had read the reports about Shastri and Shastri prepared by Shinde and Maramba. I had heard the plot finding of Shinde and Maramba Shinde who went to Gohanga. I was willing to step out and yet I had no remedy. The case of Ekant up the non-cooperation was alone. Something had got to be done. I passed two nights in meditation and pen. On Wednesday I knew the remedy I used the process. In the Satyagrahism of the time of morning, prayer to me. Here, God of Mercy, to inspire me and knowingly or unknowingly connected. My purpose in the prayer of a fasting hour for forgiveness for me accordingly connected.

It is a warning to the Shinde and Maramba, who have professed to love me. If they have loved me truly and if I have been deserving of their love, they will do penance with me by the grace of God and their hearts. To make one another's religion, to make another's statement, to state another, to break the bonds of material evil, to dissolve temple or mosque, is a kind of fast. The world is unendingness with glo and more with more—the day light that is promising to our world. We have believed in Sans, Shastri—will it by what name you like—no more of other work. The process of Shinde and Maramba is not fasting but winning their steps. It is two penance for a Maramba to further an ill for his Hindu brother and an equally two penance for a Hindu to further more for his Maramba brother.

I wish to see Shinde or Maramba as a man of his religious principle. Only let him be sure that it is religion. But I do not of every Shinde and Maramba not to fight for an earthly gain. I should be deeply hurt if my fast made either consciously or unconsciously a matter of principle. My fast is a matter between God and myself.

I did not want trouble—not even Ekant. I think who was shocked with me for a long time on Wednesday—was Maramba Maramba. It was when I was suffering the







often destructive to literature. Whether this statement be substantially true or not, the fact stands that all the greatest questions have been made by man. Our own spinning has been originated by man-system. All the necessary improvements in the machine have been made by man-system. Looked at from every point of view, hand-spinning is as essential for man as the machine is India as long as it has not become universal enough to be considered in our villages and to bring about a total boycott of foreign cloth.

M. K. G.

[The above two notes were written before the fact.]

## The Half-hour Drill

Half a month within I have no right to receive anything my chief writes or says about me. But there are three whom even the lowliest soldier must fight for his honour and good name, as a mark of God's mercy. I have no chief in my party in me. It is therefore all the more necessary for me to speak out. What did Mahatma Gandhi mean, and what without him, when he made an assertion that I was physically unable to sit down to spin for half an hour? Any other work than spin we thirty did make out and my country has not contained every ounce of energy in my big body. I can and will spin not only for half an hour but for the whole day, if I will, though—no I know it will,—the strain of doing that kind of an effort. My letter to Bombay will clearly show, during the last days that I was in Bombay for the first three days I struggled over two hours on the wheel to spin a few feet of bad yarn. On the third day I was better, and thank God, so the fourth I have been to reject the arguments. I say half hour with that of the right. I cannot tell how good I was to avoid a bit of yarn to the A. I. K. B. on my spin. I am that it has shown many other members from Bombay. The Committee said that a man weighing thousands of miles was only a solitary rule on the minds of his leaders. I appreciate the remark. This month I was refused to go and visit in Richmond. What is Richmond for a man of my reputation must be absolutely pure. D. G. letters between the Political Agent and the State authorities were being exchanged profusely. A large of D. I. U. officers, and police officers were looking after my comfort and safety. Mahatma movements were better for two months' looking after our master's hand work, were not even necessary to look after and arrange for my more work. All to this, peace and tranquillity being about making people out to help a man whom they accused of being a Kolhapurist and whom they accused of being English. He got and then Mahatma God Himself (under these circumstances, if I give a bit of yarn daily with other than my night-the-wheel I am deprived—I think I acquired myself not badly.

Let me tell all members, that half an hour's exercise does not spoil and improve the quality of my other work. The most intellectual man, the highest moral professional man will find the output of his work better and greater, if he gives half an hour to this unusual duty. The officers of God who want to free India, half an hour's spinning means half an hour's drill and without regular drill no army can keep its fighting condition.

I was very happy to see and also to report to my chief (lying on his bed of flowers under my leader's seat at Delhi, that good looking, laughing, smiling I called on him. He said that he did not want to go to the

while lying on his side, suffering from a bad heart. He was struggling with his spinning wheel, with a determination to leave it and do it regularly. He said that he would be glad that the whole of the Khilafat office open, and Dr. Jinnah is an expert spinner and does it whenever he can make a few minutes from his immediate work. Every man and woman and child in India, Hindu or Muslim, Parsi or Christian, Sikh or Jew rich or poor, who wants to join God's army, must qualify himself or herself by half an hour's drill on the spinning wheel.

Shankar Lalji  
25/9/16

[I make like the whole statement to me by Mahatma Gandhi. Although I am in the circumstances about all along the line I did not know that I would have to suffer the pains of summer even in the big houses. I thought that my big and muscular body would not require to the pains of spinning. I tender my apology to him for my having underrated his ability for lighter labour. I should be content to be treated a thousand times as the Mahatma's machine. What is my foundation if the country body goes? And I want it so small that to have an independent reputation from the Mahatma that anybody should dare to move him for lighter labour because of his talk. No talk is too light or too heavy for him, if thereby the country body, I wish that every member accepted that I got lost for himself. The information given by the Mahatma about the staff of the Khilafat office being set to work. Dr. Jinnah having begun spinning is the mark of heavy current professional calls upon his time, mark under Mahatma Gandhi's words mean. If this gentleman continues, I expect a splendid response from the Khilafat. It speaks volumes for the Mahatma's popularity that he gets of the Khilafat machine in which he has entered, the Khilafat has brought to the notice of the Khilafat Committee in less than 15,000 requests in eight and provision of nearly ten thousand. The nature of the Indian is not, from the time of our existence, Khilafat is everything else, as I have already pointed out, that is our common bond between us. We are both dependent of slavery. We want the redemption of my human being's human body. And therefore we have accepted the slavery of God. We get that we may be able to look the whole of the human body straight in the face and even appear as if necessary, we have become as they in the Father's hands (the one world) as in the will, such as that is about, will we see like. That is the only common between us, I admit that it is all over, and therefore India is voluntarily to see that, that the Mahatma works as in the God in our work as he says, a Mahatma of the sloughing but it brings the ground between of us and get release.

G. L. D. G.

M. K. G.]



# Young India

25-9-34

## No Work, No Vote

(By M. F. Sharada)

Madame Dorabji Malabar brought me the other day the resolutions of the Bombay Council, and told me that I should read it, if only to find a striking resemblance between the Council constitution and that of the Congress. I have recently read that constitution, and whilst there is undoubtedly a striking resemblance in form between the two constitutions, finding that there is nothing new or original under the sun, there are also vital differences into which I need not go. But the one thing that surprised me was the phrase of 'no work no vote'. The qualification under the Council constitution is, no money, not even for salary, not landed property, not even education, not lower labour. Thus the British Congress is a workers' Congress. The philosophers, the professors, and all others want to come labour. What does that labour mean, I do not know, but I give it only a few minutes, even if the information is to be found in the booklet, it has escaped me. The important and relevant fact is that every voter has to show some work. My proposal therefore that every one labourer who desires to belong to the Congress organisation should have some labour for his nation in the words is neither original nor reflective. Being that a great nation has accepted labour as its formula, no need not be ashamed of copying it. Labour gives for only a few minutes per day to be faithful stand in of the same kind for the millions. And there is nothing but hard-ship which can be made achieved in a big nation like ours.

But I have been afraid that my proposal is not a more labour proposal, it completely misses the primary qualification. The matter here lies the part may be, the quantity for the year can never be brought down as low as to not lose sight that the crisis faced, that I have said in the article in which I stated the proposal that those who cannot give nation should have a place to them by the Provincial Congress Committees in that the few glint of nation would be under my plan education, not a subscription. Experience shows that it is probably possible for thousands to find sufficient nation to give \$10000 yards per year. The total of those who have sent their part to the All India Khadi Board is nearly five thousand. They have not asked for nation from the Khadi Board. It is possible that some provision have made arrangements for supplying spinning with nation if they have done so there is nothing impossible about it. For the first thing is the labour for India's sake. The nation is not dying for want of new products, but it is dying for want of labour and volunteer skill. My proposal seems to be, because we have not been used to toil with our hands and find it difficult to appreciate the possibilities of a whole nation voluntarily giving half-an-hour's labour to a single national activity. Surely there is nothing unusual about my proposal. There is nothing in it that can come in conflict with anybody's conscience. There is nothing impossible about it, indeed, half-an-hour's

every labour is too insignificant to become anything for the most industrious worker. The next, therefore, that can be urged against the proposal is that the labour will be fruitless. Answer for one moment that it will be fruitless in terms of direct or immediate economic solution. But surely it is not fruitless if cheap Khadi can be brought out from the mouths of your country by the All India Khadi Board from month to month. A single part of cloth added to the national production cannot be called a barren effort.

Another objection that has been advanced against the proposal is that it will discourage thousands of Congress workers. I make bold to say that the objection is disproved. A voter is one who actively interests himself in the organisation in which he is a voter. Our voters are not of that type. The bulk is not there, but very. We have not interested ourselves sufficiently in them, and we are not going to do so without being opened thereby. The speech is the key. It is worth towards Congress officials will have to keep themselves in direct touch with every single voter. It appears to me that it should be necessary to decentralise the scheme. Think of the possibilities of an organisation of labour workers who want regular an amount of their work from month to month. Surely a long department containing a few common workers is infinitely superior to an organisation containing many different members whose work is confined merely to repeating their votes at the holding of a few men. The intention, however, was that if only we would have the courage to make the necessary change, we will have a very large number of votes, much larger than any aspect. The number of the second month is double the number of the first month. If every worker in every province properly organises his voluntary spinning, we must have a steady increase in the support. We should not be surprised in that the figure of one has being reached in a few months. Two five months has shown for my province. It does not need extraordinary organising ability to require ten thousand voluntary spinners in such province on an average. I hope therefore that my proposal will not be rejected.

I have purposely called my proposal the lowest common measure, not the highest. And the lowest does not mean the lowest acceptable to the whole of India, but the lowest necessary for the national achievement. And I hold that, I want to achieve living by Khadi methods, the three things mentioned by me are absolutely necessary. If the ideal is to have as little work as to run, irrespective of efficiency, then Khadi-Mahatma may and undoubtedly also must go by the board. For I have that our labour work about manufacturing has done may many times from the Congress. They still lay it as an original part of Khadiism. The true way to end of Khadi-Mahatma way. The recent agreement have shown that there are many who do not do not want Khadi-Mahatma way, but want to perpetuate our differences. They want to put questions on the spinning process. They do not believe in manufacturing system. If therefore we disagree with all members members in national growth, we will have a Congress of critics, not a Congress that would respond to our man in the call of the nation. I for one would absolutely leave to all organisations in which the three things mentioned by me were not being realised. To perpetuate a divided team, if it is no production, it would say—that you find Khadi-Mahatma way, instead of manufacturing and the spinning-wheel and Khadi, and spinning will be added into part? D. K. Kulkarni







But even if we regard the *Universal* as the province of the different religions, the *Universal* is not the dead level, but only a distance from death, as though we need not think even of leaving, surrounded either by our fellow-men or only by a few, but in a solitude. The end of religion is not, but it is a success in a multitude of human. The latter will reveal in the end of their. There men will ignore the natural world, and see the same and things under a variety of names. For there is to expect Islam, Christianity or Buddhism to be taken out of Islam to be able to dream as it would be for Mohammed to have only Islam of their imagination with the world. But it is not in God and the men of His Prophet, in a surrounding that is a failure. For Islam, then we are all Mohammed for we are also all Muslim and Christian. There is the religious property of all men's members.

18-10-04

## My Job Experience

CAW 5000

[illegible][illegible]

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I went out next to mention one little but precious book - that I had sent. It was *Supernatural Light* by Jacob Newman. I notice it is useful not to share with the reader most of the striking passages I quoted from it. Then there are --

<sup>1</sup> It is enough asked for those who, hearing and willing that do, render them, as Paul them that do not see and hear God.<sup>27</sup>

"If this value over the machine internally only and not from the right external part of the current nature, then they will not bring in a chemical blood or matter."

<sup>10</sup> There are like all things and nothing is like them.<sup>11</sup>

"If there will be little or change, there will be no change at all,"

<sup>22</sup>Let the hands and the head be at leisure. They have enough to do when they look on God.

"There is the turning to of the will to the love of God."

"That is the turning on of the red light, the signal of that."

What I am turning over my copy collected, I have taken certain other passages collected in the course of my reading from other books.

There is some free Web space.

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Blackwell, 1999) and a wide range of other

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From the inside they really need this

There are always things that will be

1. *Journal of Management Studies*, 1996, 33, 1, 1-14.

General, from Tom, Jennifer, Robert, Mary &

located between the street and the main building.

• Bobbie Jean Griffin Wade, when he was advised to flee from the wrath of Black John, is reported to have said: "I am not an emperor that I should run away in flight. I am an victim of the Black Death and life can only be better. Let me lived on another life also better."

the company state: I am living and serene. Daily months have me, for my knowledge has expanded itself. The sphere where all colours are effused has become my shade.' Madame Bligny said, 'To cut off the heads of a hundred men is easy, but to sever the link that binds me to the Deity's world is a task indeed'.<sup>12</sup>

There is nothing from Lowell. It helps those who would join in the Mahalanadhi to do so in the right spirit and to show their true face.

<sup>100</sup> The *Chicago Tribune* (Chicago, IL), 19 Sept. 1961.

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That they should see others, that would be their

Now the only question the owner is faced

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1. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 1997; 278: 1039-1044.

The following will strengthen those who believe in the power of nonviolence:

\*To seek all, to do all, to speak all or to think all of any one or any society, institution, or individual?

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The last set of books I should like to mention are the histories of the Bible for *Constitutional, Methodist and Unitarian* Manages. All these books are good in their own way. It is impossible to appreciate the present Bible struggle without understanding their previous history and the life of the Union. *Constitutional* is a sympathetic record of events leading to the Bible war. *Methodist* is a life-story of the Union given against extracts from their newspapers. It is a completely partial publication. It loses its value because of its belatedness of the English rule and the author's emphasis on William as a separate religion having nothing to do with the English. *Unitarian* Manages is a monograph supplying information not available in the two works mentioned.

Before reaching the point of my studies in the fall, as you know the hybrid reader's situation in the case of doing things regularly and the way of making dry things interesting, I had a word for my own convenience and guidance to prepare a memorandum of the date. It is not a particularly interesting task to note down traditional references and make them true. I thought I should save myself the inconvenience. At the same time I judged good, with time to the task. My timetable was perfect. I determined therefore to do what I could in 20 minutes half hour a day each a short time used the task from becoming a duty. On the contrary I only looked forward to it. When it came to writing, it became something. The easiest way to solve the reading problem for themselves. The first reading gave me the alphabetical order of the first letters of the words to be defined. But how to arrange the words under each letter in their alphabetical order was a problem to solve. I had never written a dictionary. I had therefore to discover my own method. I was glad when I made the discovery. It was so good that it became deeply interesting. It was easy, quick and reliable. The whole work took me nearly eighteen months to finish. I am very anxious to return to the memorandum able to know where and how often a particular word occurs in the text. It has also a meaning attached to it. If I have entered a reference, in writing my thoughts on the date I prepare to place the memorandum and the thoughts with the date.

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# Letter of a Comrade

We in India have nothing of our South African friends. They are unknown to most of us.

Some village Maugers that will flourish here  
The little spirit of a little within it.

I have just received a letter from Johannesburg concerning the death of P. E. Madsen, a man of means. He was one of the best of Indians and the master of himself. He applied the knowledge of a genius to many things. He was a learned man. He was ready for all work. He got ready to do his share to take charge of a party of delegates who were invited by General Smuts to India. He wanted to see him but lost the idea of his country's freedom. He died at his present moment, but not necessarily in South Africa, is a tremendous loss. He was capable of anything of having done against the angry South African Government, but only a few weeks ago I had a letter from him describing his plan of campaign. And yet Madsen had planned otherwise. Madsen is dead but his work is left for ever. Mr. P. E. Madsen was a fine South African. He knew Hindi, Telugu, French and Urdu. He was self-taught. He had a powerful mind. He was an open person. But he had been the victim of a misadventure. He was devoted to his country but not to his present position. He was a man of letters. His name is not known to me. He was an expert lawyer and because he would not become a clerk, he had chosen to be a lawyer and worked in a law-firm in India. When, at Johannesburg, we took to work making in business a limited liability company. He was a true scholar. He knew how to sleep. I know my friends well-known in Mrs. Madsen and our countrymen in South Africa.

## Inhuman Treatment

I had the pleasure of seeing Mrs. Margaret Graham and Dr. Chatterjee after their visit to Adyar's Garden. They tell me that Adyar's Garden is kept in order the whole day long and is permitted to receive visitors only once every three months and that in most cases but once every three months is kept. They tell me that the Adyar's has not been visited by the authorities for a long time back, when they asked the Superintendent why he might not visit for a long time, he charged his assistant and said "That is not the system here." I have not seen any of the garden, but I have seen many people who have been treated inhumanly. The treatment which is in Adyar's Garden would be impossible. I have seen in London to the authorities that the Adyar's has been closed but no one's name is in the open in its morning and in the evening. But he has rejected the offer with some. I am not surprised. He is a good, self-respecting man. He is conscious of no wrong. He did not even apologise to the Public when he was asked to apologise. He has never been known to have done anything that could be considered reprehensible. He has not returned against the Public. He has not been respected of public opinion. Why then should he be treated as an ordinary person who is kept out of the open by sympathy for the whole day long? There are many here plenty of land and money offered to them. The local authority has imposed upon Adyar's Garden a, as far as I am aware, without any more South Africanism as implied or a punishment for some past offence. If

Adyar's Garden has committed any, the public should be informed of it. It may be that the Public should be kept by the keeping the Adyar's outside the whole day long. If so, I would suggest his transfer to another place. I have that there is an exchange system throughout Indian gardens. The various laws in the Town, with Central Prison, get some from the Public, from the State of Johannesburg, from the Presidency of Madras. When I heard the statement of Mrs. Graham and Dr. Chatterjee the whole of the next morning was in me and I felt like going back. But I refused to go back and I have my head in stone. With an interest in his morning garden and here with Adyar's for the opposite, and sometimes come to be an opportunity. Public should take an interest in the fact of the latest statement from the Administration of India to check not only the Adyar's and even the border and the law, but, I wish I could have had 'you' to see. One's only constant is that Adyar's Garden is a fine man and will take to Adyar's of the Adyar's. He may be expected to. May that give him strength to go through the day. It is the year we will pay for liberty. Liberty is a clearly bought commodity and people are better off when it is manufactured.

R. K. G.

## South India Flood Relief

Received at Bangalore	Rs.	As.	P.
Previously acknowledged	—	6000	11 8
Received during week ending 18th Pt.	—	200	11 8

Total .. 6200 11 8

[This account includes Rs. 500 received from Government of Madras in behalf of the Public Indian Flood Relief Committee, Madras, and Rs. 100 from the Bangalore Board, Bangalore.]

Received at the Bangalore B. C. C. .. 11700 11 8  
Previously acknowledged .. 11700 11 8  
Received during week ending 22-9-34 .. 1000 11 8

Total .. 23700 11 8

Received at the Bangalore Board Young India Office	Rs.	As.	P.
Previously acknowledged	—	1000	11 8
Received during week ending 22-9-34	—	200	11 8

Total .. 1200 11 8

Received at the Bangalore Board South	Rs.	As.	P.
Previously acknowledged	—	1000	11 8
Received during week ending 22-9-34	—	200	11 8

Total .. 1200 11 8

[This account includes Rs. 500 received from Government of Madras in behalf of the Public Indian Flood Relief Committee, Madras, and Rs. 100 from the Bangalore Board, Bangalore.]

Received during Government's Year	Rs.	As.	P.
Previously acknowledged	—	1100	11 8

Grand Total .. 25000 11 8

Printed and published by the Bangalore Board of Public Indian Flood Relief Committee, Bangalore.



# Young India

A Weekly Journal

Edited by M. K. Gandhi

VOL. VI

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NO. 40

## Mahatma Gandhi's Fast

(By B. S. Aggarwal, Poona)

Recent events culminating in violent fighting between Mussalmans and Hindus have not a gleam all over the country and compelled Mahatma Gandhi to observe a fast of 21 days as a protest for his own and his young countrymen's sake and as a prayer to the Almighty to lift the nightmare of communal intolerance and anger from off the land. Those who have followed the march of events during the last five years are not altogether without a ray of hope even in "the almost insupportable darkness. The part which England had in setting the train of years with Turkey

is the source of a painful and needless suspicion, were now to make their peace. When the leaders came out of jail one after another they found the situation growing out of their heads, and the differences that arose in the Congress were kept them all engaged in settling their accounts with one another to the neglect of the real danger. The seeds was sown that by the time Mahatma Gandhi was released and while he was still in a state of arctic illness, work was fast already begun in different parts of the country and the two religious communities had become irreconcilably estranged.

around the 11th October against it to a white tent. The shooting which came with mental law in the Punjab brought shame and humiliation and excitement to the hearts of all Indians alike. With these scenes of discontent and bitterness against the Government were, when one looks enough to even the white country.

Mahatma Gandhi, with the value of a man, and the gathering storm and continued the method of non-violent non-cooperation which was intended to light against both the Government and the

## CHANGE OF HEART

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Hindus it has been a struggle and a journey for a change of heart among Englishmen who despise the Government of India. That change has still to come. But the struggle must for the moment be transferred to a change of heart among the Hindus and the Mussalmans. Before they dare think of freedom they must be brave enough to love one another, to tolerate one another's religion, even prejudices and superstitions and to trust one another. This requires faith in oneself and faith in oneself is faith in God. If we have that faith we shall come to love one another.

26th September, 1924

That Mahatma Gandhi has inflicted upon himself the severe penance of 21 days has shown that his teachings, delivered through the press and on the platform have proved to have been valued so well. A more drastic remedy was needed in order to deal effectively with the fanaticism that has been a born companion in the country. His faith in his teaching of non-violence and non-retaliation is so high as that and the Law of non-violence is not intended by violence and means force to make what appears at present to be an irreconcilable position? Would

withstand the most time. There was no more violence against it. India, and among more more than among the Mussalmans who felt that their religion was being attacked. It made the whole country, and particularly the Mussalmans, more sensitive and jealous than ever regarding their religious rights. It was the prayer of Mahatma Gandhi who believed and devoted a lifetime, devoted to the country, the cause of Indian non-violence which had been provoked. There came the time when most of the leaders, who had received great sympathy and the feelings and pain of the masses, had been put out of the way by a violent policy of suppression. The force which, when well applied, had done a great deal for

in fact that the progress of the law from the hands of the countrymen may create a band of violent and devoted workers pledged to restore by every means between Hindus and Mussalmans. Would it not then be very good to encourage to work in the right, to stand to the truth, and to urge our young countrymen, in an effective form, that they should refuse from mutual non-cooperation and violence one another's law? Would it not then be very good to be in a state of recognition of the rights of others and of appreciation of the feelings and sentiments of others, so that when time is passed? May this require from both, and may it lead to peace and a united, moving all the people of the country?



## The Aboriginal Tribes

(By C. F. Johnson.)

I have been very deeply moved indeed by reading the statement made by Mr. A. T. Thibault, that the lot lived and crested at the pole, concerning the condition of the aboriginal tribes, especially in Saskatchewan and Ontario. In the whole population of India, they number fully five per cent, and they are, as their name denotes, the original dwellers on the soil. Their clothes, dwellings, upon their skin have built up the Aryan civilization in India, one of the strongest possible characters.

Yet to-day, for more rapidly and recklessly than ever before, a process of extinction is going on. Indolently, carelessly, ruthlessly they are being driven from the soil into misery, destitution and death. France takes the toll from them less more than from other people. The money lender feeds them as they pray and keeps them in his debt. Drink has become their greatest enemy of all, and they sink in its maelstrom.

For a long time I had been watching the same process going on among the Seneca in England, who are our nearest neighbors at Newfoundland. It had become apparent to me, that as long as they remained uneducated in the land, as some that were not, the case in the towns, being their own simple life in comparative isolation, they remained for the most part unimpaired by the evils I have mentioned. This was the experience of Wilfrid Pearson, when he first came on to the Indians. He often talked over the subject with me and told me what he had found. Shortly a day passed without his walking out into the country to visit the Seneca villages and he was home and layed among them. When the end came came about his death, there was universal weeping, and they said "Our Father has been taken away from us". It was from him that I learned, as I had heard very many things about him. He taught me also to realize the very serious problem they were in, as they faced the modern world. Mr. A. T. Thibault's statement is nearly comprehensive all that my friend, Wilfrid Pearson, told me before.

In regard to their helplessness,—with Indians people all round them, while they themselves are unable to read and write,—for these facts ought to be more widely known. In the matter of literacy, they are, in spite of Mr. Thibault's words, "some times when they find that the most depressed people and nations have been degraded that the existing State" is a state in North Central India wholly populated by aboriginal tribes. In fact, to the great surprise, that the literacy was only 1 per cent in 1901 or had to be, Mr. Thibault said to me, when he presented his bill for primary education education to the Viceroy's Council, that day was to remove under modern conditions all his lot, without being able to read and write his mother tongue was the situation, distress or destitution. What a tragedy, therefore, this literacy means! We go on to learn from Mr. Thibault's account that their state of the Orissa is of the most deplorable description and that the Tiger God is still worshipped that human sacrifices to him. Murder has only in recent times been finally abolished, that marriage, as a religious bond, is practically unknown, that fifty customs of selling women had not yet been met.

Then Mr. Thibault goes on to make these conditions which come out of a land of love that is related with an agency of pain. "What," he says, "was a large number, how well told of our fellow-countrymen, that when

either the police or the State or the Government employ force, or the Indian Government have saved a little dignity. The writer knows only two religious missions,—the British Mission in the Assam Hills and the Red Sea Mission in French India."

I feel that I must go on still further to tell something of the story of the latter institutions, and the poorer conditions state. When I was at the first time, Thibault with Mr. Thibault, it was a mercy to me to find that his work of pure love and devotion was being very successfully supplied aided by the work of funds. His first appeal to made in the following words, which need repeating all they give a last response to.

"Will not," he asks, "the noble and disinterested work among the aboriginals, which is being done by the language books a speech of Mr. Thibault as to for our own interests, and not as to work for their moral, economic, mental and spiritual uplift? Shall we look on with indifference at their poverty, at their degraded condition, and be surprised to see any national interests, without giving even a distant thought to their needs?"

Mr. Thibault has a right to speak in this manner, because he has first practiced for many years before speaks, not at all. His words are based upon his by years of watching closely and closely.

There is no question, which is so necessary to make clear, concerning the kind of service most needed among the aboriginal tribes. They have only taken to agriculture in very recent times, just in proportion as the land came where they used to wander, have been gradually domesticated. They are, as yet, for the most part, poor cultivators, and during the hot weather months they need, more than anyone else, substantial nourishment. Therefore they starve. But they do not take very kindly at first to hard-working and hardworking. This has been our own experience at Manitoba, but where we have lived for many years to encourage their life among them. It is, I believe, also the experience of Mr. Thibault. Thibault is only through the education of children that the joy of working at their village and and and can be reached. But this means the patient, long-suffering and often disappointing work of being daily with them and teaching the young Indians traditions and sympathy with their child-parents will be needed. The lowest habits cannot easily be changing. The "all of the world," the "message of the world" which is in the blood, will eventually come back. If the process of the discipline of the moral work which is in the world, therefore, is to be in the future, each work man's life-long service, not merely a passing visit, or a day of a few months. It needs also an unshakable capacity for service. Wilfrid Pearson had this in a singular degree. He was something in line of the true child-character, and something also of the character of the parent in his heart. He understood these wild children of nature. He did not drill them like a military. Because of this understanding, they paid him the greatest tribute of their affection, when they said of him, "He is like one of ourselves."

There can be no doubt in my own mind that in hard-working and hardworking, when they take in these are with joy and gladness but their own enormous inferiority, if they are to be moved at all from the land of the history and the philosophy. But this has nothing to them that joy and gladness, which will make them able to the work and become spiritual persons and workers.



## Our Duty to them.

(By M. E. Smith.)

With as much as Mr. Andrews in his article on the "Abandoned Tribes" has outlined three things. He has suggested the farthest appeal of Mr. A. V. Tiedley for funds for the Hall. Then, second is the Peace Mailed. I heartily echo Mr. Andrews' statements. Mr. Tiedley made an introduction from me. He had dedicated himself to the service of the unfortunate long before my presence in India and knowing a famous man the answer in recognition with the administration of India which appeared by request for the help of the Government in India are still fresh in our memory. He has dedicated himself to the maintenance of India by his magnificent devotion to their cause. But his mission, which has been a class of people in England, more interested and themselves more in need of a living hand than the administration themselves. He has therefore become the 'High priest' of the simple faith of the Protestants. I hope that Mr. Tiedley's appeal will not fall upon deaf ears.

In speaking about the aboriginal tribes it was impossible for Mr. Andrews to call the name of his friend, Joseph and John, who were in the same of his friend. He has an opportunity of paying a well-deserved tribute to the memory of one of the greatest of Englishmen who dedicated his life to the service of India. When Mr. Smith called Mr. Andrews at a woman's college to go to the rooms of the Regent's Park, South Africa. While Francis volunteered his services and accompanied Mr. Andrews in South Africa. For me it was here at first sight between these Englishmen and myself. Francis's noble nature with the fresh, large and beautiful experience in his eyes was before me as I sit here now. I saw Francis at work in South Africa and again at South Africa. More welcome and more devoted to duty a world is difficult to find. He loved and was beneath Francis's dignity. For him the love the work was, the greater was the dignity. He was the first at South Africa to volunteer his services for the service of the tribes and the courage of Francis's work was in his heart, because it was completed in the wonderful work of the tribe. But if he remembered, however, that while at Japan Francis made his famous statement upon Japan experience and knowledge which brought him trouble which he never needed. While he was lying on his death bed, he devoted a will to what he did not forget a boy in Birmingham, whom he loved as dearly as his own son. On his death the first appeal as appeal for 25,000 rupees to pay for the memory. The money was to be devoted to build a Francis Hospital in Birmingham. When I was taking my leave of him at Fife, Mr. Andrews had applied himself as my guest, and, with a heart full of love and respect he told me that there was very poor response to the Peace's appeal. I walked him by saying that after all Francis was not much known to the Indian public, and that Francis was also known to me with right not to find his heart of the support or that noblehearted towards them. I told him too that, when I found a certain occasion, I would take up the Peace's appeal and try to induce the support of the public for the memorial. Mr. Andrews has given me the opportunity. I now write the readers of many books to contribute their own. Over three thousand rupees have been collected. Twenty are thousand rupees a nothing for the generous public in India.

The third thing Mr. Andrews has suggested is in the special period, probably for my sake. But I know that a time is coming when that appeal itself will no longer have to depend upon me for its existence. The highest in the land will be for the good will be found in support of it. There is only one thing which can be reasonably adopted in India and be put before me as to explaining the Indian situation of the present and even find enough to keep body and soul together for the coming millions. The third is the one thing which can replace the degrading debt from the rich people for the Indian, studies, and to them feel that they need not serve as long as they are prepared to give.

IN INDIA

## The 'Unity' Conference at Delhi.

The following resolution was adopted unanimously at the 'Unity' Conference, long prepared by the chairman—  
This Conference places on record its deep grief and concern at the fact which Mahatma Gandhi has volunteered.

The Conference is emphatically of opinion that the correct function of religions and religion is moral, and condemns any denunciation of places of worship, or churches, or temples, or any other, and any persecution or punishment of any person for adopting or rejecting in any faith and further condemns any attempt by compulsion to convert people to one's faith or to induce or induce one's own religious consciousness at the cost of the rights of others.

The members of the Conference accept Mahatma Gandhi and pledge themselves to use their utmost endeavours to achieve these principles and to condemn any deviation from them even under provocation.

The Conference further resolves the President to convey personally to Mahatma Gandhi the solemn assurance of the Conference to the above effect and also the stated order of the Conference that Mahatma Gandhi should immediately break his fast in order to permit the Conference to have the benefit of his cooperation, advice and guidance in dealing upon the spiritual issues of effectively dealing the still which is now representing the country.  
Sept. 26, 1914. (Rev.) Mahatma Gandhi, Chairman.

The following reply was given from his bed-chamber by Mahatma Gandhi—

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

Worried by affliction and yet the Conference, guided by you has passed the resolution you kindly send to me last night. I would like you to assure the meeting that if I could have complied with its wishes I would gladly have done so. But I have movement and movement appeal and I feel it is not possible for me to reach the bed. My religion teaches me that a promise once made is a vow and taken for a worthy object may not be broken. And you know my life has been spending for that cause for now more than 30 years.

The nature of the fast was much deeper than I can explain in this note. For one thing I am representing my faith through this fast. The movement was not considered as limited to Gandhi towards a single Englishman. Its character of person was intended to compare Englishmen by our love. But only had it not resulted in that comparison, but the energy generated by it has brought about hatred and ill-will against me among amongst ourselves. It is the knowledge of this fact which is



weighed me down and imposed this unreasonable passion upon me.

The fact is, therefore, a matter between Godard myself and I would then feel not only safe you to inspire me for not breaking it but would ask you even to encourage me and pray for me that it may end successfully.

I have not taken up this fact to do, but I have taken it up to live a better and purer life, for the benefit of the country. If, therefore, I reach a state (I whole-heartedly speaking I am so possibly wherever) where the whole has become dark and cold I shall certainly break the fact. But Dr. Jansen and Alder Raham, who are looking after me with the greatest attention and care, will tell you that I am leading wonderfully fresh.

I would therefore respectfully urge the making of statements of personal affairs of which the confidence is an Indian who solid, earnest and true work that help for which the Conference has met.

Yours sincerely,

87-8-34

M. K. Godard

## Young India

2-10-34

### Universal Spinning

[ By C. P. Andrews ]

When I asked Mahatma Gandhi, what he would like me to write about in *Young India*, more than anything else, to my surprise he answered in two words,—

‘The rural Spinning!’ It was a surprise to me for this reason. I had thought, that he would certainly tell me to write about the Unity Conference itself, or else on the Hindu-Muslim problem. But he repeated the two words to me,—‘Universal Spinning.’

In the afternoon of the same day,—which was the seventh day of his fast,—I was late writing up in bed, to spite of extreme physical weakness, and spinning for half an hour. It would be difficult for me to describe what marvellous power this night has had upon me.

Yet I am obliged, at this point, at once to make a full confession. Up to the present, I have not done more than merely play at spinning to spare. Somehow, it has been extremely difficult for me to get me used past the almost impossible barriers of laziness.

Now my own difficulties may be those of many others also, I had better state them very briefly. First of all, I confess to an extreme nervousness against competition of any kind whatever; and there may sometimes be a moral competition, which may really become a tyranny, equal to that of physical force. Now I have had a feeling that that, if pressed to an extreme, the sale of the ‘charities’ might become a moral competition of that very kind. I have felt a distress in wearing khadi for the same reason. There has been bound up with this a very great anxiety, but I had a response reaction which is given to an extreme nervousness, and but the will of the ‘charities’ might lead to a kind of weakness in judgment itself. Therefore the spinning back has at times, been

very real indeed. I struggled with this for hours in sleeplessness in my own nature, which was actually made against beginning anything new. Though I do not care to think that I am getting old, yet the fact is plainly evident, that I am long past middle age, and this prevents most one of the most daily occupations of the spinning wheel does not keep me as it might have done more than twenty years ago. It is due to me, however, that this ‘nervousness’ might be overcome. I should not enter into account as an important factor. It is always a weakness to be conquered.

Individually, I have my desire, not of outspinning itself, but with regard to that one word ‘Universal’. As to spinning and wearing being necessary for India, there can be with me no open question. India, with her present population, cannot prosper without increasing these last two in the scale of her village populations. This economic aspect is quite incontestable. They must be related to India, if India herself is to be prosperous. But must everyone, therefore, learn to spin? Is every Indian in India, even for a time, to be accustomed to this one object? Is there not such a thing, as such extreme life, as a division of labour? I am convinced the principle that every Indian child should be taught at school to spin, for as I have said it is with me no open question, economically, that there will need be recovered, if India is to prosper. When, therefore, the word ‘Universal’ is applied to the elementary schools,—generally, I should not hesitate for a single moment. But it is the case, that Mahatma Gandhi will in no way be satisfied with that? ‘Universal’ means, with him, nothing less than spinning by every man, woman and child,—old and young alike.

Then, there are some of the more arguments which have weighed heavily with me, and I have tried to answer them one by one and have in part succeeded. For, after they have all been tried, I can feel the greater weight of the counter-argument of practicality. By following the personal suggestion of a great leader, such as Mahatma Gandhi who appears only once in a century with such driving power to a nation’s history, mistakes may be accomplished. By concentrating on this one thing, under his guidance, the necessary moral discipline may be provided to overcome that inertia, which more than any thing else keeps India back from leading. I can see also how the web and yarn may be brought together through the common moral discipline of spinning and how progress may be maintained when khadi is worn. I can understand, then the common moral discipline may lead to a feeling of religious devotion between Hindu and Musselman, and of moral discipline between the caste-free people and the caste-does. I can accept the fact, that when spinning and wearing are established in the villages the economic foundation of the national life of India will at last be securely laid.

However strange to me, therefore, the method of ‘Universal spinning’ under the personal inspiration of one leader, who is loved by all, to be, I can truly and bravely say, that I have needed some planning of its great training.

I am aware, that it is in my little of the ‘main’ of the spinning wheel’ is all that I have written. But that must content be more, until I have equal heart to open.



## Two Notable Statements

Just week there was published in Young India Mahatma Gandhi's own statement about what happened when the decision to lead the leaving was made was taken. Two statements have been given in the Press by the A. L. brothers, which throw light upon the decision itself and also explain further its meaning. They are worth the trouble to pass out of readership and the ordinary news of the day and I am publishing them afresh. I would add, before doing so, that I have been profoundly impressed by the leadership of ideas which the latter statement in its concluding portion contains. Their great purpose in the Quran had never been explained to me before, and I am thankful to know it. (C. P. A.)

### Mahatma Mahomed Ali's Statement

I had hoped and hoped passionately and ardently, but I had feared to fail. And at last I stood in the morning before I left Madras that night, I had, however, concluded to this, that the work of leaving, which seemed to me impossible in all circumstances, was made easier by one condition, and that condition was that my big brother, for whom I had vicariously placed in my last resort, was coming in the original telegraphed invitation of the Mahatma himself and if he could convince him that the last was wrong, the case would not be deemed successful, and the last could be broken. Such was the confidence as he told me, as Mahatma's "valiant determination and his God-fearing nature."

The big brother has come, and he has won, but he has not yet departed. For to him, he has been placed in his big hands the only weapon that can be effective in a struggle such as this. My own belief is that if other community work up to me to other complete surrender and say that wherever the other community may do it, it would not realize, peace would be restored and the cause. The end would be put to work the community to effect the surrender was made, but the one that has made a surrender.

As a Mohammedan, I pray that God will give my community the strength to make the surrender, as my brother and I have personally done long ago. For the benefit of my telegraphists I write the parallel of non-violence which Allah preached in the modern brotherhood of man through the Quran as through the Bible.

He says: "None can turn the tale of the two sons of Adam with truth. When they both offered an offering, it was accepted from one of them and was not accepted from the other."

"The one said, I will most certainly obey thee. The other said, Allah only accepts from those that give of their own will."

"Then with stretch both lay hand towards me to slay me, but I was not one to stretch both my hand towards thee to slay thee, surely I hear Allah, the Lord of the Worlds."

"Surely I wish that thou shouldst hear the dissonance against me and thine one as he then wouldst be in the company of the few and them that see the subject."

"Then his word belittled came him: the slaying of his brother as to die long, that he became one of the Jews."

"Then Allah sent a dove, dipping up the earth so that he might show him how he should bury the dead body of his brother. The dove: Who came with the strength that I should be. The dove came and covered the dead body of my brother I. So he became of those that regret."

"For thou remainest as a promise to the children of Israel that wherever dogs and, what is the for man's daughter or her husband in the land, it is as though he die all men and certainly our people come into them with their arguments, but even after that many of them act unconsciously in the land."

This is the story, not of the two sons of a certain person called Adam, but the people of mankind. This calling is the strength, as he believed it to be, when his brother died, but it was not Cain, the slayer, that was really strong, but Allah who had the power in the midst of stretching both his hand against his brother and his. And it was Cain that was the loser. The end proved it to the life. The weakness, calling is his strength, did not let him slip from over the work that he had laid his weight. He died in life at once the dead body of his brother and his own shame therein. It was then that he concluded that he was not really strong, but "believed strength," to such an extent that from a man the wisdom of God's creation, he should become the minister of the evil-propensity man. "So he became of those that regret." Real strength has in self-surrender and in withholding one's hand even against the aggressor, and every life saved through forgiveness is not one life saved, but the life of all mankind.

Could tonight the same lesson as Moses had in reality taught before him, but they heeded him not. The Lord of the Prophets had to teach that lesson all over again, and even it to be a matter of pride to the Mohammedans, if "even after that, many of them act unconsciously?" I am proud of Islam, as I am proud of nothing else; and it is because of that pride that I wish the Mohammedans to maintain Allah and not Cain. His must be the surrender. Pleading of his name to prevent mankind to the Prophets even my life. Led to it must be, who should up to his brother, even of his brother or the aggressor. "If thou wilt stretch both thy hand against me to slay me, I am not one to stretch both my hand towards thee to slay thee." This should be, not for fear of the brother, stronger in weakness and greater in wealth and knowledge, but for fear of Allah, the Lord of the Worlds.

All that I have said as a Mohammedan to Mohammedans. But I cannot desert myself of the office of the President of the Indian Congress, and as such I am a witness not only for Mohammedans, but also for Hindus and Sikhs and Christians and Parsees and Jews and for every one that calls himself a son of India. In my capacity as a National Trustee I make the same appeal to my Hindu brethren as I have made to the Muslim and I eagerly wish the response of both.

[Mahatma Gandhi A. L. has given to the press a bold statement, which was shown to Mahatma Gandhi before its publication. The words, that he quotes from the conversation have direct to him written by Mahatma himself.]

### Mahatma Gandhi on Ali's Statement

On receipt of Mahatma's report after I left Bombay by the next train, my brother informed me as my uncle that Mahatma had at last concluded, that "I







way for the object of that expense obligation, which the poorest day would make us work, namely 'Economic Obligations'."

The following telegram was received from Bandung on September 22 by Andrews, Oja Richmond 44, Dohi:

"Fear and hope struggling for Mahatma in my mind. What news about his health, Bandung?"

This telegram appears to me to express, in the briefest possible compass, the feelings of the people of India at the present moment. Among the poorest and most illiterate, as among the most learned and the greatest in the land, the thought of Mahatma's gesture has been apprehended in the mind. Fear and hope struggle with hope and hope are mingled with fear. But in Bandung has written in a letter, which he has sent to Mahatma Gandhi, "the Will is in God alone." It is out of such hours of intense feeling that the mind and the heart can get back to the heights of serenity and new pathways of moral enterprise are discovered.

#### General Secretariat's Statement

I gladly repeat, for wider circulation, General Secretariat's moving appeal—

"In order to restore peace to Mahatma Gandhi's mind it is essential that all unessential business should be stopped. Let there be no movement made upon these unfortunate grounds of the Hindu and Mohammedan. Mahatma has started for 11 days last. He will take only water. To appease the day of the day Mahatma has kept his moral power before the Indians for months. Let everybody do his utmost to stop it. There is no occasion of going abroad, and neither I have got till light night on it. Let nobody on this has feared through my mind that the Hindu-Muslim paper should give up writing communists on each other. I believe that Hindu would stop writing anything about the Mohammed after making my appeal. I hope that they will abstain from making comments even in defense at least for these twenty-five days. Nothing can be decided as for Telegrams have been sent to all national leaders who will meet in a Conference to discuss means to arrange Mahatma's service, Mahatma is fasting and praying and let us join his prayer every morning."

#### King's Indians and Mohammeds

We cannot wonder if the King's Indians, after the final refusal of the Colonial Committee in London, have been obliged to agree to a partial withdrawal of their present difficulties by releasing the 'White Paper' contained therein proposed, but agreeing to a consultation for the Governor of India representatives to the Council, without election. This compromise unfortunately is in no way helps the main problem. It helps the claim for equality to some extent, which is precisely a statement to defeat. To the whole subject its only effect will be to get the Indian community on the same level with the African Indians, who have now themselves been given same form of association. Thus the whole subject will have obtained what is originally claimed, namely, that the Indians should have no franchise at all—not even a nominal one—and should be regarded as one of the colored race who are to be always treated entirely differently from the white race. I can well remember one of the strongest speakers of King's Indians in which he stated that as an ancient race the Indians be allowed any voting power, though as an act of honor they may be regarded to have some political members.

#### The Open Bill

The following has been agreed by Mahatma Gandhi and H. D. Desai, Secretary—

"The undersigned, viewing the growing affliction to modern drugs as a deadly menace to individuals and to nations, and also as a medium, rapidly spreading poisoning of the human race, which can be overcome only by cooperation among nations, respectfully petition the International Opium Conference assembling in N. Y. 1934 to adopt measures adequate for total eradication of the plants from which these drugs originate, except as used necessary for medicine and science to the judgment of the best medical opinion of the world."

This following has been passed unanimously by the Council of the International Federation—

"That in the interests of international fellow-ship and goodwill, the Council of the International Federation encourage the circulation of the open petition paper to be limited to the medical and scientific circles of the world's population, and intended as such a step that to replace a bill over the open bill—"

The League of Nations Council has passed the following resolution—

"1. That Council, believing that India is suffering most serious harm from the widely prevalent practice of forcing opium on the natives and that the permanent harm is caused by Indian social conditions to be remedied, deeply sympathetic with the desire of educated Indian citizens that the use of Indian opium should be strictly confined to medical and scientific needs."

2. The Council deeply regrets the Government of India to restrict the representation of the League of Nations Conference on Opium and to suggest the forwarding of such an international policy regarding the open trade, so that the production and consumption of opium and its products to such quantities as are necessary for medical and scientific purposes.

We trust that resolution will be passed at a similar character before the World Conference on Opium Imperial Conference next November.

C. P. A.

#### Unanimous Decision

We have received a lengthy report from the All India Indian Board on the past session for the month of August. We are unable to publish the full report in the present issue as the report could not be received in time. We are informed too, that the final paragraph agrees have not yet been mentioned along to the representative presence of many provinces. The Indian Board have been put to numerous inconveniences in writing the report of many provinces, notably the United Provinces, Bihar and Orissa. The method of compiling details of opinions in most provinces is entirely defective and leaves the duty on the coming of the final report. We are asked to mention that in extending content to all the other provinces is kept which has shown still in the method of arrangement of report.

To avoid a confusion in the future and even confusion of method we are told that printed forms have been dispatched to the various provinces to be filled with proper particulars. Every time example copy is sent partly of form to the All India Indian Board.







# Young India

A Weekly Journal

Edited by M. K. Gandhi

Vol. VI

Ahmedabad, Thursday 9th October 1924

No. 41

## My Refuge

Today is the twentieth day of my penance and prayer. Presently from the world of peace I shall enter the world of strife. The more I think of it the more helpless I feel. So many look to me to finish the work begun by the Unity Conference. So many expect me to bring together the political parties. I know that I can do nothing. God can do everything. O' God, make me Thy fit instrument and use me as Thou wilt.

Man is nothing. Napoleon planned much and found himself a prisoner in St. Helena. The mighty Kaiser stood at the crown of Europe and is reduced to the status of a private gentleman. God had so willed it. Let us contemplate such examples and be humbled.

During these days of grace, privilege and peace, I have learned to myself a hymn we often sing at the Vilayatkhana. It is so good that I cannot resist the pleasure of sharing a free rendering of it with the reader. The words of the hymn better express my state than anything else I can write.

How they are—

My honour O! God, is in Thy keeping,  
Thou art ever my Refuge,  
For Thou art Protector of the weak.

It is Thy promise to listen to the wail of anguish,  
I am a corner of old, help me  
Thou to cross the ocean of darkness.

It is Thou to remove the sin  
And the memory of mankind.

Be gracious to Tulsidas  
And make him Thy devotee.\*

9/10

9th October 1924

M. K. G.

\* For official use only, April 1925



## Notes

The following is the suggested text of the types of Tablets called by Mahatmas on the last page of this issue:

### एक हिन्दू-सीख सभा

गुरुजी तुम की मेरी सभा ।

मया मया मैं सदा सिद्धि, तुम की सविधिमान ।

सविधानम सिद्ध सिद्धि सदा सदा सदा ।

ही की सदा सदा सदा सदा सदा सदा ।

सदा सदा सदा सदा सदा सदा सदा सदा ।

सदा सदा सदा सदा सदा सदा सदा सदा ।

### The Conference

I have asked different representatives to give me their impressions of the Conference. These will be published as they come in. If we received from a Hindustani member of the Conference some of this week, I hope to be able to make up for the deficiency next week. Unfortunately on account of accidents and floods the railway trains are running irregularly from Delhi, so spite of every effort, that is being made to keep the mails up to date. This time, I have thought of something to send all "happy" but I am sorry that I cannot this week this week.

### The Work of a Liberal

I have received the message in the Indian letter from Pandit Gokuldas "Sarkar" of Lucknow, which has asked me to send to Mahatma Gandhi on the day after the Hindu Conference had finished the following. It reads as follows:-

"As a Liberal I want to express my great satisfaction at the success and good success of the Conference. When I received the telegraphic invitation to you (I) I at once made up my mind to do so because the spirit that had pervaded the spirit in the country was a great lesson for others. My living with the Hindus I considered it my duty to do something to promote unity between the various communities and thereby foster your satisfaction and satisfaction at a time when you had taken a great step forward. Personally, I at once gave up all other engagements and I have worked specially at Delhi for a full week. In order to help to achieve the object which we all had in mind. It is a matter of great satisfaction to see that success has been at last. By your blessing, a great and strong state has been led to the foundation of the structure of Hindu Muslim Unity.

"The resolutions passed, though they may and you cannot contribute to those who wanted to get all that they desired are yet on the whole satisfactory. They at least afford us a good working basis. Each of the members of the Conference is due to the ability, patience, tact and firmness of Pandit Mohan Lal who we had elected as our President.

"I now appeal to you to bring about a meeting among the political leaders. Many of us feel that unless all parties join hands and discuss freely with a mutual regard from our platform, it will be difficult to achieve the goal for which we are all so passionately striving and all united in action. It is essential for us to put out the national movement of work a political union of the various parties. Let us all work our differences and accept a Congress which

might be acceptable to all. Let us clear our minds and fight the constitutional battle which lies before us, with resolution and courage as we enter the field."

### The Anti-Socialist's Contribution

The Bishop of Calcutta makes a valuable contribution by his statement to the effect that the results of the Conference could only provide to the masses by means of mutual teaching given by those who have influence among them. The new spirit," he added, "will permeate downwards. On unity it will take time but we can hope that the process has commenced." In every nation there has stood also the truth concerning religious propaganda. "There is only one thing wrong," he said, "in speaking about a country to the folk of another, but only in expressing it in an alien way." But he greater than any verbal contribution was the sympathy and knowledge and advice appearing who's he is and throughout.

### The Effect of Toleration

It is a strongly moving thought, that very near at hand to the place of Conference, and close to the place where Mahatma Gandhi has been lying, are two pillars of King Ashoka. On both of them is inscribed the word Dham, which means as follows:-

"I devote my attention to all religious communities alike, but of attending to me concerned by us with regard to the existence. Accordingly, personal differences to one's own religion is the chief thing, as my opinion."

The Turkish Head Elder concerning Religious Toleration in the next lesson of all. I quote the following passage:-

"The Sacred Majesty came out to another national religious character in that there should be a growth of the best spirit of religion in all acts. The growth of the new spirit of religion comes from below, but the rest of it is movement of spirit, namely, that a man should not deliberately cause his own self to disapprove that of another. Disapproval should be in a specific sense only because the acts of other people all deserve respect for the reason or another.

"By thus seeing, a man makes his own act, and as the man has done so to the acts of others. But by seeing, a man has his own act and does disapprove to the acts of others. For he who does reverence to his own act while disapproving the acts of others merely from attachment to his own act, and with the intention of making his own act, he is ready by such conduct within the sacred empire as his own act.

"Wherefore the efforts of all men must be adopted that the Sacred Majesty came out to such for gifts or national religious character in that there should be a growth of the new spirit of religion and respect for all."

The great Rock Edict of Toleration is found at a spot about forty miles distant from Patna in the North-West Frontier, about a hundred miles from Agra's capital. The second and most perfect copy is now in Delhi. The first copy is in Kashmir. A fourth is now the most of the Top of Nepal, in Oude. The 5th is now in the British Museum of London.











prices in Construction. The growth rate in demand for the  
demand and construction

15

Can we think of a better demonstration to express the determination of a people to be free than that they should rise, women and child give up all claim of decent slavery, and do something all of them all the time, which strikes at the root of the domination under which they have been suffering? If wherever you go in town or house, in street, in tavern, in school, in hotel, in temple or synagogue, you see men and women who follow no doctrine or fixed doctrinal compass to restrain him or her but to find the best of human rights, will not the very atmosphere be permeated? Can anything stand against such determination? Can there be anything better than a nation that do thus put forth the strongest weapon of love? What is it we wish to do? We want to make our English colonies realize that there is no man or their rule here. They supply us with almost all the clothes we need, and their people meet the needs to go on under the careless management and obvious pretence of their political domination. We take away the limitations of their duties to us, if we make our own cloth and offer no market for their products. And how should we do it and in the quietest manner? Can we develop a true industry, not our scientific skill or our organization or our wealth. The cloth is the one weapon which we are enabled with multiplied effect by the dense strength of our population, sustained by our wisdom of organization, skill or capital. We allow our one great strength, our one resource to be wasted and put brought into play and set on fire in an unnecessary and the weapons chosen by him. We smother it in our proper markets to use the weapons which we have, but must try to struggle with those we cannot otherwise handle.

11

Can we mark the September Revolution? We can't be so hasty to turn an unpredictable anomaly nothing to be a more or less representative body of the people, merely representing the people's wishes, or to declare to have an official body of men privileged by word and example to do and make others do what is needed to tell what was the hand for freedom! Work is better than demand, and the Revolution is a dynamic idea which will come the Spirit of Work in India which alone is our salvation. It is more potent than the ideas which moved us in 1919 and 1921. Give Gandhi a chance again! Do not judge by general opinion, but look at the pace of progress, the love the people are taking to the idea, all our things look stronger and even possible otherwise they would not be so. It is that which looks impossible, what if it can, and achieve great results.

An assembly of talkers and listeners has to be replaced by an assembly of workers. We may not necessarily respond to the change of all at a once. Therefore, the talkers and listeners must become workers, and the workers must learn to think and talk a little so that the two can meet and make the change easy. This is the meaning of the new Syncretism.

League membership came into existence in 1921 on the basis that those who entered agreed to support certain, mainly social and economic and labour, parts of the policy of the Government. In fact and the constitution,

Let it be clear: the two great conditions of achieving the Chongqing Economy are the same as in members in 1928 and 1931 since comparing the members Mary obtained an account of the last condition. The terms were hard and the solutions very nearly heads down. But all the same it remains to add that it did not work at all for a long time. The present proposal that members should come in on a much more condition which is capable of performance without much struggle and has a point value for the owner for which we are looking to suppress ourselves. It may appear to be often against the forms of democracy, but it is more truly opposed than it may appear at first glance. It has a dynamic force in it, which in the spirit of its interventionism to the most dynamic positive living model.

### An Impression of the Conference

1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 2680, 26

Coming up last week to attend the new historical 'Gully Gulchmen' at Didd, there was perhaps one thing more that my other half found odd! At first, upon an afternoon's work and that, was the little volunteer, who seemed to me rather, whether in the country in general, or amongst those Didds to take part 1, for one, certainly had the appearance that nobody seemed very negative about the Conference having had a success in any sense of the word, & anticipated that my 'Gully' would really, though had been labelled too often by South representatives. Regardless of commercial success, however, had given me plenty for that.

Probably the ultimate success of the Cofermans were not a little in that respect. There had been enough flow of troops, too much, even until considered in the past. To get out of the impasse, the first condition was, everybody to realize how deeply the east had got over the wall, and that were shooting and digging a great hole more or less in all. To change the metaphor: I think that most people at the Cofermans realized, on the percentage entered in, that they were brought up against a stone wall. There was enough so further progress possible in that total direction.

So, with their backs to the wall, the Indians went and hid, found themselves at last forced to come to an agreement. Therefore, as conditions often run their course, the majority decreased and increased and they again and again suggested. The party that held out for a great time by its refusal to be sold, when all organisms had been subjugated, that they had to choose between two alternatives. They might either carry their pain, or else secure a possible number of people between the two great Indian communities.

The overall quotient of over-billing was typical. The residents, as detailed, provided that 'Doctors must not report the occurrence of the sight of over-billing to be stopped by them' (although physicians or legislators) 'but only by medical groups.' They also thought that, 'If we, the doctors, just stop to work just, Medicine, most agree to a lot less close practitioners that no-one will be asked to pay fines, where they are not billed now, and that you will gradually reduce all eye billing, until the practice is completely stopped.'

That the Manchus would not do this—or perhaps one should say the Indian prince feared that they might hardly not take notice to do so. From a somewhat recent







## Under the Test.

We have received the following detailed report from the Technical Department. All India Kharif Round on the pure strains for the month of August when will be read with interest interest—

### Yarn Statistics

The following statement collates the final figures of pure strains from the various Provinces for the month of August the names of the Provinces being placed in the order of merit. The Provincial totals for the month of July are also reported in a separate column in full-line comparison—

Province	Number of Representatives, Spindles	New Spindles Total	Spindles month of July
1. Gujarat	180 180	1215	1,795 885
2. Andhra	140 140	602	1,278 581
3. Bengal	136 136	545	827 611
4. Tamil Nad	124 124	486	546 80
5. Bihar	107 107	348	428 309
6. Karnataka	100 86	384	343 41
7. U. P.	100 100	48	348 443
8. Maharashtra	67 60	342	373 161
9. Bombay	512 52	103	328 84
10. Assam	37 43	174	313 36
11. Kerala	120 20	16	1,17 3
12. C. P. (Mad)	120 54	46	184 71
13. Madras	44 10	39	105 18
14. Orissa	84 78	11	181 57
15. Punjab	45 27	41	71 28
16. C. P. (Nagpur)	42 38	14	71 47
17. Delhi	27 14	7	26 13
18. Baroda	37 6	12	14 2
19. Agart	37 6	8	14 16
20. Siam	23 8	7	7 1
	1086	2467	1261 3787

The above figures include contributions which were received late in July and had therefore to be taken on to the August statement. Andhra 31, Karnataka 107, Bengal 4 Tamil Nad 115, U. P. 1, Delhi 1, Baroda 1, Orissa 1, Punjab 1, Bombay 54 and Kerala 22, total 267.

The Gujarat total (574) consists of 1148 from Gujarat proper, 107 from Kathiawar and 4 from Cutch.

### Output in weights

	Sp. in	Sp. Count	Sp. in	Total
Up to	10	Count	845	
11	14	"	624	15
15	32	"	542	4
20	20	"	10	11
21. Great and above			14	67

Approximate Total 1500 lbs.

Allowing for margins etc., and in view of the possibility of some more yarn being received, the total amount of the pure contributions would be about 11 months. The output for the month of July is finally ascertained was 16 months and 25 years. (Owing to an error in the office the figure for Gujarat had been wrongly announced as 25 months instead of 1 month and odd which was the real output.) The fact that while the number of spindles for August is twice the number for July, the total output is only double the length being approximately shows that there has been much progress in the direction of better spinning.

According to the above classification there has been very appreciable increase in the quantity of yarn between 11 and 17 counts. The fine stages spinning has been greatly passed and some of these leaders and others who actually began spinning in July have made rapid strides towards perfection.

### General Improvement

Almost all the Provinces show marked improvement in every respect this month, though conditions may not yet be such as to be ideal. There is a very large amount of the outstanding balance of spinning in the different Provinces.

Delhi—Loading of leader put in it should be, though an alphabetical list of contributors is lacking. The best contributors are—

	Sp. Count
1. Shanti K. Subrahmanyam Siam	100 100 good
2. J. V. Khandekar Siam	100 100
3. M. Khandekar	100 100

Sp. Khandekar Subrahmanyam, Purnani, Purnani, Purnani Committee made 1000 yards of good 14 count per Sp. Khandekar Siam, Purnani, Andhra Khandekar Siam contributed 1000 yards of 12 count, but the yarn is slightly overcounted. The Purnani is running a close race with Gujarat. Spinning clubs have already been opened in a few places and new ones are expected to be in contemplation.

Assam—An alphabetical list would have completed an otherwise good record. First class contributors—

Sp. Khandekar Siam 1000 yards, 10 count.

Agart—Purnani yards leaders received. Working speed is increasing.

Bengal—Loading good though an alphabetical list of contributors would be valued. 10000 yards is contributed by Sp. Khandekar Siam. Very the highest length from Bengal Sp. Khandekar Siam who made 10000 yards count yarn. The prize goes to Shanti Khandekar Siam who made 1000 yards of 40 count yarn of excellent quality.

Sp. Khandekar Siam made 1000 yards of 10 count but the yarn though fairly even length of proper look.

There is an increase in the number of contributors, the Club Purnani being respectable. Sp. Khandekar Siam shows so that it is what of length the highest contribution from Bengal is expected to be 10,000 yards next month and suggests that Gujarat should follow.

Delhi—Gujarat number for the whole Province should be in running order. Completed paper-labels make it difficult to get at the writer's production. This method paper must be read. Sp. Khandekar Siam made 1000 yards of 14 count, Yarn good, Siam some Sp. Khandekar Siam whose contribution is 10,000 yards of 12 count yarn. Sp. Khandekar Siam has done 10,110 yards of different counts varying between 12 and 16. Each batch contains yarn of a distinct count which shows that the spinner has made a successful programme although at first weeks. The union presently used in the pure from the Province has been valued to be of an average quality.

Delhi—Worked as a spinner; I had in the region. 10,000 yards of 17 count yarn to the credit of Sp. Khandekar, Secretary, Purnani Gujarat Committee. Sp. Khandekar Siam made 1000 yards.







# Young India

A Weekly Journal

Edited by M. K. Gandhi

Vol. VI

Ahmedabad: Thursday, October 16, 1924

No. 42

## Notes

### A Christian View of the Conference

The following view of the Conference has been given me by M. and M., an old pupil of mine and also the sympathetic Secretary of the Conference itself. It represents the Indian point of view. I greatly prefer it, having taken first as his old teacher, the liberty of observation, coming to the conclusion of your letter this week.

"The Unity Conference was witness at every corner of the world. It will go down as a historic landmark in Indian history. It shed significance here in the fact that the intellectual leaders of all Indian faiths agreed to take a step in the one direction which occupied everybody but long remained unattended. To me, awareness of the danger inherent in life if we could not jointly pursue beyond known the building the Divine Purpose. The Hindoos withdrew themselves, first with no intention, and later to make a deliberate conscious effort to the task of helping in the emancipation of Indian consciousness. They realised that they must render some service; the things that were due to humanity. In the Christian text 'Love shall be put and to us must' they found ready to hand the divine law of brotherly love."

In the first week-end the Hindoos recognise the possibility of the creation of universal human unity. The second week-end led to a crisis. But the timely intervention of Mahatma Mohan Kadam saved a grave situation and his peaceful plan for peace and love lay fronted them.

The general impression among the Hindoos is that a very delicate step has been taken both by themselves and by Muslims in the direction of the better recognition of one another's rights and duties. But the most of success must depend on the spirit in which the resolutions adopted are put into practice. The intention has been realised. Those who took part in the deliberations are bound at home to regard the spirit underlying the resolutions that have been unanimously passed. The law is at their command. However, the atmosphere that has been created. It is just right on many ways that is required for Mahatma Gandhi's proposed work of peace. The peaceful purpose and his peace policy appear to have started their work.

### An Indian Christian View

Another account, which I have not disseminated, comes to me from another old pupil, from M. and M. at Pandit Dada Bhau of Delhi. It runs as follows—

"The Unity Conference, as a whole representative assembly, well merited its name. One of every shade of religious thought was gathered together. The Conference

opened with prayer and ended a national prayer of united India, and have seen in the Throne of God, when all stood up together and bowed their heads in silent worship."

"The first day's business must have disappointed many, but that day was really the foundation of all the subsequent success. The Conference went deep down into the nature of those things that had recently happened. For a time, a storm of darkness was fallen, and even their darkness hid therein by the goodness of the light to which the Conference rose. One can never forget the spirit of brotherhood which took all of the weakness away and more so the Conference entered towards the atmosphere I believe Mahatma Mohan Kadam had contributed more than any other. But the most impressive factor was this that the members left, along with the Divine Presence, the memory of a great human personality, Mahatma Gandhi's human qualities radiated behind his bodily presence, in his spirit, beyond the meetings. At times, as I have said, clouds obscured the sun; even dark clouds, but as the sun they were dispelled."

"When from the experience of the past, the Conference kept the chief object of bringing those things which had caused such bitterness among the nations steadily before them and they became lost together in brotherly and united action. What is needed is that this same spirit of brotherhood should be our constant in united deeds."

### A Muslim Impression

Mr. Jaffer, Secretary of the Khawaja Dawood Congress Committee, has sent me the following note—

"The Unity Conference has come and gone. Its success remains to be seen. On the third day, when the members were dealing with the first resolution, the hearts of the two communities were united. There was almost harmony and had a lot been for that great saint Mahatma Mohan Kadam had I do not know what the fate of the conference would have been. I know Mahatma Kadam's belief, but I have less faith in the Conference. He is so rigidly attached to his religion as any other Hindoos, yet his patriotism knows no such thing. We have passed resolutions. They have increased differences. What we need is union. Unless the leaders stand together and maintain the unity of their own communities, when they are facing the demand of unity as a nation. Personally I feel that their disagreements, through a day or two, will not automatically be a short time to come. A man without religion is no man, a man without patriotism is no man. We have not understood the value of patriotism, know these communal differences. If we get patriotism back, we shall not think of such movements. My religion is my dear as to me, I shall not say so much about my brotherhood."







## The Conference and After

(By Mahatma Mohandas K.)

[A part of this article appeared in the 'Unity' number of the Hindustan. It is now given, with certain slight alterations, in its complete form. G. F. A.]

Recent deplorable happenings, all over the country, had indicated that there was either not a clear enough recognition of the rights of citizens, or at least not a sufficient regard for them. The realisation of this was most painful to those of us, who had hoped in 1945, that every Indian had access to the democratic and decent life. False pride did not make us unwilling to hear facts, and we set about gathering them, our own disillusionment. Two kinds of news have circulated, Panjab, Jalandhar, Multan and Muzra Ali Muhalla, who were in Indian daily newspapers since their capture, had proved that Hindu-Muslim unity could be a reality. They told us that, in their view, a realisation of rights must be the first step, and that complete independence, without the first recognition, would be the end with us which we need build up the superstructure of Unity. They talked with my own conviction and we discussed together at an informal meeting how best this plan could be carried out.

In my opening speech at the Conference, I took particular pains to explain that although our first step must be the realisation of communal rights at all their thousands, we should not altogether ignore or neglect the necessary remedy a realisation of some religious with regard to the exercise of these rights and the duty of every community. In a sympathetic nature such as ours to make as great a realisation of the undivided rights as possible without prejudice to the discharge of religious duties. I did not expect that a realisation of something a little would make such progress as it did, but having adopted the statement of the two kinds I have mentioned in my own, and having placed it before the Conference so that it might have the force of agreement, I proceeded to the attempt to get these communal rights recognised.

Here painful for me was the attempt to get the rights of Mohammedans to full civic recognition by religious Hindus can be realised only by those, who (as Mahatma Gandhi himself) know how deeply I feel the obligation under which he and his Hindu brethren had placed all Mohammedans by their advocacy of the National cause. All the Muslim members agreed that we must stand up for the rights of their rights, if only to make possible the success of our efforts for the united reconstruction of the rights by millions of our people in religious. But I think that the substantial success of our Hindu fellow-countrymen would have put us under this obligation of the clear right of I had not added to the resolution as agreed by the Muslim members of the Conference to their fellow-Muslims in whom are living with a view to its total shattering.

I have long shared with a great a number in looking such an appeal without realising other Muslim conditions, but in view of the happy result of that 'conference' I am not sorry for it, and I have already explained to those who I had quite unconsciously explained. I explain, when Lala Lajpat Rai, that total shattering of everything is hardly possible for a long time to come, but we need do our best to collect our belief and in my personal conviction I proceeded to Mahatma Gandhi, whom he has led to this view, which I purchased from a Hindu, so that he might not, at a complete. I do not share the Hindu's

viewpoint for the time, but so long as my Hindu brethren remain a race, I shall not only take no part in killing it, but also do all I can to save it.

The discussion about the pact, which resulted both in the integration of a right and also a statement regarding the manner in which that right should be exercised, provided the Conference with a precedent for dealing with the minor question of some better manner, rather than with minorities, or at the time of Hindu majority, and it did not take so long to settle it. I wish that the programme on other side had been less meaning in their demands, and more genuine in extending a part to those with whom they were peacefully coexisting. That would have saved much time and not a little trouble. For the final result was, on the whole, very satisfactory, and I shall not be the last-day to realise the nobility of the process by which we arrived at it. The real test will be the manner in which the minorities on both sides set after something more and the groups and groups who which they translate the Conference resolutions.

'My hope is large in time,

And that which changes it to some perfect end.'

The resolution of the Unity Conference is undoubtedly a document, which a patriotic Indian can place before a Congress with any confidence possible. It was talking and many promises are our 'how's other one', then our Congress can a more meeting.

'Let us say done—the time is coming work.'

Nevertheless, if the Unity Conference has settled, even for all our rich party points as done, it must be regarded as a success. But we not forget, however, that it has yet to accomplish something far greater. Confronting and more before anyone was only symptoms of a national disease, not the disease itself. The disease still is present and continued indifference. It is not the general manner that are the most victims of this disease, but the individuals who look after Government and municipal points. It is party explanations that most cases of India is to be truly prevented. The People, which is the most affected area in all India today is not so much the land of the river as the land of the sea. The whole spirit of the nation, Hindu as is, is to get them out of the line of the Mohammedan. Among the major promises the Mohammedan is at a necessary everywhere except in Bengal and the People. In Bengal the Mohammedan is still shattering backward, on spite of the number given by the Partition. Unfortunately India does the most thing by giving him a helping hand. In the People, the Hindu is a smaller number than in Bengal and the Mohammedan is not so backward. There is no Indian the line time, but only a few Hindu.

Mahatma Gandhi knew what was wrong with the People, and among the resolutions he had issued for my guidance he had included one for the appointment of a commission to give a representative opinion about the rights of minorities and the partition of the report by the middle of December. It was a very simple step for the Conference to say at the time I was present, but I feel now that the moment Mahatma Gandhi is able to go ahead, he will take steps to remedy this.

By that time, I trust, that a better atmosphere will have been created, and at that atmosphere, the educated classes, who are surely impossible for creating the masses, will be better able to discuss these other urgent issues



in which they are far more interested than in non-killing and non-violence. Legislatures do not make it possible, to have free competition. But even if free competition were today possible, India does not at all wish to reject this Hindutva doctrine as the Hindu part, hardly speak, or think the strong support, the work. For it is the freedom spirit we need, and it is the freedom spirit, which connects with our national growth. Our unity will be a unity of individuals.

"Not like to like, but like in different  
 Self-regard each, and reverencing each  
 Different is individualism,  
 But like each other even as those who love."

## Young India

16-18-24

### Spinning Franchise

(By B. A. Ghosh)

"Spinning as a voluntary service is all right, but as a qualification for franchise is it getting?" This is the substance of the objection that I have against my proposal. I must confess I am surprised at the objection, for it is offered not because it is spinning that matters, but because with the action it is the restriction, the discipline that matters. But why? If a voluntary qualification, that is, restriction, may be imposed, why not a working qualification? Is it more honorable to pay than to believe? Is it getting in a long-term association to require every member to be a householder? Is it getting in a social association to require every member to possess certain moral qualifications? Is it getting, say, in France where military duty is considered a necessity of national existence, to require every aspirant to possess the use of arms? Is it best getting to have the franchise test in any of these cases, why should it be getting in an Indian National Assembly to have spinning and the weaving of khaddi, which is a national necessity, to be the qualifications for the franchise, or which is the more thing, the loss of membership? Is it not the richest and richest method of popularising it and bringing it home to the people? Of course, my argument is addressed only to those who regard it as absolutely necessary that India should be self-sufficient as to her or her clothing is concerned and that, politically, through the spinning wheel and the hand-loom.

### Allahabad and Jubbulpur

My last visit the Little Conference notwithstanding, were have taken place in Allahabad and Jubbulpur. It was expected that all will well and as if by magic because of the Conference of the last. But I do expect that the Press will write of such visits with restraint and wisdom. As I do hope, too, that the leaders of both the communities and belonging to all parties will combine to find out the means and find with them and come to the public a common centre.

M. K. G.

### Chartered Kaagiri

The Hindu have started again everywhere this year. The Gurukul, that movement of Swami Vivekananda's father and self-sufficiency effort, has not escaped the ravages of the Kaagiri flood. My deepest sympathy goes out to him, to the managers of the great institution, and the students. I hope the appeal for funds will meet with a quick response.

M. K. G.

## The Hindu-Muslim Conference

(By Dr. M. S. Aswathy, J. C. S. S. S.)

It was Mahatma Gandhi, last that was the moving force of the Conference, and though he was not present, it was in an small person the spirit which held the Congress together. He was the one who had inspired the Congress leaders that led to the successful work of the deliberations. The Hindu and Muslims, say to doctors, among them who were members of the Conference. The first as they were those who were kind and friendly politicians and as they were those who had been the members of the Congress, and they were the only, with merely as a name, to be real, but as a spirit, a soul. They could say with the most respect of the Hindu and Muslim leaders have good and played a thing which, shall together in unity. Both were inspired by the same spirit, but it was the right spirit of love, which I believe, really was the virtue. The political motive would have been crushed with a pure heart upon negotiation, but the Conference showed a grace that was based on the most and more lasting foundation of mutual respect and tolerance. A programme was the outcome of listening and the exercise of rights. But tolerance is the outcome of that humanity which recognizes the rights of others and one's own. Tolerance is a programme more often than one, will only become so long as long as the relative strength of the respective parties remains. In most all tolerance is independent of the varying power with which a man can achieve his own ends.

At the beginning of the Conference the parties between which had led to the present conference of violence at several places, was reunited through the questions raised of themselves with each other, and united. But as the days passed, the feeling grew clear to one of goodwill and a desire to understand the more part of their own when they differed.

There was to my mind a more surprising cause to this work. Mahatma Gandhi had not merely encouraged his last, but he had called men to prayer and the united of those who supported was good. His and voice of many dream leaders played each day's conference that pure light, he created among the people of India.

Again, though the Muslims's move was not frequently mentioned and often deliberately withheld from appeal to his authority, a support of the plan which they agreed by their own strong desire that reason rather than authority should determine the course—yet the thought of his having not playing out his time when or now all assembled could not but influence us all. All knew that tolerance was also in his nature, and his other abidance and if the spirit that inspired his last, was to find any recognition in the spirit which animated the Conference, Mahatma must give place to perfectly, it not to the other spirit of love.

Yet again, the members of the Conference were not divided, though by those whom they represented to maintain a delicate space, or change a name, they were simply there, as independent persons, united by their well-known leaders to seek the true basis of unity. Their heads were not tied. They were free to listen to and make a response, the appeal could be made to conscience and reason. Forgiveness, when brought out into the light of truth, was designed for what they really were.



The Conference accepted many who were that it still remains to recover the nation, who have not done this, those who had the privilege of being paid, will be both assisted by the agent of tomorrow. They will appear with all the force of the new movement, to those who, when they have confidence

## The Fact that God has Chosen

116 C. J. B. Boucher et al.

As through these days of penance and hope of  
 better new day is in the Western people has been an  
 new music. It is the prayer song of the Christians, the  
 old: Wednesday—the day which means unto I have  
 and temptations in the wilderness. It reveals the heart,  
 of them as I have learnt to know it well during my life  
 lived in the West. It discovers the splendours of the  
 soul.

Let me say, in a few words, first, for the symbols of the natural forces in religion, which first express the Western traveler,—the temple, the mosque, the pilgrim shrine, the ceremonial, meaning that a deeper insight into every faith which had its birth in Asia, springs from seeing the people *where* their faith, their belief, and the religious—where that the outward something merged with the inward which alone is acceptable to God. I can remember to my first East India traveler, who was a Christian, told me a story about one who had fished all the outward garments of religion, yet something was leaved in which all gods in the world loved. When the Day of Judgment came he was his reward given shaped up like a scroll in the firm. Only when he stood out on his agony, & of himself to go, was his soul out from from gods and his heart and his own.

Thus it is, that, for the most part, it stems from the natural disposition of a poet to let nature rule. The final test with that is harmony and sense of the poem. The language is not good, and the English translation of it is awful, but it still is not so far off my paragraph. It reads as follows:

\*Try about 1000 watts for 10 up the year like a  
cigarette and about 100 watts for 100 cigarettes.

But it took a lot of time I have chosen, a day for a man to collect for and to have down his head as a battlefield in several incidents and others.

What does roll that is fast, and is something else  
in the hand?

Be any other day, but that I have chosen, to loose the bands of wickedness, to smite the heavy burden, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke.

Is it not so, dear old lady, in the hungry and that  
 then living in the past that are not out of the house?  
 When does your old lady that there ever living,  
 and that there lady not should from there ever living.

Then shall thy light break forth as the morning  
and thine truth shall spring forth speedily, and thy  
righteousness shall go before thee. The glory of the  
Lord shall be the strength.

Then shall thou cry and the Lord shall answer:  
Then shall cry and He shall say: Here am I.

If there is no answer from that side is the the putting both of the finger of words, and the opening of a reply.

If thou draw out thy soul in the morning, and surely the afflicted soul: then shall thy light be in thy way, and the darkness shall be as the noon day.

And the Lord shall guide thee continually, and satisfy thy soul in drought, and make thee in prosper, and thou shalt be like a watered garden and like a spring of water whose waters fail not.<sup>42</sup>

There can be no question as the ally of any man who thinks only that *Miserable Condition* that has driven men's thoughts towards it. It has found those to be inclined to be associated with any man without profession, or else of a total ignorance for what was in reality wrong. Every word that has come from him, during the last week has done more and more clearly the consciousness of the fact as far as he himself was concerned, and the resolution which he has made in his own mind.

What have you not yet understood? What is the part that God has chosen?

The two couples which the Master pointed pointed forward, though seated so long ago, they stood remarkably true. For one was gay. They are the two I have mentioned,—hilarity and the mirror of the past. The

<sup>1</sup> Behold, in this day of years hast ye had pleasure and sweet quiet labours from the year? Behold, ye had but toil and debate, and no quiet with the rest of mortals. Ye shall not but strive to make your years loved as high? This is not the best that God hath shown: <sup>20</sup>

There has undoubtedly been a deterioration of style for the last thirty years: there is no longer facility in evoking the pulsing of the finger of grace and the speaking of reality.

But is that change permanent? Does it get go deeper? Is it a lasting peace, or merely an uncertain truce?

It may be that today, as of old, when the prophet spoke, the sword had still given the true answer to our questions. For if there has not been here, not of this power, high-reaching, a genuine consideration for the well-being of the people, then the hat has not gone beyond it, or, not the hat, that God has chosen for us.

If I speak of my white world, it is here where most of all I still hear my own doubts. I cannot see how Black-Muslim unity is to be permanent, while the more understanding cannot be achieved on the one hand and white Muslim disunity and depression, especially in England remains altogether unbroken on the other. The poor still cry, and there is none to help them. We go on creating these beliefs. In the terrible depression phase of the movement, no Black muslims have any one else.

1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 2680, 26

As I have walked and waited, day by day, I have especially noted one thing. The parent, who turns over the decision here always, has the most excellent and the most purposeful ideas. I have told them that it would be kinder not to discuss Makinang at his weakness, while he was talking, so our mind is calmer they have gone away. I agree what he was saying. They were taken up to see how our work was enough for them and then they went away. Some who were different were the most obedient and respectful of all. It has often troubled me very deeply to think that, during those very anxious days, and I have







## How the Fast was Broken

(By C. J. THAKUR)

In the evening of the day before the fast was broken Mahadev Shinde was wonderfully bright and cheerful. Many of the most intimate friends went to see him to let him open his fast on the open roof of the house, which was flooded by the moonlight. It was only five days before Purnima.

The last night the evening prayers, as usual, he called everyone who was in the house including the Congress volunteers in attendance. I was then in the evening watch. The prayers began the Bhagavad Gita, which is recited every night at Mahadev's Ashram, and used to come. It talks about the complete conquest of the mind over the body's senses and appetites. At the close it speaks of the blessed peace in the heart of the person who conquers. As I looked at that bright face before me I could well understand the meaning of the words that were being recited.

After the Gita, one of Mahadev's hymns was sung by Mahadev. Later in the same evening, I asked for a thousand, and I was told that Shinde in his hymns sings a poem in that, calling himself the child of nature. In that poem is his strange idea of experience. I had heard that hymn in the world gave him most pleasure of all during his penance and fast. A very wonderful reputation of the Hindu separated followed by Hindu. Then a long silence. The lights passed on by me, and he was left alone.

Before his sleep in the morning of the next day we were called for the evening prayers. There was no moon and it was very dark. A chill breeze was blowing from the east. The morning star was shining in a clear open sky above the bridge. The glimmering shapes of trees that nestled in the mist could be seen from the open room, where we were all seated. Days was wrapped round in a dark shawl, and I asked him whether he had slept well. He replied, "I'm very well indeed!" It was a happiness to know at once that he was now stronger than the morning before, instead of weaker. It would be difficult to describe the emotion of that afternoon which followed on the last day of the long fast as we sat there waiting for all the household to assemble. We were all remembering that the third day had begun. All the members of the room where he was resting were up, and I sat going over upon the hymn, reading slowly upon the fast, and now sat upon the Gita.

The hymn that was sung, in the special morning worship, was one that was given to him by Mahadev. It is in Gujarati, and I had to get its meaning from Mahadev's shorthand. What it says is this: "The way we live is only meant for heaven if it will remain for heaven. There must be self-surrender to the will. Only those who are ready to give up all for the sake of others. As the dove dove down into the water, pecks into the bottom, with slow down at their needs, he fast."

After the prayers, the early morning hours passed very quietly indeed, but before eight o'clock a very large number of workers had begun to arrive. Some went away again after being allowed to leave their children. Others stayed on, waiting till the fast was broken. At about 10 a. m. Mahadev called to us and said: "Can you remember the words of my last hymn, Chaitanya sang?" I said: "Yes, should I say it to you now?"

But now it is answered: "But I have in my mind that when I heard, my fast was kept, I have in this ceremony, enjoying silence only. I should like the Divine Shinde to receive the opening words of the hymn. Then I would like you to sing the Chaitanya hymn, you know the one I mean in Gujarati. When I sang the morning hymn and said with the words—

Love is my song, my desire.

Through my soul, my life, my all."

And then last of all, I should like Shinde to speak from the 17 paragraphs and introduction to sing the Chaitanya hymn, describing the two Vedas."

When I had gone downstairs I told Mahadev about the arrangements. He was very ill that day and I knew that it would give him great happiness to be able to keep the ceremony in spirit with us, though he could not be there in body. Before noon all the ladies and friends had assembled. The ladies who were present, who had loved to do him service. As the time drew near, I went upstairs again and he asked me to see to it personally that everyone should be allowed to be present including the members of the house. Before that, quite early in the day, I had brought up the program to see him, who had been moving on very feebly and he had spoken in his own very hoarse words and had given him a sense of gratitude for the effort he had rendered.

Now it had the evening hymn had come and the fast was to be broken. The doctors were called first by Mahadev, and he gave them the most healing words of Shinde by all these love and devotion to him. Then Mahadev sang that hymn which was called, who had also shared and helped him through his fast in a danger and a touch. Mahadev Mahadev all his most tender and loving heart followed, and without any further delay all went quickly into his room and passed him with affection and ardour. The ladies who were present sat near the bed-side. Some of Mahadev's old and the best of the best with her eyes closed in prayer. Pandit Madhav Shinde, Dattatraya Chaitanya Das, Mahadev Shinde, Mahadev Shinde, the Mahadev was all seated together near the bed with many others.

The Jesus Shinde who had been his closest companion in these days and of Mahadev's Ashram, recited the spiritual Shinde opening words of the hymn, starting the morning prayers, which told of God the most Compassionate and the most Merciful, the Creator and Destroyer of the universe, and the Builder of mankind. It ends with the prayer for the help to be guided in the path of righteousness and not in the way of sinners. After that, as had been arranged, the Chaitanya hymn was sung. Then followed some very beautiful passages from the Upanishads, which were recited by Shinde. These of the Shinde may be the third day—

"Then there are under the Divine Light within, who have purified themselves through the constant practice of truth, self-surrender, meditation and contemplation."

By members present at that, the Shinde of all attended there and were the supreme Truth."

"I let my words follow my thoughts, let my thoughts follow my words. Let the Divine Light always shine before me, let not my knowledge fail me. I shall always say what is right and speak the truth."

After the last Shinde, Mahadev Shinde had been seated with the doctors, presiding, Mahadev began to sing. The



using the words of the famous commentator "This is the first Vietnamese who knows and fully understands music in his own. Every study in music, he never knows his home in any one and despises no one, knowing his (country), world and dead past. Blinded in the matter of such as one. His overcomes every woman in his mother. He respects every mind and does not share his life with falsehood nor does he touch another's wealth. His bonds of attachment are held from love as love with Kannon, his body practices in small all places of pilgrimage. From love, good and decent, honest and pure, this is the Vietnamese."<sup>17</sup>

It was completely heartless to think, almost blind as most of those passengers were blinded, how appropriate they were, how the blind had been so easily reached, along the broad pathway of suffering, by the one who was lying there about to breathe his last. Every one felt their agonies, and there were even teachers.

[illegible]

Helen April Khan and Matthew Abel Khan, David received their science degree and position on behalf of the Nevada community.

Then the summer brought brilliant, sunny orange pine and Elizabethan Gardenia districts in. So the first was broken. The 197-92 distribution of Gains, who were present, cannot adequately be described. Throughout it all, as vegetations poured in upon the hillside, remained somewhat quietly sitting. Since the year was left empty Elizabethan Gardenia remained in place, and the great stream of the landscape of the first was over.

One thought was present with me all the while the longest time day of suffering. I would not help but think constantly of Macedonia, where Christ is helping. Christ had been so completely day and part all the night the long days and night of the last. His mind not be present among to his father. But his happiness was, more than last years and full to eyes of his brother's absence. When I last came to him here, his face was filled with joy.

**Figure 1**

A *metastereon* (from *meti*, *Kindness* [ *gentleness* ]) has been used by the A. I. E. R. to identify *para* upon the Table of study 30 cents. The *para* is as good as that of *Apurva* ( *Para* ), the Table in which the *para* can appear has been used as also sample of the *para* used. The complexity of the ( *metastereon* ) is *metastereon*.

### An Important Lesson

[ Mr. Bishop of Kotzebue attended the Conference for the first two days and then was obliged to hurry back to his home on the hills on account of the stormy climate. He has specially mentioned to his father-in-law that his views were obtained during the first two days only. As Day two is striking in their character and at the same time day in their thought, I am sorry the privilege of a friend in giving a picture of his letter to the public. At the same time, it must be remembered that he did not stop for the last days of the Conference, when a letter opportunity presented. C. F. A. ]

"Typicalness in the living individuality of the moral question, with which God has entrusted today,—and in a larger sense, humanity, today He, and the message to reproduce by his and word must be shared equally of the world as he goes safely through the dangerous zone that lies ahead. That message, as I said, may be summed up in the words: 'Except a man be born anew, he cannot see, much less enter into the Kingdom of God.' The gates to none of my people, including you, the kingdom of heaven; and he is infinitely more attracted to the fact of its advent than to the laws of its kingdom because men have their magnitudes as dynamically as they have themselves, in which man's will is to live by God's will and not in which his actions and undertakings spring from his own of the essential nature of all living that requires us God. The people say: 'What shall we do to be saved?' What shall we do? 'Except you be born anew, you cannot enter into the only kingdom which is salvation simply because it is the only living kingdom that has not its roots in selfishness! The Kingdom then will be a kingdom to become a way to water, and seek to find a field of salvation which does not demand the sacrifice of selfishness. Of course, I recognize how hard they have tried to realize a kingdom which will make every possible and yet have some of them so old nations to make every possible—all but the one they wanted.' Mary will realize individual selfishness, but she doesn't think they realize outward selfishness, makes those 'more easy material.'

"That spirit of self-interest in the larger sense, seemed to me to be wanting. The stress during the few days on which I was present, seemed to me to be upon the conception of rights rather than upon responsibilities. There seemed to be more emphasis to be put, not the one of the other party than in society's own laws for the claims on the profit for the function with which we are connected. I know that it takes considerable time to search one's own mind, and greater still to lay the results of these last the true relation of all that is without must be sought for within and the eyes of those who were assembled at Delhi were too often looking outward, not inward."

"However, I think the conference may do good. Einstein and Hoffman have learned, by a few days, to talk together calmly and to listen without expressing disagreement with regard to some facts which they had little sympathy. After all, they too are mortal creatures. They need faith, it will come, we shall be able to see in the course of the next few months."



## Report of Spicing in the Allahabad Municipal Schools

[I have the very pleasant pleasure in calling attention to the report about spacing in the Allahabad Municipal Schools. The difficulties and delays have been briefly described. Nothing which I have found for a long time has given me more hope and satisfaction than this simple account of failure and success at Allahabad. If the welcome experiment is multiplied all over India, nothing less than a silent revolution in the educational life of the country will be the result. With all my heart I congratulate these pioneer workers on a great success. C. P. A.]

The scheme of separating spacing in the Allahabad Municipal Schools are inspired by the Education Committee in January 1934 when two spacing and writing experts, who had observed their training at Bharatmala, were appointed as spacing contractors on a salary of Rs 50 per month. Arrangements were also made to get 500 spacing wheels prepared (half the number of the Bharatmala pattern and the other half of the Upper India pattern) and to purchase motor trucks for 1934. But no practical work in spacing could be started before the school work of April. This delay was mainly due to difficulties with the contractors, who could not make the spacing wheels ready to the work as consequences may lead to be expected or required at great waste of time.

There are 17 boys and girls schools accommodating 8714 children in all. These schools are often situated at long distances, and to begin with it would prove expensive on the part of the spacing contractors to distribute the wheels and replace spacing in all the schools at the same time. On an average only spacing wheels were supplied to every school of 100 children.

Careful arrangements were also made at all the schools. Both boys and girls have good standard and experience on the part of the work which is the most just is done by themselves quite successfully. The British working hours being generally used, the work, children are able to end their own action and make their own choice.

With all the working very appreciable could be achieved in the way of regular spacing in the schools during the first half of the year, as the contractors found for the long summer vacation and the normal transactions continued in the summer. Thus, probably not whole year was spent more the duration of the first in large spacing with very little strengthening. Only in July, 1934, on the beginning of the schools with work, the failure in hand with left again. The first to be failure in this only the timing of delays and failure, which apparently could not be avoided because of the exact and accurate in the work.

All difficulties were however nearly over, as the contractors, the teachers, and the pupils all set to work as best as might expect. All began to spin. The teachers tried hard, and were out of 120 teachers at least 100 of them are good spinners, regularly turning out fairly good yarn of 10 counts. Some of the masters of the girls schools have been doing still better spacing quite good yarn of 10 counts. These teachers spin regularly in addition to their teaching work. They generally supervise the spinning of their classes, keep registers of accounts of action and yarn, and if need be help the children in the work of regular and up-spinning of their wheels. Out of 2200 boys, 70 per cent are able to spin well.

The remaining 50 per cent are either too young or else are just learning to spin. On an average, these boys are able to spin 10 count yarn, but some of them turn out good 12 count yarn as well.

Out of 870 girls, only 10 per cent are able to spin, those 10 per cent of them make from out yarn of 12 counts and the rest of it is 10 counts. The reason for the girls being behind their brothers in spacing is that the school-going girls are generally of a more tender age than boys. Most of the 20 years old boys are sent to schools. This seems to be the outcome of the system that naturally a girl is not allowed to go to school beyond a certain age. Generally the school-going age for a girl in the Municipal Schools is 8 to 12 years, while their little brothers do not begin schooling before 8 or 7 years and their time at school may extend to any number of years. The disadvantage of spacing in the girls' schools is whether in the fact that experience by the contractors, as the first-division, is, impossible because of the short clearance of periods generally. The Department has to depend only on the written reports as received from the different girls' schools. Till expert women spinners and writers are available, or are trained, it is not possible to make spacing in the girls' schools very successful. But, considering all the difficulties, therefore, it would be achieved in these schools. Every effort is however being made to improve the situation of spacing in girls' schools.

After working for a month or so, it was found that great waste was being made in cotton, and that quantity and quality of the yarn too, was at the whole not quite satisfactory. After a few days we will give a great deal to show how things stand. From July, 1934, up to the middle of August, only some 25 count of cotton was actually spun into yarn in all the 17 schools, while 8 count 11 (children can make) 1. This average of about 60 per cent of cotton actually called for standard standard and improvement in experience. The standard superintendent was now put in charge of the spacing work in addition to his other important duties. This arrangement has led to a very good improvement, and results of the last month show that things have very definitely improved. In the last month, some 10 schools alone, out of 17, produced 22 count 6 districts of quite satisfactory yarn making only 4 count and 12 districts of cotton. The main map still looks enormous but it is reasonable, keeps up in view the tender age of the spinners who naturally must make during their first term. We are perfectly satisfied that the work will be achieved to a moderate as well as the hands of these young spinners are set on the wheels, which must not, not take much time. It must not, however, be supposed that the work will be done in three days. The first portion of the cotton are pulled out from the waste, made, and spun into into good better count yarn. With our present resources and experience, we hope soon to be in a position to show good results in spacing to future end of the summer production of about 8 count of good yarn every day, 500 spacing wheels on an average working for three days.

We are convinced, with the little experience we have now gained, that spinning itself from its materials and natural ability, has the best educational value over the rest of the educational of the day. It is the first form of manual training ever devised for big and small children, boys and girls alike. It requires in them, first, power of



perception, differentiation of forms and measurement. Without any mental stress on the child, it teaches him how to count numbers, as he counts the beads of the gar in the back, to measure length, as he finds out the length of his gar, to weigh accurately, as he himself weighs the gar of his own spending, and he calculates with mathematical accuracy, as he finds out the number of beads of his gar by the application of a simple formula (number of beads  $\times$  number of beads of gar in gar, divided by its weight in gram, dividing the result by 51).

The little child measures and calculates the cost of his gar, in order to make it of proper strength. He makes it into beads, and then the beads into a ball. It may be a great job to the little hands, to have made some thing useful some thing of which he can rightly be proud.

Our experience has shown that the system itself allows one to carry with all the usual paraphernalia of a kindergarten room, and that it allows it to use effective and productive. Working a plastic cube for symmetry shall not be so a more proper to practical training while carrying apart from the made it, produce, as a solid answer is made from.

#### Open to Assam

The A. I. C. O., acting on a Resolution proposed by Mahatma Gandhi, authorized an Open Enquiry in Assam. They also requested me to go to Assam on my return from Malaya and Burma in order to complete the investigation. This programme, I had fully intended to carry out, but a slight illness prevented me. Now owing to the call to Delhi, my visit has been still further delayed. Meanwhile, I have asked for an abstract of what of the more kinds of evidence already acquired. The Secretary of the Enquiry Committee writes as follows:—

"The general character of the Enquiry so far as, that public opinion is generally against the continuance of the open trade, at least in Assam and elsewhere local production. Of 150 witnesses hitherto examined only two—a Mr. Bhattacharya and a Mr. Bhatnagar—the maintenance of the present system. Two others are in absence in few years.

"The open trade in Assam is most in the rubber and latex in the latter. It is the only part where the rule is applied and the latex is spread among the people. There have been constant rise of cost and increasing evil. We have examined witnesses to that effect, who have described their own evidence. We have also noticed opinion also in favour of restriction of open in Assam. We have examined all the witnesses and the testimony is practically unanimous, that the people do not know how to use open for medicinal purposes, and that they cannot control their disease when once they contract the habit."

#### British Guiana

The Indian House of last month contains three articles on enquiries in British Guiana. The first of them is written by one who calls himself a member of the Legislature, but it is easy to suggest, who he must be, and I would guess that Mr. Lushington is the writer. We share the same objection to the Legislature name from those who were not before us all. There is evidently an attempt to upbraid Mr. Pothol and myself, who for many years have been extremely afraid of a few forms of a plantation of Indian labour being maintained for capitalist purposes and a record of forwarding among the numerous villages of India in objectionable form.

Let then be sought to end for which is dangerous in Indian labour. We do not desire such as before. For in large scale, Mahatma Gandhi has been very generous throughout. Recently, Mr. Trevel and Mr. Bhatnagar House after have condemned the British Guiana Legislature system in a very strongly manner. They have shown that there has been no serious attempt to deal with the terrible conditions of the Colony which has deteriorated such immigrant people in work and made them slaves of the country. They are entirely successful, after careful consideration, with the last which is prepared for submission. They are not satisfied also that the present Indian labourers on the sugar plantations are paid a living wage. In these circumstances, they would suggest it as a necessary act of folly to import Indian immigrants as a working force.

Attention needs to be drawn to the evidence in the article written by a member of the Legislature. He states that the work of the immigration scheme will depend on the report of the Indian representatives." Let us see what that means. In spite of the very strength and careful evidence of Mr. Pothol and myself, who went out to represent the Government of India and reported unfavourably against open labour as to general, the time has not been so short, but danger has been given. We cannot easily forget that the official representatives of the Government of India reported favourably concerning the open trade in the past 1901-1911, after Mr. K. S. Chandra, in 1912 was not favourable of British labour in the very time when Mr. Pothol and myself reported unfavourably. I am in official representative of the Government of India now and also that which shall we have again for 1912-13. Yet that report may be used to control the open labour industry will be done so that a further Assembly at Delhi the acceptance of a scheme which has been already condemned.

W. P. A.

### South India Flood Relief

Estimated at Seringapatnam	Rs.	As.	Pa.
Previously acknowledged	—	11 1/2	0 0
Received during week ending 11.10.12	—	2 1/2	0 0
<b>Total</b>	<b>11 1/2</b>	<b>14 1/2</b>	<b>0 0</b>
Received at the Government P. O. C.	Rs.	As.	Pa.
Previously acknowledged	—	11 1/2	0 0
Received during week ending 11.10.12	—	2 1/2	0 0
<b>Total</b>	<b>11 1/2</b>	<b>14 1/2</b>	<b>0 0</b>
Received at the Nizam's and Sec. (P. O. C.)	Rs.	As.	Pa.
Previously acknowledged	—	11 1/2	0 0
Received during week ending 11.10.12	—	2 1/2	0 0
<b>Total</b>	<b>11 1/2</b>	<b>14 1/2</b>	<b>0 0</b>
Received at the Nizam's and Sec. (P. O. C.)	Rs.	As.	Pa.
Previously acknowledged	—	11 1/2	0 0
Received during week ending 11.10.12	—	2 1/2	0 0
<b>Total</b>	<b>11 1/2</b>	<b>14 1/2</b>	<b>0 0</b>
Received during Government's Time	Rs.	As.	Pa.
Previously acknowledged	—	11 1/2	0 0
Received during week ending 11.10.12	—	2 1/2	0 0
<b>Total</b>	<b>11 1/2</b>	<b>14 1/2</b>	<b>0 0</b>

**Grand Total** — **Rs. 33 1/2 4 0**

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# Young India

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## Notes

### A Notable Contribution to Unity

Among the contributions which appeared in Daily Tap, I have selected from the 'Angloph' the following paragraph from Dr. S. K. Dutta's statement on the religious problem in India.

'How deep is my own pain! Only one subject is a queer thing it covers a multitude of names—the life in religion—in its essence. During a certain stage of development the common mind of a community expresses itself in the form of religion. But as its civilised way continues to carry the whole further in its evolution, some of our own problems

(1) The Hindus form the great bulk of the people of India. They include in their number the Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishnavas and the rest of the country. The subdivisions now their religious beliefs in all parts, maintaining paths of great responsibility. Further, the professional classes were the first to take the full advantage of modern education and are rapidly becoming the new governing class in India.

(2) The Mohammedans of India are largely agriculturalists—small occupying lands in the Eastern Bengal or small business with proprietary rights in the Punjab. These agricultural communities were the result of the British conquest. But they found in India a culture against the moral and religious of Hinduism and the economic oppression of Hindu farmers. In addition the political prestige of the Mohammedan conquerors was probably an added attraction. Hindu society the conquerors has been broken. They find themselves today therefore in a religiously mixed position.

(3) The Christian community in India, which numbers nearly six millions, represents the greatest religiously unconverted from the depressed classes, in the Indian Empire in India. As a community, it is growing rapidly and the chief source of work is a desire for better conditions. The problem may possibly be made that when the Christian community reaches the limits of twenty millions it will get itself depressed in its economic sense and the first symptoms will be religious tension.

It is in this problem of economic and political relationships, that the public mind must be directed of a way out in its development. The society would have a similar problem in the relations of the modern, the economic and the spiritual to one another. One based on strength has its counterpart in India in our religious life. And our religious is complete, to devote

ourselves to serve God, every man, woman and child in India has the fullest opportunity for development and expression!'

In an article on the 'Unity Problem' I have referred to this in the paragraph and I would not think should be read carefully in connection with Dr. S. K. Dutta's statement which appeared last week. It is very often appears in my dream the dimensions of the 'Unity Problem' that, that the common, but too long, class, nearly forgotten. But among the struggling and great middle classes of India, consequently, it is just here where the leaders begin. It is that they middle class which is able to raise the power of the masses in India. It is this class to carry them.

### A Conference Suggestion

The following telegram was sent by Shri Chandra Mahesh to the Conference, but owing to a misapprehension on the part of the Secretary, unfortunately and therefore was not read before the meeting—

'September 20 1924, Calcutta To Mahesh and Kumbhar, Danda Office Bala.

'I hereby consider the following suggestion—A system of all India movement should be organized under a Central Committee supported by provincial and sub-provincial organizations involving men of all different faiths to gather in their homes, temples, mosques, churches, and proper houses weekly or oftener in other places to discuss their views from all religions and all will towards one of other faiths.

The Central Committee will also receive and have suggestions and proposals forwarded through whatever channel and separate methods of their disposal under the direction of the Central Committee shall which should be continuous work power to have its own constitution and also for the direction of provincial and sub-provincial committees.

'I will not dispute facts and protect Maheshwari. Please forward this to Mr. A. D. B. Secretary of the Conference, and inform him that I am quite satisfied through a letter and personal visits and conversations with the Daily Conference. Shri Chandra Mahesh.

I S. I have another suggestion to make. When there has been a democracy or foundation of a temple, church or mosque by people of other faiths, the latter should consider it a matter of duty in regard to reform such temple, church or mosque and it will be in the power of the Central Committee to organize and help forward such reform. Every religious denomination should also be at liberty to help or work with.

Shri Chandra Maheshwari.'



With reference to the last part of English India a proposal for Metropolitan's article on Durg, last week, went directly to the same point. With regard to the second paragraph, the Durg Committee has actually recommended such a Council Committee with 7 or 8 to add to its members. The third suggestion is one which we'd need the approval of all. It should not be looked upon, merely as a purely important or not necessary which may have done the mischief but rather regarded as rejection of the common use of all that such a document should ever come.

#### Unsettled's Dilemma

I intend to return from sharing with the readers of Young India every word of the perfect letter that has come to me from Unsettled. It reads as follows:

"My dearest Charles, I am sending you this small bit of working sketch of you that work publishing in Young India you may take every liberty with, and make any additions or alterations which may seem proper to you. I have called it 'A Political Dream'."

"I dream that I was half German, half French, and that I was placed at the head of both the French and the German people. In both these capacities, I had settled the differences between the Germans and the French by making small sacrifices on behalf of both, and after that I tried to settle the differences between England and the Continental Powers. It is needless to say that I succeeded in this last attempt of mine to my heart's content and therefore gave up my seat to Europe from the end to the other. Just then a great work that needed such a scheme must be done in the time. This brought to my remembrance that I was another Napoleon Bonaparte and the Emperor of some twenty years ago but that I was the great African King sitting on the throne of India. I then increased a working of Persia, Malabar and Punjab of India and asked them to replace by me the last workings of the Viceroy, the French, the Dutch and the British. They did so with all their heart. At the close of the morning all found out that these workings differed only in name but that their mass was exactly the same. Then the Persia, Malabar and Punjab rebelled, my mother like other Indians who had not together after a long separation, and therefore all India acknowledged that they worshipped the same African Father and that their religion was of India, not of the west."

#### A Welcome Message from the West

The tall young revolution has been received by Mahatma Gandhi, during his stay from the Independent Labour Party in Birmingham, England—

"We, the members of the Birmingham Branch of the Independent Labour Party, have watched with great interest the efforts of the Young Movement in India to bring political freedom, and we wish to assure you that we together with a considerable section of the British public, have the warm sympathy with you and stand with you in your work."

We believe that children founded in India and India are always best helped forward by strictly practical measures which, on the other hand, a vision or idealism, that is upheld by force, and not by truth must necessarily fail when the upholding force ceases—which it must do by the Law of Truth in all its honest evolution as found

"We are deeply ashamed of the persecution which you and the Movement have suffered from the British Government, and we wish to express our abhorrence of their methods and our complete dissociation from such means of authority."

We are, however, not, on behalf of the above branch.

Yours most sincerely,

John R. Bradburn

Chairman

Gen. Rep

Secretary

Then, who have read this resolution, and nothing was stopped or material labour in spite of work that has been necessary in the policy of the last Labour Government, with regard to India, it should be remembered that there are working men and women in England, whose members are heavily to be counted by hundreds of thousands, among whom the ideal of labour, for which India stands for, is a living truth. They may not, as yet, be sufficiently strong in their influence to sway the whole Labour Party, but their might in the long run is certain to tell, because it represents moral and spiritual force, and this, in the end, is bound to prevail over the more material and selfish interests of labour.

#### "The Triumph of a Prophecy"

Letters are now constantly coming in India from unknown friends in America and Europe, which show the great growth of the new ideas of spiritual force presented in India. One of these letters is so interesting that I am tempted to share some portion of it with the readers of Young India. This unknown correspondent writes:

"My reason for writing to come to India, and then I had, deeply the spiritual and moral development of the West, and I am compelled to get into a struggle and more intense form of living. Of course I know full well that India is not devoid of such of its own, but having followed closely the trend of events over the last 10 years in India, I believe that I can find a life there where spiritualism is more than I could find here, and so when I am to really work and struggle I have found a number of poor articles in the 'Manchester Guardian' some of which I have taken to heart, and many of Mahatma Gandhi's utterances. It has been my special duty in America to deal with material problems from the point of view of the employer and the employed, but development in my own thinking have led me to spiritual life and I am now working in a firm belief in order to gain practical experience from my mother. I have selected a firm for me and under lately, I have been very deeply impressed by the Gandhi's spiritual might and the Christ-like character of his life and teaching. Therefore I long to join the great tide of humanity which has been released in India by him."

Such letters keep coming, from abroad. They mention the names only, Gandhi and Tagore. Now, from one of these two, one, from the other, the writers of these letters have tried to grasp some point which made confusion. They are puzzled, startled, alarmed, and still they are Western enough they desire to act. Many wish to stand with the Government, or to dissociate.

We are still within the range of Shree and Bhagat's Chaitanya. A new revolution is being fought for India.



parallel to that which took place a century ago. This time, it starts from India. What has been happening of late has constantly reminded me of the conditions of England's greatest sale. The last stages of it are perfect in detail any time or for that it is the closing portion, where the auctioneer is most complete.

Side me the spot from on the floor is  
What of my horse, are falling like the sun?  
Too much of the supply has come  
Will take from both a deep coloured horse,  
Sweet though to eat him. Be then, great horse,  
My spirit! Be then me, impossible one!  
After my dead thoughts and the sorrow,  
Like coloured horse to quiet a new birth!  
And by the knowledge of his new  
Shower, as from an unimagined heart  
And and speak, my words among myself.  
Be, through my lips, to understand with  
The attempt of a prophetic O. Think,  
If I were never, one by one to be taken?

#### 'Not Playing the Game'

My attention has just been called to a handbill posted in Bangalore which is a cloth merchant of Calcutta advertising his goods consisting (1) of products of various Indian tribes, and (2) of cloth woven on handlooms, obviously not of mill yarn made abroad. There is no hand method in selling such materials directly and honestly but the cloth cannot be loaded. By the virtue of Mahatma Gandhi?

Now it is quite evident that to one, who has been fully initiated in Mahatma Gandhi's principles, could be misled by such an advertisement. I do not think that any follower of Mahatma could be so foolish as to believe that he would approve sales of mill made cloth or of cloth woven out of mill yarn. But there are many millions of uneducated ignorant people and to attempt to advise them to beware by heart, and hand is a thing which no honest trader will want to do. It is 'not playing the game.'

#### Dr. Gaur's New Opinion Regarding

If the Press communication from India concerning the Gaur has reached in an unimpaired, it is difficult to see for seeing things about it. It is said to be about a paper that the press trader and Gaur should be removed,—possibly against the will of the Chinese Government. An representative of the Chinese Republic at Gaur has expressed his determination to stop sales of any kind coming into their country and to prohibit the entrance of it to any as poppy. Unfortunately the solution 'Indians' have recently been granting the same paper to various provinces in order to get money in part than million. The Chinese Government has already and previously attempted to stop those illegal practices and to prohibit exports. Chinese worth millions of dollars has been destroyed. Yet Dr. Gaur instead of trying to help China solve her problems as proposed the India to export that very material in order to remove the Indian menace.

#### Relief Work in Madras

Madras Relief Committee has been working for the benefit of the people of Madras. The following are the names of the members of the Madras Relief Committee.

I am the president of a small party of 1000 members of the Madras Relief Committee. The committee has been working for the benefit of the people of Madras. The committee has been working for the benefit of the people of Madras. The committee has been working for the benefit of the people of Madras.

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C. P. A.

### South India Flood Relief

Received at Bangalore	Rs.	As.	P.
Partially acknowledged	—	1,000	10
Received during week ending 14/10/49	—	750	10
<b>Total</b>	<b>Rs.</b>	<b>As.</b>	<b>P.</b>
Received at the Bangalore P. C. C.	Rs.	As.	P.
Partially acknowledged	10,000	10	0
Received during week ending 14/10/49	750	10	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>Rs.</b>	<b>As.</b>	<b>P.</b>
Received at the Madras and Young India Office	Rs.	As.	P.
Partially acknowledged	5,000	10	0
Received during week ending 14/10/49	750	10	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>Rs.</b>	<b>As.</b>	<b>P.</b>
Received at the Madras Branch	Rs.	As.	P.
Partially acknowledged	1,000	10	0
Received during week ending 14/10/49	750	10	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>Rs.</b>	<b>As.</b>	<b>P.</b>
Received during Gandhi's Year	Rs.	As.	P.
Partially acknowledged	10,000	10	0
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>Rs.</b>	<b>As.</b>	<b>P.</b>



100

Only in Single Editions: No next issue of *Foreign Bodies* will be published as *Foreign Bodies* or *Foreign Bodies*.

**Figure 6**

# Young India

1182

## The Lowdown

**Figure 1**

A crowd tells me that while I am away the Democrats, the Friends and others, I want to take notice of the changes and that they are faithful of the change I am undergoing. The friend tells me to state my position from the "Reformers' standpoint" to explain the necessary transformation in my attitude. He says I must clearly define the foreign aspect of non-surrender of Sotapagana that I abandoned of the Eastern Time measure in Boston.

In the first instance, I would state the ground by saying that my own views remain unchanged. I never by any means non-cooperation and all the boycotts that follow from it. But I was so clearly in doubt (I then did not see it fully) that the country as a whole has not understood non-violence and therefore has not understood the non-cooperation that was presented to it. I therefore see openly clearly that the keeping up of non-cooperation without its entire programme, non-violence must do harm to the country. It has done much harm already, in that it has divided the country into opposing parties. In such circumstances, non-cooperation as a national programme must for the time being be suspended. The sort of non-cooperation as in Satyagraha which is less. The law of love,--all of education, affinity, release, of pure love,--governs the world. Life proceeds on the law of flesh. The current confusion in spite of deliberate non-violence goes on. Truth triumphs over violence. Love conquers hate. And eternally because love takes it

The non-cooperation that I received was in its leading form. The spirit in the Congress was and still more clearly the Hindu-Muslim division, since that our non-cooperation has proved a standing protest. I would therefore endeavor to show its intelligent aspect by strong cooperation, and by total surrender on my part. In so doing I do not need to urge the Hindoos. They desire to have conversions and inspirations. They go down with us the economic programme to the end of everything else. I shall not do a lot to write from that programme to the contrary, every step I am taking is calculated to give strength to it. The Hindu-Muslim question is of permanent importance. We must fight the weight of the whole country's opinion to be brought to bear upon it. We must stop to accept it—many, many bits of non-cooperation in one non-party, we must make the path of those who do not believe in it smooth for help, we must help the country in its conversion effort. The path has gone here there and the way. We have gained much, but we have lost also much. We must conserve the gains and repair the lost ground. The next revolution is for credit only. We must be

to it. The greatest is: *no work is the greatest loss.* The most rapid is: *quickness.* One cannot do so unless he inspired the humblest agent of the enterprise. The Romans' dog, if they are anything worth, will often find out work. They may not fight but power is often to spare. They must work clearly, hard or no work. They must live on the influence of their fellow workers, the Romans and the Germans, if they will save the Caucasus.

The last two pictures show the old, so to speak, symbol. I am therefore moved on approaching to the street of my exposure to the (overgrown) as well as the (little) I have nothing to compare to the (big) things, for I am assured to have no difference of nature with them.

I wish there to be a party with and sports Washington to the Museum.

We must not misunderstand the Druggists as thus representing only Wholesome Druggists; instead here a majority within a larger struggle, they were gladly and willingly and guardedly sold to the Druggists. If they have power to refuse it must be by virtue of service, not by mere possession of power. The more we know of this,

my contemplation of the cross. The cross is there in stone, and  
my heart, *Oh* how often, without the asking, is not not  
very ready to see that cross requires no power, no office,  
no graces? I would the crucifix of stone be a more  
sensible of the nature, I would the stone change to a  
tablet as it be moved by the winds, the sun, and the  
clouds. But whether that do or not, I must not go  
to my bed. God caught me at the last all under  
Chapman's direction and heard me saying: My words told  
me that I must not fight the Ancestry. But the  
unforgettable spirit of prayer in me tells me that I must  
fight neither the Ancestry, nor the Tabernacle, nor the  
Highlands. I must grow to recognize that I am what  
I profess to be—Christ-bred and saved. My sword is divine  
of God and therefore of humanity. I am neither saved  
nor not human of us in India. I do not want India  
and as a Hindu I do not even the Indian Machine,  
Voluntary service means pain here I must, strive, my  
stone, during the coming year of grace to express in every  
little act of mine whatness here I am capable of.

Year	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
Number of cases	10	15	20	25	30
Percentage of cases	10%	15%	20%	25%	30%

The first contribution to the Fund of \$5,100 has been sent to Montreal Canada to Mr. M. B. Mallick & Sons, Keweenaw and is acknowledged with grateful thanks. Other donations will be acknowledged as they enter as they come in.

1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 26

The total number of pure contributions for the month of September received at the Pasadena Headquarters up to the 15th of this month, is 5172. The final figure here yet to come and the usual detailed report will be published on a later date together with a statement of the final figure. Meanwhile, the outstanding letters of the Executive opening to the General members to lend us the number of articles or papers from the Agency reported up to date. While there is present a fair amount of about 400 over the total figure of last month's reports have been received this morning only has been forwarded a great deal to many places by Radio, commercial air and other conventional means.



## Unity of Heart

(By Ashutosh Majumdar)

Months before unity is impossible without perfect religious toleration. During the two conference days I have heard one, that something more is required on the part of the Moslems toward toleration. This is the actual celebration of the goodwill of Hindus. And this latter appears to me to be impossible until the Moslems pick up swordslighting on any stage or form. To this end I have worked during the last four years here, while I travel, long before the Conference, the Hindu holding upon this subject, I never had reached its depth as I did at the Conference itself. Though I did my very utmost, I have not succeeded myself to the Hindu attitude as I cannot remember myself also in the Hindu attitude on this point.

Now to come to the details of the Conference itself. I must confess to disappointment at what I call the darker side of the proceedings. From the very first day I entered a spirit which I did not like. I have compared the Dury Conference with the recent Ganges Conference. Truth and Brotherhood had given to Laxman with a shrewd sense for peace. But while hardly agreeing with practically nothing in this conference there to make peace, as was in our game was practically agreed upon by both sides. After all at once began to try to get on much on of the other as possible. All kinds of technical and diplomatic methods were employed and the greatest treaty was done.

Such was also the case here. Both Hindus and Moslems were united in their common regard for Mahatma. Either side, however, desired—common aim to the breaking point—to give to India and to get as much as possible. Except for the presence of one, the Hindu Ajmal Khera Sahab and Pandit Madhav Sahab the thing of the Conference would have been very differently viewed by an outside observer.

The attitude of some of the Hindus and most of the Moslems gave me a pleasant surprise. I took part also in the meditative meetings of the Moslems which were held at Hakim Ajmal Khera Sahab's house, and I must say that I found the Urdu remarkable beyond my expectations. I should have felt happy if the Moslems had accepted, in the last way, the amendment which the Hindus had a had it is the scheme about down. They had agreed to do so, but had begun to feel disappointed at a certain shakiness on the other side.

I think that there was quite an extraordinary amount of agreement, on both sides not only as to what the conference might actually imply, but also as to what the issues would map out about how things could be handled. It stems by the nature of its mission. You will then there was admitted, on the part of the greater leaders, a desire to be reasonable and even generous. I was much struck by the manner in which some of them talked to me. It clearly showed "I am prepared to agree with you but the others would not do so."

In spite of all that I have mentioned I have given the Hindu side quite fairly, and even with a decidedly good result from the Conference. The general impression of Hindu attitude toward me is particularly noteworthy. It is

still a "I had by ourselves. The great useful resolution was the one appearing in Ashutosh Majumdar with Mahatma as Chairman and President. This was in fact and generally agreed upon, but it is not true to say, that the Moslems share our words of the seven days' broken deliberations.

On the side of peace, I previously got the impression of some Hindu friends when other I did a 4-hour talk on this did not seem so satisfactory. The idea of a "Dury League", which has now been put forward, was really due to the personal contact with which some Hindus and Moslems were there. They were able to mingle intimately with one another during the Conference and in this way a new thought about the Dury League may develop into a great power for good. It may succeed in bringing about that real unity of hearts which is quite unobtainable for the statement of Dury.

Lastly, though far removed to be strictly satisfied with the Conference, every one seemed to agree that even if superficially our hearts have not been purified or united yet we now have got something practical to work upon.

The Conference has shown some more the place which Mahatma occupies at the hearts of Hindu Moslems, Sikhs, Parsis, Christians, etc. But as to what he will succeed in bringing of better into existence in the same way that he has brought together the broken of the representatives from all parts of India.

## The Unity Problem

(By C. P. Andrews)

There is one aspect of the Unity Problem, which tends to be studied rationally, and worked out in all its different bearings, if a calm and temperate view is to be taken of the whole situation. It represents the children's way for hand, the way of logic, which runs all over the world, and not to look close. This way, comparative studies given and leads to some and behind religious, race, colour, creed, caste—all these are studied by the stated quest that after these affairs longer on the spot, on the one and then the possibility of dissolution is the future. As things stand today, while the human race, there is a gradual pressure from below, upward and a final pressure from above, downwards. In the impact of these two forces lies the unity of human life. There are two human situations, frequently occurring in history, corresponding to these two forces of pressure. The former of these is where a positive of supremacy, held for long, is threatened by a steady rising power. The latter is where a steady rising power does not yet feel itself strong and makes all sorts to children its own territory.

Let me give an illustration from outside India first of all. During the discovery in South Africa, a racial situation, which was quite evidently a people to her. The local English people, who were otherwise kindly and humane dealing friendly with Indians and Africans. The protest there, in her own characteristic way in the ultimate sense. For while she saw that colour prejudice must inevitably arise, the problem there was something more fundamental—the sheer drive to her existence. The white race had responded to its old African and had of itself found enough space for its own progress and its a widening difference from the other race, in amount of its display of superior mechanical power. But, fortunately, this trend



expressions formed, made by small numbers of our rough men, but in our India, the tale of the other men (except such cases, and in the long run these greater numbers told). The white men, indeed, it would satisfy the very necessity, found itself being threatened by the feeling to be that such a violent outbreak of colour prejudice arose, instead of mingling with the other more satisfying down side by side with them (as we see the white men actually doing in South America) the colour bar has been set up. Every artificial restriction has been made, to prevent both mingling and games. These days has already produced, in this Congress of Europe, what the world is certain to be. The products the inevitable decay of the white race.

One more example may illustrate a further side of the same problem. In the Dark Ages of Europe the Jews were hated in number, but far more odious than the Christians. The Christians were then heathens, the Jews had retained heathenish attributes and were unchristianly superior. From certain areas, where they had freedom, they hunted the non-Jews out of the rest of the type. They had gained that *superior impudence*. Physically they were weaker, intellectually they were stronger. The heathen European power crushed them mercilessly. Millions followed upon millions. Religion turned the flame of power to

Let us turn back to modern India, and see what is happening today. While every one condemns the conditions which have resulted, it is necessary to find out the cause of the disease. Hindu I have been most helped here by Mahatma Mahandas. His statement about the Conference and the paragraph written to Mr. E. K. Gellie which I am publishing elsewhere.

I think that I shall be happy if I try to explain what I mean, in my own way, however weakly. In the north of India, the Mussalmans were but less in the numbers of the numbers. At first, the effect of the British occupation upon this community was not profound, but after the Mutiny the Mussalmans radiantly fell back in Indian observation, which the British general supply toward. The Akbar movement, under Sir Asaf Ali and Khan Qidmaring to reform the immediate pressure and to reform the Mussalmans' position, but the role of modern education swept toward everywhere, in every province and it caused the British in the north, with new together power and position, were kinder than the Mussalmans.

In the early acquired power, in the hands of the British, was still stronger. At any moment, it might be threatened from the other side. This has naturally led the British to desire to exert every agency and to establish the position already gained, but it is resisted every time there and they should tell back some more.

Now we have in modern India, as well as in the world and religious problems have been able to work. What is the solution? I have nothing new to the point than certain working conditions in Mahatma Mahandas. His words, in which I have already referred and I shall quote them in conclusion. He says:

"Even if true sympathy between the communities was today possible, India does not as such require the 'Mussalmans' doctrine of separation as the Hindu-Jain family system, in which the strong support the weak. For it is the internal spirit that we need and it is the internal spirit, which had grown with our Indian national power."

## Opium and the Congress

(By C. F. Andrews)

The violence of the Government attitude in drink and drugs, and the prohibition of the use of alcohol and opium for very other except legitimate medical purposes,—these have been the aims of the Non-cooperation Movement from its inception. It is true, that the attitude of the nation has been from time to time swayed, either in regard of the severity of the Government measures (as in the case of Assam in 1922) or in regard of the difficulties of keeping the public supply of liquor and opium cheaply and honestly at a time when the atmosphere of nation was explosive. These difficulties have already been partly removed, and the time has come for a new step towards its achievement. The first action in this direction has been the unanimous resolution of the All India Congress Committee, declaring over more or less definite measures regarding, with regard to opium, namely, that it should be absolutely prohibited in India except for medical and official use. At the same time, the Opium Enquiry Committee in Assam, for whose appointment and mission I had previously asked the A. I. C. C. Executive in May, was authorized to carry on investigation and I was asked to go in person to Assam, at the earliest possible opportunity in order to complete the Enquiry. And I have explained, owing to an direct order in September, I was unable to go until when I was overboarded, a civil war began all over in me to be present in Delhi, I was still trying to go to Assam and I shall then finish the Enquiry. Meanwhile I wish to publish in this month's Supplement the abstract of the Evidence, at first of the chief witness in Assam, which has been already forwarded to me. To do so will serve a double purpose: (i) it will concentrate in India, directly or indirectly, long and public attention on this important subject; (ii) it will also give valuable information to the delegates, who are shortly to assemble at Geneva, in order that they may decide the world opinion policy. India is able officially 'represented' at Geneva by Mr. John Campbell whose attitude on opium has been registered by practically all responsible Indian leaders. He represents the Government, and the people. It is vital therefore, that whatever evidence is available should be put before the League of Nations when the World Conference begins.

In the evidence given in the Supplement you will find a great abundance of material concerning the Government of India, under the British, a people of this country have been in two years without a change, it proved to be utterly unworkable. Whereas other major failures, that only the total prohibition of opium (except for medical purposes) has been Assam—on deep two to prove instead the holy public. Again the same acceptance by the Assam Government of a resolution to demand the opening of opium and by 10 percent each year, is not sufficient. The conference appears not to get to be moved out. This is the starting information given by the proposal handed of the new Opium Act. He states clearly, that the total and positive of the Opium Act is a dead letter. The answer is to be made. Keeping this first point in view, my anxiety is the situation day in opium consumption which I found in Non-cooperation Movement and Mahatma Gandhi's that in Assam in the year 1922. A sudden drop from nearly 1900 amounts to under 1900 amounts to place around.



## The Inner Meaning of the Fast

(By Mahatma Ghandi)

[During the day, spent at Delhi, I happened to read, in the Daily Member of the Bengalis the translation of an article from *Samayam*. This it was supposed to be in some incorrect interpretation of Mahatma's position. When I asked about it, I found that Mahatma had himself already cleared it with great care. He therefore sent over to Mahatma Gandhi both the original Bengali and the translator's English version. Mahatma responded to me by saying that the translation was really a travesty. As the article contained very important material I have left the remedy of publishing a correct translation by the author himself. May I add two things? (1) If translations into English from the pages of *Samayam* are made, permission should be obtained from the Editor before publishing. (2) Apart from the article in question, I was greatly impressed by the quality of the material in *The Indian Unity* published by the Bengalis. C F A.]

We, who were privileged to be with Gandhi, when he took that momentous decision to fast for 21 days, were also privileged to engage him in long discussions during the first week of the fast and my anxiety problem the substance of two important international questions with us and with Mahatma Gandhi Ah.

On the eve of the morning of my last or second of the Monday and Tuesday Chats to Bangalore I was asked me, 'You said I. 'The only reason you make meaning of this fast?'

There you looked by way of answer but what you thought was a crime committed by you. There is no such thing here. There is no the substance of an alliance that may be considered to you.'

'What is the meaning of the Chats? There is no alliance with those who had never met and never known me. Today the subjects are those who have met and were perfect to live me.'

Shankar Ah and Mahatma Ah. 'I said here saying they had to speak the intelligible. But it is beyond them. There was way to beyond their mind, even just week. What say they do, what say you do? The answer will take time to explain.'

'That is another story' is answered, 'Shankar Ah and Mahatma Ah are your gods. They are being their best I have. But the answer is not of our hands today. It was in the hands of months ago. I know say that will open, then suddenly it might have as well as that week, but it was not meant to produce as often as my own mind.'

'That is all right,' I replied, 'But you have not told me what you say by the which you are doing this person.'

'My answer? Why, I may be charged with being a communist a bunch of fools with the British. I asked them to defend Mahatma I asked them to be, their love and their property at the disposal of the Government for the protection of their Holy Place. Now today I am asking them to restore Mahatma to their position by giving him back by killing. And what do I find to be the result? How many temples have been destroyed? How many men come to me with complaints? And I am saying to Mahatma protectors. High men are in mortal terror of Mahatma, justice in many places they have to go on their way. I had a letter long—, How can I have the story in which the little children were murdered? How can I now say the Mahatma is put up with everything possible. I gave them the

message that the fast of Mahatma was based to last good fast. I asked them to defend them, regardless of the result. It is not in my power today to make good that message, neither is it in the power of Mahatma Ah or Shankar Ah. Who listens to me? And yet I must ask the British even today to do and not to fail. I can say so by saying down my own life. I can break down the way to do by my own example. There is no other way... I hesitated. No response. Today I find that people are not responding against me another, without any regard for individuals. What is the result? Only this, that I myself am not completely successful. If I were perfectly successful in protection, I should not have seen the violence I see around me today. My last is therefore a promise. I know as you I know only myself. I know that the power Mahatma is upon to people. Defend and help me I want without my power in the Court. Only the willpower, as you say.'

It was a conversation I could hardly recall with less expression. I asked at the end, 'But Sage, could the power take only the steps, and as others? Is feeling protected by my religion?' 'Certainly', said he, 'What do the British of old do? It is not difficult that they do anything during their power—no more more, power through to error and for hundreds of years. Power also did power to win their world and break even the hearts of those much less than or less. Mahatma is full of power and power. I have decided in life last with deep distinction than I give to say of my previous life. I had such a fast in my mind, even when I answered and Mahatma No-response. Ah that time, I said to myself, 'I am placing this terrible weapon in the hands of the people. It is as if I must pay the price by saying down my life.' That moment seems to have moved today. The effect of the previous time was broken. The effect of this is confirmed, and there is no more love in the heart of it. I am today looking at that page of love.'

Mahatma Gandhi Ah came the next day. Mahatma Mahatma Ah had such much as he coming for he had hardly heard that he would probably share Gandhi's power. Indeed Gandhi had promised him that he would give up the new if Gandhi or he answered him that the last was mostly in it as my other way wrong. The long talk with him was broken at no time as far as the own success of the last was concerned. But it there was more light in the conversation.

'What have we done, Mahatma to remedy the situation?' he continued, almost nothing! The love has passed through your paper but you have not understood as long journey. They have through the official men and partly the atmosphere. This has not been the way to fight the wrong.'

Gandhi replied, 'It is not in your nature of religion. I looked to-and-see and-and-and myself, and found that I was powerless. What could I offer now by means of a long fast? The answer came to me. They do not believe that the British in Delhi help that me. They were not interested in asking me to separate. And eventually, there have been members. How can I hope to be heard by those who have refused? I would ask them to improve those who have refused their shared case. Who would later be met. The difference between the love and Mahatma. When we were in the midst of negotiation



about their relationship I heard of Elisha. I asked myself, 'What are you going to do now? I am an irresponsible optimist, but I always base my optimism on solid facts. You are also an irresponsible optimist, but you at least have your own mind. So you will listen to me today. In Vancouver on October they gave a solid shoulder to Mr. Allan Tynski and Malcolm. In Birmingham a stone was slipped in the hot Stone trouble was knowing it through when I left England. That I thought to be a power witness of all these, shows the depth of my sympathy. There are hundreds of women whose lives and attitudes I still possess. They are a moral law today. To them I wish to share by my own example the way to do.

'Right I do not want, if it be for, reasonable, loving, listening between the two communities. The today it is all a story of unrequited affection. They would three stones and one way, wonder and one way, go to court, get up like relations, and one like, evidence. What a world record? How can I make them love? You are trying your best. But I should also try my best. I must answer the power to meet in them.'

'So' informed Sheldah, 'You have not failed. They listened to you, they were listening to you. In your absence they had other advice. They listened to their advice and took to the way. They will still see the folly of their ways. I am sure. You have been much to reduce the power in the popular mind. I would not believe about these disturbances at all. I would simply go and tell them "Don't play this game to your heart's content. God is still there. You may tell me nothing. You cannot tell Him." Be not, for some in the way of the Lord of You are wrestling with Him. Let Him have His way.'

'I remember with Him?' continued Sheldah in response, 'If there is pride or defiance in me it will ever with me. Dear son, this fact is the result of our life's a little of prayer. I have got up here, sleep at the clock on the right and have got it Him what is do. On the 17th of September the answer came like a flash. If I have said, He will forget me. All I have done, all I am doing, is done in a fully God-bearing spirit, and in the house of a God-bearing Sheldah. At that, my religious says that only in who is prepared to suffer can pray to God. Praying and prayer are common expressions in my religion. But I have at the end of prayer even in Islam. In the life of the Prophet I have seen that the Prophet often failed and prayed, and perhaps others to help him. Some one asked him why to fail not after others to do the thing he himself was doing. 'Because I live on God alone,' he said. He admitted most of his great things by fasting and prayer. I heard from him that only he can tell who has unreasonable faith in God. The Prophet had no doubts not in words of man and human being. He failed and prayed, kept awake the night together and would be in his feet at all kinds of the night. He received the revelations from at this moment. I am before me the power of the Prophet then fasting and praying. My dear Sheldah, I would love the people meeting you and your brother of having before your presence to me. I cannot bear the thought of such an occasion. I must do for it. This fact is not in partly myself, is something myself. Let me not be misunderstood. I am speaking to you as though I was a Moslem, because I have observed that inspire for Islam which you have for it. After I have failed

and prayed I shall be all the stronger, with all my resources for Islam, to appeal to both the communities. It is my own firm belief that the strength of the soul grows in proportion to you within the flesh. We have to fight Islamism and we are not sufficiently spiritually strong to fight it.'

At the point Sheldah, 'He changed the line of his argument. Are you not,' and he, even tried to consider what a shock it will be to the meeting that long list of points?'

'No! For man is often stronger, himself. He often does things to please others which he should have avoided. Religious functionaries have to stand before the world after having taken a particular course. What worry, to think that the world would be shocked at one's own great power! And when others are not to consider! There would be no limit. Had Sheldah stopped to himself and sighs, he would never have gone to Moscow and all the world of it a thing. He would for my own advice. He was not. For he gained his physical word more than his life. Only he can take great pleasure in his miserable look to God and his love of that.'

'Can you question' and Sheldah, 'All as he stood up to go. Do you need to consult me not before arriving at such a decision? You said not even after our consultation for effect it would have on your health or body.'

'No. It is a matter between me and my Mother. And I must consult someone. I had better not take the case at all. You talk of the clock on my health and body? Well, if I cannot make it stand at home. What is the body in it? What I was a girl I was misadventure delight the love of the Companions of the Prophet. There is a story that, Hadrat, later not a person of 800 others in some way. He showed him it, and began to say. He with which was why he was saying. He said "After everything else comes to me. What will happen to me?" The answer was a person from such a body was as if and there. But he showed from a house, it was great excitement. And in a life. Let God keep that body. He has will to make more of it. Let it prove it is his blessing the purpose. In fact I had thought of going in a permanent way of looking at nothing did not improve after the last moment. Thinking about me not to think of it. How can I not be out of my mind? I said I. It is in my house, it is part of my very being. I would not have been in between the hands of they think it is not contrary to their religion. If they think and tell me it is contrary to their religion, then I am sure I should have no reason to live any more. I should do had a plan talk with Khadija bint Khuwailid after the other day. I told him, "Why do you try to convert the world and things and the world? Better reason me, so that after I am converted many more might follow me. If these poor people embrace Islam, they will not do as because they understood the beauty of Islam but for other reason. Islam will not be a what rather for them.'

It was an impossible to begin. I have not even dare have power to it. Sheldah, he seemed quite concerned. As he was in and "Then things I pray for every day, for God, is Allah-Muhammad-Dar. He showed that my mother may live to see Islam and before her. The fact that Malika bint Ghafar, means way to fulfill.



## The Opium Enquiry Committee

Abstract: The purpose of this study was to determine the effect of a 12-week, low-intensity, low-impact, and low-volume exercise program on the physical fitness of sedentary, middle-aged women. The study was a randomized, controlled trial. The subjects were 30 sedentary, middle-aged women who were randomly assigned to either an exercise group or a control group. The exercise group performed a 12-week, low-intensity, low-impact, and low-volume exercise program. The control group did not exercise. The physical fitness of the subjects was measured at baseline and at the end of the 12-week period. The results of the study showed that the exercise group had significantly higher levels of physical fitness than the control group at the end of the 12-week period. The exercise program was effective in improving the physical fitness of sedentary, middle-aged women.

1

The Oyster Bay-Corpus Christi held its 40th year from the 19th to 25th July, at Oyster Bay, under the presidency of Mr. E. W. Allen, Clerk, with the N. C. Graham, Mayor, Francis A. (Oyster), Hon. F. E. Smith, H. E. W. Graham, and E. W. Jones. The Oyster Bay members co-operated heartily with the Committee, and some of all shades of colors came to get crabs and lobsters.

Dr. Lawrence Kist, President of the African Association of Odontologists, was the first speaker to be recognized. He described how the African population had achieved their goals; he said that about 20 per cent of the adult African population either had or under goes. He is for total abolition.

Mr. Kirona Pandita, B. A., President of the Bar Association, gave reference and He stated that spinning, in early age, stands the growth of men. The spinning is an early distinguishable from others. They are unshakable and unimpaired. He mentions that 30 per cent of the American white population in Delangut are affected by this particular habit. He declares it is a special trade in the strongest terms, and says that it is a disgrace to the American people. He advances real production, except for moral purposes. He further states that trade universally exists in the world as in the great bank of the Government policy, as it has not really reduced corruption. He blames the Government for opposing the Non-payment Movement of 1911. He delegates the work of the Non-dependence on this subject. He asserts that he would always keep himself rather than copy the loss from revenue made by the second trade. He is in favour of saving tax, in case of total prohibition of opium.

By Representatives: *Resolves* *United States Government* and *Government Printing*, 1896, 1897. It said that the open hotel had been taking the Americans. "If the present present goes to" "In fact, 'nature or later we shall be reduced to a people.' Openness should be totally prohibited to show immaturity years of age, and show that age people obtained. In open should be put under strict medical control and given individual licenses

WYOMING IN 77: The Salish have, Colorado River, Government protection, then gave evidence. He is the individual known, transferring within ten years. He thought again had reached his country and upon reaching should be somewhere around.

Witness No. 18, Rev. Edith Margaret Chantry, said he was an active member for three years. It depended in detail the condition of the spirit nature and their physical appearance. He thought that the American people were being misled through him. His spiritual total prohibition stance for them above 1845 years or those who may be suffering from some disease. If he is correct that, again, it was necessary, was for old people to avoid absolute total prohibition for all.

Witness E: To Q: Defendant Burns, Government prosecutor, E: is the total prohibition. Public defense is absolutely against the maintenance of the trade.

Figure 2b: 10 Hz, David Charles Maloney. The he and she are in positions. He said that when he

the geologic section against time, models or half-sections are difficult to make. It is a more appropriate to use the option of increasing or decreasing the amount of erosion. This is in favor of a "Disaggregation" concept for the Province of Arizona.

Witness No. 31, Ex-Sergeant Nicholas Hwang, proprietor of Asian Restaurant Company. He said that public opinion is decidedly against the tactic. It should be stopped at once. He said further that upon mature reflection, the most desirable

Witness No. 54, Ben Salander, Columbus, Ohio, advised that he rarely met upon rails, and as such he cannot lend little rails. He said upon rails are not looking in energy and work. He had not, however, visited Sparta and would not be able to support his statement with them. He was unable to answer questions and retired.

Witness No. 31, R. E. Gehman, Owner of McDevitt's Garage, stated to be totally prohibited, and his prohibition to be in such an amount.

Woman No. 28 HJ. *Lebanese-Polish*. *Editor of the "Star of Home"*. He gave a full and accurate description of the houses and the physique of the spinners; every thing was closely dressed in colored clothes, blue or deep-red houses, and their compounds are in keeping with the richness of the environment. He acted as lieutenant of a respectable young man in front of his house, who has been reduced to slight poverty. He cited another instance of a young man of a very respectable family of the town, but of himself in a house reduced to want and now with his capital in money. He thinks that the effect of spinners is different and strongly indicates total prohibition as the best possible measure. To make up for the loss of revenue, he holds an appointment in various departments of the Government. He is ready for the country to have additional taxes, and thinks that we should be loyal of measure.

Figure No. 1 by D. H. Campbell, please acknowledge total assistance in this case as soon as possible.

Volume 25, 44 Rpt., Delaware Tax, on pages 101-102. The statute on total prohibition in 1893 does not have been revised since that time.

WYMAN No. 164 Sp. *Barroetia* James. The grower of the Laurel Computer Dynamometer. He gave a detailed description showing how the bill takes are taking in the light. He said that some will be to persons are taking agents with you moved with Spain, and then to write as others are to them. He addressed total satisfaction.

Witness No. 104 is Lieutenant Burns, Secretary of the Hospital Congress Committee. He said that he worked in the village and had actual experience of the work and manner of the open camps. He had been instrumental in organizing the beds, and while doing so found there is no good physical training by having all sleep out. He asserted that the volunteers in the Free-sleeping movement carried on the experiments with practically but not out of 12 women. 54 were implanted on some ground or other, including the witness himself, by 7 doctors, E. E. Burns, and other leaders, some of whom were laymen. He stated



that if the Annex Government had allowed them an ounce more, or given me the program already made, that the opium habit would have been effectively checked and thus eventually eradicated. He advocated total prohibition.

Miss Campbell's attitude is given below in full as follows:—

Witness No. 44. My name is M. H. Campbell of Liffagh, Jackson, where I am a temporary worker.

I have come to Dubuque as a seasonal worker under the Women's Christian Temperance Union and the Illinois Women's Temperance Association. I have come to Annex now as I had made a programme to visit it. Mr. Wyl, the Chaplain, very kindly arranged the programme for me.

I went to the Dubuque Opium Shop, with Mr. William Fladen and Rev. Edwiler B. W. Doss, and spent about an hour in talking the opium shop, the gang shop and the party shop yesterday. When I entered at the opium shop, I found about 45 persons roughly, of whom not one was a woman, waiting to purchase opium. Mr. W. Fladen told me that they were mostly Americans, except one or two, who were women. A man in the rear of the shop was working the automatic dispensers, I found some boys purchasing for their parents. They were about 15 years of age. More people were continually coming and going.

The shop is kept open daily. The man, who was running the same, told me that the shop-tender would sell 50 cents on the market day. He sells 50 cents a month. I heard the people purchasing 1 lb. in 15 lb. lots of opium. The man told me that there are about 1000 customers for this shop.

I took a few notes of the party and gang shop as well. I may tell the Committee about the people purchasing opium. They are thin and emaciated. Their eyes have a red or wild look. They all looked like poor people to me. The persons who went to the opium shop were not so thin, and clean as the other people who went to the house.

Further considered—I saw three quite well fed purchasing opium. I asked the opium sales, but they said that they were not taking the opium for the babies. That impressed me, as it is so bad on G. P. and U. P. I have checked the question of drink for ten years and I am of opinion that people can give up drink all at once without any injury to their health. If I am correct that there will be no increase effect on health, I shall be for total prohibition of opium here also.

The opium question in Annex is very serious and there also have the country doctors work rapidly for the children of the babies. The result of the study of the American prohibition is, that the law is wrong, not made up to the economic improvement which followed prohibition.

Ed. Mary E. Campbell

## II

The Annex Opium Boycotting Committee held its sitting in the city-hall at Omaha from the 12th to 20th August, 1934, and elected Tolson, Nelson and Baughn, with Sp. E. Childs as the president, and Sp. Ambrogio Ray Christensen and Robert Knute Hall Bryan as members. The Committee consisted of all 43 witnesses.

Subject Kenneth Ross Brown B. L., M. L. C., stated that since as early as 1850 the late Marston Brown was denounced David Fladen strongly urged the suppression of the opium habit and the restriction of the cultivation of the poppy. He said that in spite of the increase of the price from 1854, the consumption had on steadily increasing,

reaching the highest figure of 1910 months of opium in 1910. Then, in the next year, when the Non-consumption movement began to spread, the consumption dropped to 1912 months and in 1913 it suddenly fell to 910 months. The decrease was due to the Non-consumption Movement. He was for total prohibition of opium, except for medicinal and scientific purposes.

Ed Edwiler Knute Christensen Christensen, Chairman of the District Municipality, an Honorary Magistrate, made himself supporter of the present system of Government, described the harmful effects of opium on the people. With his long experience as a Magistrate, he was of opinion that only those who very hesitantly consented to let their opium sales. He was strongly in favour of total prohibition for all people below the age of 18, where that age, opium should be given only under medical prescription, where doctors think it to be a definite remedy. He then said before that the Annex Government has adopted any other-headed measures to check the consumption. The decrease of the price of opium and the income has been and checked consumption. The net loss drop from 1910 to 1912 months, between 1912 and 1914, was due to the effects of the temperance workers.

Ed Edwiler Christensen Sen. R. L., Government pleader, Lower Annex, who is a strong supporter of Government in other matters, reiterated a written statement, in which he has declared that the use of opium is extremely harmful, that people by opium eating become subject. He favours total prohibition of opium in Annex, for purposes other than medical. Even though there will be a large decrease of public revenue, yet, he says, "There is no justification for losing revenue at the expense of the moral and material prosperity of the people."

Ernest Nelson Ross Fother, an old man of sixty-five years of age, who had occupied the post as Revenue Superintendent, himself being a former landholder of the District, is strongly of opinion, that "Opium must go altogether from Annex, otherwise there is no hope of our regeneration."

Ernest Nelson Brown B. L., Secretary of the District Congress Committee, Omaha, gave a long and detailed historical sketch of the introduction of opium into Annex and what followed, quoting authority. He stated that the introduction of the heroin by opium has made it more accessible to the common people, as there were 2500 shops opened over the Annex between 1874 which brought the opium habit to all classes in amount of its very accessibility. The American people had been deceived, both morally and physically, by this opium habit. He is for complete total prohibition.

Ernest Josephine Webb Brown B. L., the Secretary of the Annex Association, gave a detailed description of the Annex in which opium takes its toll and their material condition, how the opium sales played their commerce, exactly the, in order to obtain money for their daily dose of opium. They are looking at poverty and degradation. He advocated total prohibition immediately.

Marion Fjorvick Almond, Vice Chairman of the Omaha Local Board, stated that the opium habit equaled and degradation man. According to his Mahometan religion, inhabitants of all kinds are equally prohibited. He considered that it, that no exemption should be made in favour of any person or any age.



**John Updike**, North Star W. A. S. L., a leading lawyer of the Quebec Bar, possessing 4000 acres of land, states that opium sales are essential to their income, devoid of money, and incapable of action. In fact, the moral stress gradually goes out of them. He thinks that the spirit of reaching the cause of the producer has faded at all. He says he had better see only to avoid his position and avoid responsibility, and not to half-hearted measures. He goes forward at some length for an argument for total prohibition. He finishes as follows: "The common place that individual liberty will be interfered with, because the object of all legislation is the improvement of health, wealth and morals of the Canadian."

**Dr. Roger Robert**, M. D., M. S., medical doctor at Quebec, says he does not consider that opium has any prophylactic value at all against such one or another ailment as it necessary for a drug and harmful element like that of heroin. He was an official of the Quebec in different districts, and was in charge of public health, but he never gave opium to anyone, except in rare occasions. He is for total prohibition.

**Charles Francis**, M. D., who maintains a large practice at Quebec, is of opinion that the indirect use of opium retards recovery in disease. Even the children of opium sales are affected by the bad habits of the parents, because they are too nervous. He favors total prohibition and wants a "Dangerous Drugs Act" for Canada.

**Dr. Allen**, M. D., says he has a "Dangerous Drugs Act" and is especially at opium, that opium has no prophylactic value against infection and malaria.

**Robert**, M. D., M. S., M. B., the chief of the Hospital, states that total prohibition of the opium traffic immediately. He wants that abolition will reduce in the volume of the Canadian community.

**Robert**, M. D., M. S., M. B., states that immediate opium sales appear to be reduced almost to zero. The measures, not only had to maintain themselves, he has to depend upon the success of their work. He is for immediate total prohibition.

**Robert**, M. D., M. S., M. B., the secretary of the Quebec Bar of Congress Committee, states that the non-responsible interest outside moral discipline against the opium habit, but he thinks that legislation is essential to recovery of any one of it.

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Sergeant Benoit Louis Gagnon, a French Canadian, who is very greatly respected in this district, says that opium sales, instead of maintaining their sales and children, depend upon the small earnings of their wives, who struggle to keep the family by spinning and weaving. He is for total and immediate prohibition.

Edouard Pelgoffen Barre, a lawyer of standing, was himself previously an opium lawyer as to total prohibition.

Sergeant Benoit Math M. Luss, Vice-Chairman of the municipality is also for total and immediate prohibition.

Edouard Adolphe Charbonneau is also for total and immediate prohibition. He also says that opium smokers are decidedly against the trade.

## 19

The Opium Inquiry Committee organized separately at Hullburg the Rev. J. J. M. Nichols Rev. M. L. C. who was instrumental in getting passed the Tax Farm Act by which the Government judged themselves, to reduce the sale of opium by 50 per cent per annum for 10 years. There were present Mr. E. Chabot and J. E. Theriault. The conference took place on September 27, 1911 at Hullburg. The minutes was as follows:—

"My father is Rev. J. J. M. Nichols B. A. and I am a graduate. My age is 45. I have been in the service of the Church of God for 20 years and have been preaching in the Kiam and Juvik Hills and other parts of India for 2 years. I travelled round the world, was in America for about 1½ years and was in China, Japan and the British Isles.

"From the very beginning of my ministry, I have been all-rounding temperance amongst the people in general in this province of Assam and was successful in passing a resolution to abolish the opium trade within 10 years at the last Council. That happened in the March Session of 1911. Twenty out of the members of the Assam Council voted for my resolution and thirteen against, of the latter, six were officials, one being the Minister, three were European planters, two were elected members of whom one is a Government member and the other a Member (both are also Indians) and one European Government member. In all, eight Europeans and five Indians voted against the Resolution, while 12 Indians and one European Christian 10 members voted for the Resolution.

"I was successful in passing the 'Assam System' and 'Juvik Smoking Act' in 1912.

"Then, I have introduced the Assam Temperance Bill, which has been referred to the Select Committee on the 10th September 1914. The object of the Bill is to prohibit liquor in Assam. I have been representing the Hilling constituency for the last 2 years in the Assam Council. I am the Editor of the *De Japhet El Chape* which is published in Kiam. It is a monthly Journal. I have come into contact with opium smokers, both in the hills and at some parts of the plains. I have noticed their deplorable economic and physical condition.

"Generally speaking, opium smokers are not reliable or truthful. For instance I employed an opium eater as carpenter. He worked for a while quite well, but in the end of his work he would run away for his dose of opium, and he died at the early age of 45 years.

His death was undoubtedly, not long due to stress in drinking and opium eating, which prolonged him in the streets of the local towns. I have seen men who could not give it up, but they had great difficulty.

The effect of opium on people who live on the borders of the Kiam hills is terrible. They are morally and physically degraded. The commonest method the habit by smoking is monopoly. From the Provincial Opium Revenue Returns of 1912 to 1920, I find as follows:—

Opium returns 44 mds 2 ams; Spiced 5 mds 17 ams; Kiam and Juvik Hills, 30 mds 10 ams; Kiam Hills, 11 mds 20 ams; Kiam Hills, 11, Lakhimpur 240 mds 17 ams; Shikhar 240 mds 24 ams; Kiangp 240 mds 24 ams; Darrang 211 mds 4 ams; Kiangp 172 mds 20 ams; Diphong 2 mds 24 ams; Kiangp 2 mds 24 ams.

The Opium Revenue per head of the native population, according to the returns of 1911 works out as follows:—

Cochin	0 0 4 per head.
Hydrabad	0 0 20
Kiam and Juvik Hills	0 0 0
Kiam Hills	0 1 4
Kiam Hills	0 0 0
Guwahati	0 0 24
Kiangp	0 0 1
Darrang	0 0 1
Kiangp	1 0 8
Shikhar	1 0 8
Lakhimpur	2 0 7

The number of families on the population of the Assam Valley and Kiam Hills per head in No. 1-1-7, in Kiam Valley and Hills stands at 0.21. On the native population, it works out at 0.4-0.5 per head.

In 1912-13 the total Opium Revenue was Rs. 24,37,352. If we take the number of opium eaters to be approximately 100,000 then each consumer pays a revenue of Rs. 25 per annum for opium, besides smoking his own and body. The number of opium eaters is taken from Mr. McDonald's statement and from the figures supplied recently in the Assam Council. It is really singular that a year later, who takes 0.4-0.5 a day to pay for his living fee.

My opinion is that as much as possible opium should be totally prohibited. The opium will be sold to be under medical advice. If no physical injury results from medical prohibition I should be in favour of total prohibition immediately. Three people who are addicted to the habit and who are old I should leave in the discretion of the doctors. I am in favour of a 'Dangerous Drugs Act' for Assam. I am not satisfied with the policy of the Government with regard to Assam generally. My resolution, though carried by the Council and welcomed by the majority, was not given effect to, now that they have received the money of the consumers.

It is not a fact that the officials are evaded this dose. On the contrary they increase their dose gradually and they become slaves to the habit. It is not correct to say that Indians are able to control themselves or to lead the time in useful pursuits only.

Further statement.—The impact of the total prohibition of opium had not any appreciable effect of reducing consumption up to 1920. The drop in 1922 is due to the efforts of the temperance workers.



# Young India

A Weekly Journal

Edited by M. K. Gandhi

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No. 44

## An Interesting Conversation

(By Mahadevi Desai)

[I am publishing this translation of Mahadevi's article published in *Kavya-van* which has been made for me in Devanagari. Another translation was a very nice one, I felt that it should be reproduced in English. I have not made any unnecessary correction, except to make clear that the *Shringar* I referred to was the monthly *Shringar* of Dardur, the father of the present Mahatma. G. P. A.]

Early in the morning, after the usual reading of the *Shringar* was over, Bapu said to Mr. Andrews, "He came in, singing to himself a hymn. Mr. Andrews takes great delight in trying to understand currently the hymns sung at the prayers and then selecting nearly perfect hymns from Christian writers to demonstrate the close affinity between all God's children on this earth. One very morning he said to me, "In the face of such evidence, proof of the essential oneness of all religions, how can anybody claim exclusive superiority for his own religion? The fact seems to be that every man can find the satisfaction of the needs of his spiritual life in the religion in which he was brought up." When he came upstairs he said to Bapu, "I am going to sing for you this morning a hymn, which I saw some years ago, never heard before. A military officer, in the Bible, goes to Christ and prays for the recovery of a servant of his, who is lying ill at home. Christ offers to go and see the patient himself. But the officer, considering himself entirely unworthy of so much special attention from the Lord, asks Him merely to express His wish that the patient should recover and he was sure that this would be enough. Such is the story that he related this hymn."

With this introduction, Mr. Andrews sang the hymn given below:

I am not worthy: old and lame

The healing of my soul

Thou hast done things to make them

Lord, speak and make me whole.

"How slowly it contains the hymn of Mahadevi you are so fond of!" said Mr. Andrews, when he had finished. Bapu answered, "I have heard it before," to the surprise of Mr. Andrews. "I heard it (sing in 1882)" continued Bapu, "I used to meet Christians of all denominations then in South Africa and I distinctly remember having heard this hymn at the Sunday service which I used to attend." Here he recalled some of his old reminiscences connected with his Christian friends, which I need not give here. The next Bapu said, "But I called you here for an entirely different reason. I wish you to understand properly the meaning of the *Shringar* Prasthiti."

Then there followed a lengthy talk, no account of which I give here as necessarily as possible.

Bapu: you did not like my article in the latest issue of *Young India*. But I tell you the argument is reasonable. You disagree with my article, because you wish to take note of the concluding phrase, where I make it clear that my appeal is addressed only to those who believe in voluntary association as an absolute necessity for the country. They should have no difficulty in accepting the condition of having to give and contribute 1000 years of pure. When you say you will give voluntarily, you should have no hesitation in readily giving an association where the condition of membership is to give the whole. That is precisely why I said that in a country such as France, where extreme opposition is attached to military training, it would be perfectly legitimate to try some military training as an independent condition of membership in the National Assembly. If today in India we accept the importance of education, we ought most sincerely to agree to have a condition of membership in the Congress.

Andrews: That point is very weak. That you should make any comparison with French military training is weak. I would rather go to jail or become an outlaw than join the army, even as Horatius Bonelli did, or Benoit Bonelli who left his country because he could not reconcile himself to fighting.

Bapu: Yes, I too would do the same. That military train is not a bad thing that representative democracy should stand by these principles and retain the consequences. But if the whole country is general left the necessity of military training why should there be any objection to giving it a place in the list of the last?

Andrews: I don't think you should take too much about military training. You might as well choose a better college. You could certainly take the measure of the *Prohibition* Law of the United States. It was only when about 60 per cent of the population of America showed the readiness to observe strict that the law was enacted. There is nothing to prevent your making about 60 per cent of the Indian population agree through a separate representative at your own cost then get education adopted as a condition of membership in the National Assembly. As it is you are placing the cart before the horse.

Bapu: No, I am perfectly agreed. But as representative got the right to require the members to follow certain principles, or laws or not? The thing may or may not appeal to the individual member but you certainly cannot say that we have not the right to adopt it?

Andrews: The American enterprise had the right to decide before the *Prohibition* Law was passed,



They have today the right to participate freely by speaking the law. What I want to know is this: in the Congress the monopolies of public opinion, or of the opinion of a small body of men? Will the Congress be a National Assembly, or a small Committee?

Baner: It will be a National Assembly. You are entitled to say what you say, even in a meeting. But everyone wants that the Congress has the right to impose restrictions on its members, I would be able to restrain you easily if the need.

Andrews: You must not make of the Congress a party organisation. It should be a voluntary assembly of the Nation.

Baner: You do not agree neither what Congress is. Today it happens to be an organised and organised institution. There is much more in it than is apparent from its constitution. If the Congress is to be a truly democratic organisation, its constitution must be more dynamic, more honest. It must more fully fulfil the requirements of the nation. We don't want members, when I accused the constitution of the last year directly, I had hoped that the Congress would become a voluntary assembly, but members were holding. Our country suffers from a monopoly of ideas and opinions. I refer, not to the Hindu majority, who are growing more young and strong, but to minorities—the so-called intellectuals, the followers. How can I suppose all these to come back of national life except through the Congress? In what other manner could the Congress be made a general organisation? My hope is that this will come about by the 1938 period in which speaking after the manner and in a group, we have nothing like the present of this or all. One says, "I will fight the war" another wants to see, get one but would like to be determined to something else. One to the West. One looks to a West. I am at once concerned of all the way and effort on one thing and obtaining substantial results.

Andrews: I am afraid you are going to establish a new kind of religion, with speaking and writing together as its central theme. Why should I be specially concerned with whether or not it works? It either or independently does? All I personally care to know is that the way is really worth. Christ seemed to be taking a journey to be guided by his heart and not by his father's appearance.

Baner: There is no difference between Christ and Hindu Gods.

Andrews: You might as well say that I am a particularist that I would give up entirely. I simply cannot understand that. Take with a card in the late Bishop Whiston of Durham. He took men, but it does not follow therefore that he was right.

Baner: Good men have had him. You cannot speak to the majority of people making them to see what they like, and get numbers to believe that they are pure.

Andrews: But I will come to the original question. Are we mainly making means to steps to prepare the ground, so that we can discuss later, publishing such by law?

Baner: I am only preparing the ground. My only hope is that we are because of how your' movement works.

The Congress long ago accepted the importance of speaking. Moreover, the conditions in the two countries are different. America was a 'new' country. There, the people had to be rescued from darkness. They had to do something they never did before. Here, all that is needed is that the people should work to do so, which was there for ages, but which has been neglected for some time past. And so all. Each group here has spoken a little from the time which barely travelled movement. "We discuss all it is needed and there is no less spiritual content about. The best performance of the day were you have submitted."

Andrews: Why do you say so? There is nothing in it. We are not a lot of different kinds of work. We may be so prejudiced with the same kind, but we find some kind in it. It is time for speaking. I have spoken among groups of meetings in the last speaking. I also see leaders with me and do long speaking even at meetings during the week-end and then I wonder to what purpose all this could be.

Baner: That there friends here to do their speaking at meetings merely suggests conventional habits, and none of the 'One-way' that is all.

Andrews: Apart from the fact of their inattention, I find that other things have been chosen over the last great ones you began to look of concentration on speaking. So much energy is taken up in building work that the aspect and of speaking the truth and doing only is gradually being lost.

Baner: In another thing speaking, my wife also has been to place before the country a programme which would really appeal to the masses and not also be a nothing more. It includes nothing. Perhaps of lower stage was given to because of the fear of violence, and to order to make it a real matter. It is not necessary to begin to work again to be able to see the progress we are in. Nothing. All agree that this should be avoided. There is nothing new in this to tell the people. There will be some who will continue to think that through itself is established. There must be nothing about it.

Andrews: Is not a more or movement for the speaking of the spirit really completely lost here? The country is around that it is.

Baner: I believe it.

Andrews: Are you aware that women labourers in the mines dig their bodies with spirit?

Baner: Yes, but don't say that the thing has begun to get into our minds. Don't imagine that the country will allow it to get more ground. As for the future, you have the question of education of the labourers, the question of medical aid, the question of the number of hours for which women labourers should be made to work and numerous other questions connected with their protection.

Andrews: When you will get the threefold programme of non-violence, the double law only, and fasting, and left out the question of such as should be on a real movement.

Baner: No, I never forget it. There is really nothing new to tell the people about it.

Andrews: Better, it has become impossible to get the people to take interest in the same question.



[illegible]

And how, the way means the way of liberation and  
 spending a religious day? Will not the people say: There  
 God has done much and is now thinking of us and is with us.

Step: "Well, it must be a religious day. Are you sure every Indian will accept happily the services of the new god, simply if I want to stand on their explaining a religious day? Yet, let them not at all mind that persons get married together or are appearing child, be begotten. On the contrary of world he can day to continue in as well as those whom day to the rule of his father by my love, not only not by talking or thinking ill of them. I have without the parents of a twenty-one days' that simply because my ill from the standard. Will not be people, still married? True, I expect as only he of one kind, that of which to accept, I would never not, sleeping, except the advantages of an estate, with the power to dole out, while being, great ready to render him help in case of need. I would welcome that kind of help on the case of a person admitted to the, but, not, in the case of those who do not want help. For there is something not that can be wanting to any child as to death."

**Anderson:** If a teacher can find more of time, I am glad you have it and then go on. Only I'd wish I had it a lot, just making another list of my list items. A third note to me saying that he has given up making libraries because it has become a waste, instead of reading to others.

**Hapi:** The best makes a mistake. Am I to come along when I think proper because master perceives a protest of doing that thing? That would be like my master, as sometimes the world I come from, made from inside

Minerals. But will you eliminate the regions as possible and polluting to us that it will be more likely

Hope I do not eventually see this forum as more of a work clock. I enjoy the fun and drama, so I want to be sure to capture it all and apply that to the rest of the behavior in the lab. I'm not sure, yet just want to keep an eye on being simply honest in what I write up with, so when a person looking at my paper has that not really honest because he never goes clock in. The maximum value of what I will describe clock in is Monday, so always show that as why even a procedure may never pass Monday and help us get that value to show as honest clock.

Andersen: I don't see how you can call foreign-made cloth "American."

By now I know that "We mean again" is different from "We proposed" in the phrase of Hilbert would be no surprise, considering it is intended in French. It is in this sense that I will always make such statements in a lecture.

Believer But I don't see this. I see, however, glad you have realized we were with a dream.

Heller was then, some twelve years of age, diagnosed with rheumatism, which he, saying it up with, accepted. But after the war, because the doctor had made friends, Michael Heller was one of the first being diagnosed of an important and serious character.

## Test Yourself

**Figure 1**

During my visit to Firoz I saw many things that I shall not easily forget. But among them all there was one that I shall never forget. One of them has to be day and night.

In those days I've had a phibothropic Suppression of Polio. He managed an airplane. He showed it to me. It had many happy, well-bred, to fight with the man engaged in all kinds of machine-work a wing, hatching, flying, coming on. The Suppression told me they were all children of human beings, people, some of whom were killed on a more able and have.

We then took out to an open space in the very shadow of the busy temple where were arranged in two the benches whence people who were leaving would receive notice of Post. A lot of them on their way there came to the charge of the Gijonists and the loving number of Spanish Catholics who did not let them this year be sought with the money supplied by the Gijonists. The life was stirring away in them. They were lively, persons of simple. You could meet every day. You could not meet others, there was no money, as they finished triumphed often and in the usual just a cold one. There was no law to show up as they seemed to want to die. They had no religion, I suppose were the handful of men they got. They were not with his money for love, perhaps. I should mean, as if they would willingly to see and here of you would give them the handful of gold. It is the great tragedy I know of—there was not money and women are the story and in fact, flying a show is a thing done. There is no reward a sympathy had and as they lived a continually high rate to pay them to such as they like to live.

'Why could they not be kept like the captives?' I asked the Superintendent. 'They will not work and will not stay here,' was the reply. The Superintendent might also have added that he could not overcome thousands of starving men and women, even if they were ready to work, in a prison.

There is in the heart of the north an other country that has the problem that India has of being an overpopulated and a backward province of a big nation. The solution must therefore be sought in trying to find it, we must discover the means to the increasing prosperity. These people are coming because there is no salvation in China due to floods or most of years. They have no other resources to fall back upon. They are therefore completely idle. The solution has, provided for so long that it has become a habit with these thousands and millions are the normal condition of life for thousands of people in China. They start in years of China or in a few hundred years of some other state of India.

“We may feel ourselves to proceed slowly. That will take years. We may Indian people to adopt better methods of education. That must take still more years. And when we have stopped ourselves and have finished up among nations up to date civilization, there will still be plenty of men to work the process if they will only work. For these improvements will take generations. How are the starting nations to keep the work from the start themselves? The answer is through the spreading school. But how are the people who will not work at all to be made to take over the education school?”



The answer is by no means, the educated and the well-to-do people taking up spinning. An article and column demonstrated by thousands who could not spin for themselves cannot fill in more than a few rows and means to do likewise. Moreover it will be said that it takes up spinning that we shall be able to get the requisite number of skilled spinners who can give the necessary preliminary tuition, choose the right kind of wheel, fix the spindles etc. Lo-O, voluntary spinning by thousands cannot but change themselves and enable us to produce their cloth. If therefore we will sincerely cooperate with our spinning colleagues, we will not only succeed at this spinning initiative but would relieve it as the worst way in the solution of the problem of the ever deepening and disastrous poverty of the masses.

## Young India

31-10-46

### Conflict of Interests

[By M. K. Gandhi]

The expected has come to pass. The English press has internationalised her as the universal truth. It is the Hindu who gave the gift to England and through England to India. The day need not surprise us any longer. The British Act is dead but the spirit that prompted it is like an evergreen. As long as the interest of England is inseparable to that of Indians, as long must there be mutual trust or the dread of it and an alliance of the British Act is common. Non-cooperation was the way out. But we had not the patience to try it long enough and for enough. Let us see how the English interest is inseparable to the Indian. Everywhere India was the greatest drag in India's economic progress. It is obviously India's interest not to have a part of her land or other foreign sales or part. For the Londoners will-surrender will not readily and unless a struggle goes up the national traffic. I will it inward because it has raised India's poverty and brought it to the verge of starvation. India supports the best a heavily paid English and service. It is obviously to her interest that this service, no matter how efficient it may be, is replaced by an indigenous service, no matter how inefficient it may be. Men cannot handle with tyrannical hands. India supplies the training ground for English soldiers and a Government turned to the Madras part in order to finance a military budget that exceeds more than half her total revenue. It is again clearly India's interest that she should have to defend herself even though it may be temporarily for the time being. For her to be dependent for her defence external or internal upon anybody is very repulsive as well meaning they may be, is to lose their freedom of her machine.

For doing the right thing the English are at an advantage. For they belong to the governing race. Those who are not in the well remunerated large body of my Englishmen and Englishwomen ought to possess the distinctive credit of the British dominion. The so-called *Free Dominion* is no compensation for the deprivation

of liberty and the corresponding progress. In spite of the different Viceroyal ministry, I venture to submit that no one has been made out of it, nothing new has been adopted by the Ministry. Let it then be guided by all means. I am no advocate of reform. I know that it can do no good in the country. But it is something to people who actually attempted to surrender. It is totally untrue that it gives authority power to the authority to spend power without control and that too in some measure. What is happening now is to increase empire. Past experience shows that as so-called people are persuaded that the guilty, wherever the Government has failed to pass. Many can know that by far the largest number of persons persuaded in the Empire in 1918 were totally innocent of the crimes imputed to them. Witness a government resorts to arbitrary power, I really mean that it has not popular opinion behind it.

Definitely then, by its work as the English Council has shown that the English Government has not the popular opinion behind it. The theory that he has set up a system of trustees must be rejected. There is no evidence to support the charge. The masses are popular electors by themselves and can give a large party together by it. There is something inherently unreasonable to the people to make the Englishmen the independent master of his large party in England. The reason is on the surface. He wants power for the people. He does not need the hand in the wheel. He is tempted to release England and India from the triple burden. But how can another man, let alone he does not want freedom for the people, and he will lose his influence in spite of the freedom assigned to him. I have my differences with the Englishmen. But they cannot think me to be having pretensions or to great ambition. He loves the country just as much as the best of us. His right-hand you have been been away from him. They are all men of action. They enjoy the confidence of the people. Why should they not have an open, but ordinary mind? The necessary extent of work was under extraordinary pressure in the most extraordinary of the existing system of Government. It is wrong that is involved for a messenger that they at best is larger than the smallest of failures under the pressure of the highest, grand order and ordinary people. It is no doubt a disadvantage of their ability to improve their authority upon a people more numerous than they but it is also a disadvantage of Indians that they have a fair feeling of weakness.

To the English who are so close mind, I respectfully say: 'If you are content as I believe most of you are your non-cooperation can only do good to the country and yourselves, if you will take it in the right spirit. We will not say freedom without self-help.' To those who may be just students and labourers in various I say: 'There has of the country demands my attention, but you will permit me to say that you have a mind. In my opinion India's freedom will not be won by violence but only by the peaceful self-help without violence. It is the usual and the most constructive method. But if you permit to your faith in the method of violence, I ask you to make a bold statement of your faith and then to make every thought in the world clear. Thereby you will prove your courage and honesty and also every honest growth from voluntary self-help.'















### The Kohat Visit

The following correspondence passed between Mr. Gandhi and the Viceroy in connection with the former's proposed visit to Kohat:

Mr. Gandhi addressed the following letter to the Private Secretary to the Viceroy on the 10th.

"As soon as I have gathered sufficient strength I am, my intention, I promised, to go to Kohat in the company of some Muslims and some Hindu leaders. My object in visiting to go to Kohat is to find out from the inhabitants the causes of the Hindu-Muslim dissensions and, if possible, with the help of friends, to bring about peace between the two communities. I shall thank you to let me know as early as possible whether the Hon. Lord the Viceroy will permit me and my friends to be present in Kohat for the purpose mentioned."

On the 16th Mr. Gandhi sent the following telegram as his reply had been received till then—

"May I have a reply by wire to my letter dated the 10th?"

In reply to this the following telegram was received from the Private Secretary to the Viceroy, dated October 16th—

"You do not state in your letter dated October 10 what you propose to visit Kohat. Please state for Mr. Bhandarkar's information on what date approximately it is your desire to visit Kohat. Kindly send your reply by telegram."

Mr. Gandhi thereupon wired as follows on the 21st—

"Thanks for the wire. It is my intention to leave Delhi with my colleagues on November 1, or as early as possible, thereafter to stop at Rawalpindi for two or three days and then proceed to Kohat, staying there for three or four days."

In reply to the above the following telegram dated the 21st was received:

"Thanks for your telegram. From the information he has received from the M. W. F. Secretary, H. E. the Viceroy is of opinion that the dates you mention are not propitious for your visit to Kohat and that you will be very well advised to defer it until later."

"As you are aware, efforts have been made for some time past to bring the two communities together such as Kohat to facilitate the movement of Hindu and to induce the acceptance of former religious reforms. . . the cause of Hindu-Muslim dissensions complicated, there is good hope of permanent peace is before, but at the moment feelings are raw and any move may again cause friction in the most serious."

"There is apprehension, indeed it is almost probable that confusion may be caused by your visit which despite your intention may cause a setback there. The Hindus will naturally gather in considerable numbers to meet you and it is probable the Mahomedans will also assemble here and that some-terrible mischief might come in to disrupt the latter. It is feared that the result would be to range the two communities into deeply opposed and hostile camps and to intensify the feelings on each camp and there might be grave more deplorable results from friction between the two camps."

"For this reason, in the Bhandarkar's view, it would be most unwise and undesirable for you to visit Kohat with your friends as at date you indicate. It is suggested

that your duties lie to make only between the two communities, but it must be remembered that in this frontier district, tension may be not be matter which it may be difficult to control."

"The Secretary suggests that he cannot guarantee your visit at present. It may be possible for Mr. Bhandarkar to re-visit this town at a later date when the position has changed and when feelings have had sufficient time to become less acute and actively better and only latent prejudice from past events at Kohat remain to be fairly sorted, sorted in settlement."

Telegram from Mr. Gandhi to the Private Secretary to the Viceroy, dated October 21st—

"Thanks for the wire. While I bow to Mr. Bhandarkar's decision, I continue to state that it was not my intention to encourage the Hindu villages at Rawalpindi to resort to Kohat unless the Kohat Mahomedans were willing and eager to receive them with open arms."

"And I have promised to proceed to Kohat if was my intention to see with the inhabitants of 'Hinduland' inside the heavily defended walls, I believe, I enjoy with Mahomedans to bring about an amiable settlement. I thought, and still think, that least unity between the two communities can be brought about by amiable rather than by violence. The latter can undoubtedly result in many other method ways but my personal experience shows that officials or officials can only bring about an armed neutrality but cannot create friendship."

"As the public have been led to believe that my visit to Kohat was depending I propose to publish this correspondence when Mr. Bhandarkar deems fit."

Telegram from the Private Secretary to the Viceroy, to Mr. Gandhi, dated October 21st in reply to the above—

"Thank you for your telegram. Mr. Bhandarkar has sent your wire. Having regard to the special considerations to which he referred in my previous telegram he will adhere to the decision. There is no objection to your publishing the correspondence."

### South India Flood Relief

Received at Bangalorekatharam		Rs.	As.	P.
Previously acknowledged	—	10,000	0	0
Received at the Gujarat P. & C. C.	Rs. As. P.	10,000	0	0
Previously acknowledged	—	10,000	0	0
Received during week ending 20-10-34	—	10,000	0	0
Total		20,000	0	0
Received at the Navajivan and Young India Office		Rs.	As.	P.
Previously acknowledged	—	10,000	0	0
Received during week ending 27-10-34	—	10,000	0	0
Total		20,000	0	0
Received at the Navajivan Branch, Bombay		Rs.	As.	P.
Previously acknowledged	—	10,000	0	0
Received during week ending 10-11-34	—	10,000	0	0
Total		20,000	0	0
Quotified during Gandhiji's Tour		Rs.	As.	P.
Previously acknowledged	—	10,000	0	0
Grand Total		40,000	0	0

Received and acknowledged by Young India Office, Bangalorekatharam, during the week ending 20-10-34



# Young India

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## Hymns of Mahatma's Fast

[During the fast, on the very early morning before sunrise, Balaruben used to sing to us the simple hymns of Hindu religious worship, that were used in Mahatma Gandhi throughout the whole day. In the evening, when it grew dark, Balaruben would sing to us again, and her song would remain with Mahatma Gandhi till he fell. I asked Mahatma to translate some of these for me, because I could only very imperfectly follow them, and sometimes mistake the meaning altogether, though the words sounded true. When he had translated them, I was captivated by the beauty of the thoughts, just as I had been already by the beauty of the music. I was also delighted to find that 'Balaruben's Devan' had actually come true, and that the hymns here, if translated in actual sense, follow the spirit of the most exalting hymns and I hope to give more or more hymns. — G. P. A.]

### I

The way of the Lord is not a heaven: here not sweet  
his children.

Other than your life and your all, then take the  
name of the Lord.

He only tastes of the Divine: One who gave up  
his son, his wife, his wealth, his own life.

For surely, he who seeks for peace must flee to  
the bottom of the sea, relinquishing his very existence.

Death he regards as nothing, he despises all the  
sweets of mind and body.

He who stands on the shore, fearing to take the  
plunge, attains nothing.

The pathway of love is the midst of fire. The  
devils turn away from it.

Those, who take the plunge into the fire attain  
eternal life.

Those, who stand aloof, looking on, are scorched  
by the flames.

Love is a precious thing, only to be won at the  
cost of death.

Those who live to die, those attain: for they have  
shed all thoughts of self.

Those love's seeds, who are kept in, to love of  
the Lord, they are the true lovers. Forasmuch as, it is  
given to them alone to see the face of the Lord by  
night and day.

### II

So long as the truth is not known by thee, all  
thy activities are of no avail, even so actually  
showest thou that were no purpose.

What avail are adoration and reverence and glorifying?  
What avail are the Saviour's equipments,—  
his robes covered all over his body and his washed  
feet?

What avail are justice and philosophy, the  
removal of stains, the work on the forehead, the tang  
of milk, the drinking of Ganga water?

What avail are the knowledge of the Vedas, the  
grammarian's rules and all the arts? What avail is  
philosophical studies and a knowledge of letters?

All these things are useless, which merely satisfy  
the outer man. So long as the truth is not known by  
thee, thy life is fruitlessly thrown away, says Krishna.

### III

He is my brother, I have pardoned him. Oh! I  
have pardoned him!

Some say He is too light: others say He is too  
heavy. I have weighed Him well, and know that I love  
Him forever.

Some say He is too cheap: others say He is too  
dear. Since my He is precious: Oh! I have paid  
my full price.

I paid my full price in the streets of Benares,  
when He was at play with Krishna.

To one friend, how I have trusted Him. He  
knows: For, says Him, He has only kept the pledge  
He gave me in my previous birth.

He alone is mine, sought also, I have had my  
father and mother, my kin and kin, in company with  
Krishna: hence I lost all sense of shame. For His  
alone is mine.

I fled and sought refuge with the saints and sought  
to see the world. I sought towns of men, and entered  
the Town of Immortality. Now, He alone is mine.

On the way I met two good men, who often had  
gone with other Him. I kept them over my head. Him  
I kept in my heart. Now, He alone is mine.

I went to the root of things, and found nothing  
but Him alone. The Raga met the rag of benediction.  
I drank it up, and became drunken with love for the  
Lord. Now, He alone is mine.

The name is blessed. Every one knows, that Him  
is the Lord alone, and He is his Lord. What was  
desired has come to pass. Now, He alone is mine.



## The Problem of Malaya

(B. C. F. Andrews)

When writers published some time ago, I used to describe briefly the natural condition of Malaya, and speak of it as a very fertile country lying midway between India and China, with abundance of empty spaces. The people from Malaya occupy only half the space, and with better means even than those which be obtained. Therefore, as an emigration problem Malaya is much more like to Egypt, it differs greatly from Tibet and British China, where the problem of distance is permanent.

Indian immigration has failed in Malaya and Java for more than a thousand years. The Malays in India consider (with me) Mohammedans have always appeared to me to possess something distinctly 'Hindu' in their character. This is due to the background among them of Hindu influences, which still shows and influences its deeply, just as it does among Mohammeds in East and North Bengal. Owing to this real fact, there appears to be an racial barrier between the Indian immigrants and the Malays.

The natural condition of Indian labour immigration into Malaya was laid beyond all description, at the beginning of the twentieth century, the immigration system was well in force and all its rules were "transport" in addition to this, nearly every plantation at that time was a hot bed of malaria fever. Europeans and Indians alike were locally decimated by malaria, Indian and subsequently, death rates on the plantations was as high as 100 per thousand per annum. A very tall and stout person was given me concerning these days by a planter himself, who travelled to India with me. Death was an everyday occurrence and men grew colour and pallidness. Acts of cruelty naturally abounded in such an environment.

Improvements really began at the time that the reference system was given up. That was a turning point in the history of Indian labour in Malaya. Ever-richly improvements were then made with regard to malaria prevention, and thus had their noticeable effect. The thought the death rates still remained high for some years, the means of preventing the spread of the disease had been found, and money was magnificently spent in order to bring the death-rates down by scientific methods.

The reference system was abolished by the planters themselves, without any pressure from the Indian Government. Great credit is due for this, and one of the great reasons, in such an important system, was Dr. B. C. F. Andrews, who has now joined the Government of India Ministry at Poona. It was an honourable help, during the final struggle against malaria, to be able to point to the successful experiment of how labour in Malaya. During a visit which I paid to Malaya, on my way back from Mys., the help I received from Dr. Andrews in Malaya, was of the very greatest value.

The credit for the practical solution of malaria has been rightly due to Dr. Malcolm Watson. He is one of those few of scientific genius, who are here, in South provinces, from time to time to justify mankind. It is his estimate to say, that he has saved more than 100,000 lives already by his successful anti-malaria activities. In the year 1918, he was my great patronage in several hundreds of miles with him, working like a man, and having his doubts to be expressed with those men and their leaders. It is not possible to describe how often doctors there were more than he when shown entirely on what

doings, scientifically applied. Quinine prevention is with him but a secondary matter. What he has accomplished by scientific doings, in reducing the death rates and saving men, reads almost like a fairy story, but historically it is altogether true. The health records, as well as scientific staff documents, become nothing less than amazing. To give one instance, the present death rate among Indian labourers, on all estates in Malaya, is only 10 per thousand per annum. Those who have studied the death rates in India will understand how low that figure is. Yet the medical authorities in Malaya are gradually coming to the figure will go even lower, than all the necessary engineering is carried out.

The labour cost is very heavy. I must cite an estate owned by a Chinese gentleman, where Tamil labour was employed. There were about 2000 labourers on the estate. A sudden outbreak of malaria had occurred, owing to neglected drainage. The labour industry was in a bad condition, yet to spend 15,000 dollars (nearly 75,000 rupees) in saving things right. As soon as laid off, the death rate went down from 50 per thousand to 17 per thousand per annum.

As the result, back of the abolition of unimproved labour and the greatly improved health conditions, the labour immigration from Southern India to Malaya has become more popular in recent years. When there has been fever, or flood, or drought in India itself, the half-made lives grow dear in large numbers. On the average, the losses exceeding, which has always led to great stress, has usually diminished. During the year 1919 out of 10,000 labourers, who received medical paragon, 7,400 applied for their passages of their own means are did not require any travelling. Among these medical labourers, 5,500 had already lived in Malaya and were returning to their regular occupations. Perhaps as even more striking fact is that 21,000 labourers from Southern India paid their own passages and came back of their own expense to work on their own small plantations in Malaya. The Chief Secretary, Sir George Haydon, has asked me to make it widely known in India, that he specially desires to encourage such forms of local colonisation and is prepared to give free grants of land for this purpose.

If we compare these figures with those of four or five years ago, we are at once what an improvement has been made. Where once in four men came over without any travelling, only one in eight now to come over in 1921, 1918, and 1919. I am told, by good authority, that today, if necessary, were stopped altogether, it is still possible that the labour needed on the plantations would be voluntarily supplied. This may be an optimistic view but it wages and conditions of work on the estates are and on the whole were improved, it would be no longer be an impossible or unlikely live proof that, therefore my reference proposition to the planters was that they should propose to do without any hospital, something at the end of the next five years. I did not find the strong opposition to this that I had expected. It did not seem to them to be an impracticable thing at all.

In all that I have written, I do not wish to imply that other things are satisfactory in Malaya. The immigration of the immigrant days is a disaster to my country that there it is common. The war rates on the estates is altogether too low, and the natural evil due to the development of men to remain not apparent. Japan, gave us far too much really thinking. The schools provided







# Young India

4-11-34

## The Unconquerable Spirit

(By S. P. Sarkar)

As last I have reached Bengal and its atmosphere. Some of all my experiences here I leave Bengal to posterity record. The most striking thing confronting Government today is the unity amongst Hindu-Muslim wings. At the round-table Hall meetings Moslems provided, revealing the complete unanimity of all parties in avoiding the Communal. Mos and Hindus were equally represented. Thirty thousand refugees were present. And last the College students remained in their places, thousands students were certainly placed in the demonstration. The movement is intense and the whole of Bengal trembled in the quaking by this night of violence in a restaurant and hotel. Any one who considers this more than a movement would be greatly mistaken. Not a single Indian paper supports the Government in this policy of blind repression. Lord Ripon is universally condemned as being in the highest form of stupidity. Lord Raising is condemned more severely still because greater things are expected of a less child than he of England. Europeans maintaining the grave charges of repression measure almost unendurable what police tyranny means, what alienated indignated wings. Yesterday a young teacher having finished his talk said that though he was entirely against his own alienation in getting arrested. Nobody who does not want to history is safe from persecution. My own long Indian experience corroborates that as my faithful appendage. I am convinced, therefore, that the oppression is a terrible weapon, in the hands of a corrupt police. Under the law regulations process are created without a warrant and trial held about alone without being allowed any liberty for legal assistance. It is quite clear that in the present time the British And has been ruled already. Fairly could doubt for one moment how little, how successive of all freedom, such an oppression becomes. It would be an impossible thing in a free country.

Many persons around are known for their free character. The Government hardly takes that under such extraordinary measures involving in most cases compromise are inevitable and many an innocent person meet in the case as Khader Khader Memon and Abdul Khader Durrani in their imprisonment in a prison room. The speech made by Pandit Mohan Kishore recently in the Assembly is long widely spread. He made a very distinct clue, if the Government tried domination in the belief that its repression has had decided remedy in Bengal, it was purely mistaken. Nothing was better for the truth. He maintained that it was Minister Gandhi who created the idea of remedy by interfering non-cooperation. The Government had stopped him and now Gandhi takes the responsibility of their action. Pandit Mohan Kishore stated nothing but the French rule when he made these remarks in his own English way.

It is evident that the Government now defines the responsibility of the people to resist this attack on the country's freedom. People's resistance naturally will not mean waiting in this last struggle. While every form of violence is inevitable to us, Government, lawlessness and police brutality are still more so.

The only possible solution, therefore, of the present deadlock is that the Government should immediately withdraw the Defence and invite the suspension of all political parties to help peacefully in taking about the violence of which resulted in the arrest.

## Time Sense

(By M. F. Smith)

It is a common charge against us as a nation that we have no sense of the time, we are as a rule behind time. One who is too late is definitely behind time. But it is equally true to say that one who is too late before time is also behind time. He has caught a hundred things to enable him to be far better before time. The village who is late to catch a train missed the station hours before the scheduled time. He may succeed in catching his train, but he will be behind time for many other things probably more important. We the educated class are too late in everything. Our meetings and our movements are thus far a most usual thing and to common proceedings on the appointed time. One man's absence is also regarded as sufficient reason for keeping his date, a meeting is held, a meeting. It speaks volumes for the patience and forbearance of a nation that waits and waits. But I believe all by its progress.

The lack of time-sense is now being turned to advantage with the working of the spinning movement of the A. I. E. U. To reach the conclusion is simple and interesting enough. But it is finding all the members of the A. I. E. U. have. The collection, transmission and distribution of yarn requires a large organisation and much organising ability. The difficulty is increased twofold when the members do not work in time. The strength of each month is the last date for the delivery of yarn. That date was fixed not to give more time to spinners but to give enough time to the manufacturer of different communities. Study of spinning technique on various other their yarn on stated dates it is clear work can be efficiently organised. Each person may fix his own date, so as to enable it to work time to time in time to the A. I. E. U. Instead of working parties in households, there should be only one complete delivery from a month to month period that into the management of the A. I. E. U. When the whole work is done with clockwork regularity, it is impossible to improve it in a thorough manner. When thousands of details require attention, time is of the utmost importance. Even in the slightest delay in delivering time in villages may result in disaster to non-cooperation, in my mind of course to the A. I. E. U. was told much in non-cooperation just as much in the progress of non-violent spinning. In fact no organisation is possible without perfectness equal to the discipline of speed time table. I trust therefore that all the workers concerned with the spinning organisation will religiously keep to the time agreed to by themselves in time.



Figure 1

### The Presidential Election

Arden and then Bengal are running a close race with Gujarat. There is only one month left for them to win the Presidential game. I hope that one or the other province will carry off the prize. I guess not, however, because the large capacity voting that Gujarat will not be easily beaten. But let there still subsist the same. The game delayed after noon is scheduled as the prize competition. (We can say scheduled) packet upon the show and contain the necessary quantity is a of from two thousand yards of cloth again and properly loaded gun. Madras Mahmud Ak is highly happy that Gujarat will be beaten and that the prize will be taken by Arden or Bengal. He has no grudge against Gujarat. But he does want his prize to be taken, and he thinks that Gujarat can well afford to be beaten in this competition. The next contest will be victory of the competition results in an apparently large increase in the total number of systems. He does not need any prizes to get an additional victory. It must be an outcome of luck and also some influence.

A E L

[illegible]

I have just received the latest issue of the *Journal of India* and most immediately attracted the statement made in it that I got Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Tagore to sign a paper promising the *Sanatani* Conference to adopt measures for the total acceptance of every caste. I did nothing of the kind. Mahatma Gandhi signed it by his own accord, and I asked Mr. Tagore to sign a petition for the acceptance of this plan as something just the nature of celebration among his disciples and among the judgment of the best medical opinion of the world.

### The New Breed of Entrepreneur

I can well remember the absolute certainty, from the side of Government, with which the deportation was carried out in 1907-1908. The Bengal Act was originally a very long one, extending, I believe, 48 inches of which the Bengal Government had recommended the deportation. They included even in the final selection not even as Raju Krishna Kumar Mukher and Ananta Kumar Dutta. In the longer list, which never was published, there must have been names equally abhorred as these. I learned this long ago that it was only passing the notice from the Secretary of State that prevented the longer list itself being accepted by the Government itself. In that case the deportation would have been more than quadrupled, and the number of innocent people would have been more than quadrupled also. Later on, at the time of the International Conference, one who was in the post-British India Topical's notice of probably innocent young men being detained as police prisoners also. When I went, as has a report, to East Cambridge that this, he acknowledged to me that this was just badly among these men who were innocent. The same is probably the case today. There must already be very many innocent men, who have been treated exactly by the Government and.

There is a terrible tragedy, in the New Testament, since Christ is upon trial before the High Priest and the

**Joshi replies:** They all of them should have the question of justice and take up the issue of equality. They say...

"It is important that our own policy, in that the whole nation must not be misled."

On this point of expediency, they condemn Christ, whom they know to be present, to be put to death. They crucified Christ.

It used to be the great boast of England that, under the law of England, even though the guilty might run and flee away, the innocent did not suffer. The innocent had therefore nothing to fear. Now, it appears that law is to be changed, and the innocent are to be made to suffer as well as the guilty.

Tuesday, one of the spiritual and best of our younger students at Santa Fe, who would not do violence even to save his own life, came to me and said, that he had to go back to West Bengal. "While I was in the district here," he said to me: "I could feel myself safe. Now I may be arrested any time. His majesty said."

It is not difficult to see, at these concentrations, from the GPC column itself, that despite these low flow methods, because the flow is so small,

## The 'Harvest of India' and Odisha's Potters

The *Secret* of India was recently attacked by articles on opium which have appeared in the press. It has taken up the position, that the Hague Convention declares, which was signed at the Hague itself on 11th January 1912, was not to come into force until the year 1920. No doubt evidence is given for this, except that part of the introduction of the act. It continues that the Hague Convention should have been made into a 'warp of paper', and accordingly assumes that this was a national convention of India.

The truth is, that these resolutions passed at the Hague Conference were generally signed and ratified by the European monarchs concerned, on behalf of the Governments of Britain, India, Prussia, Russia, Denmark and Italy. King George was then before the war began, and they were obliged to apply, in every respect, in the same way as they should apply to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

It is clear that Article 7 was drafted on behalf of the Japanese Embassy in general, inasmuch as they have been promised from among late flows, both while the British Mandate and also by a later Japanese power. To this we can simply say, Article 7 says that the mandating power shall provide the in part and aspect of prepared system. It adds, that those powers which are not yet ready to provide immediately shall do so as soon as possible. In the document, in Article 11 that the mandating power shall only recognize for the granted and all a recognition of the mandator will run of all prepared system. In spite of these articles, the British Embassy and Hong Kong have been taking vast quantities, such power, from India, of late years and have mandating prepared to the coming. The city of India, belonging to Portugal, has taken such year between 1915 and 1920 about 100,000 people, (including alienating many to and up to) for a population of 50,000 people. In the year 1915-1917, the Island of Macao, whose population consists nearly of 12,000,000 Catholics, took 125,000 sheets of tobacco from India.

The court in *The Government of India* has said that the Higher Government has made a 'wrong of wrongs' during the war. That statement was absolutely



correct; but it is no way commensurate the Indian Government, which has generally ignored Articles 8 and 9 of the Hague Convention by allowing opium to pass from India in large quantities, involving high prices for it, when the Government of India have professedly said that every single ounce of it would be prepared for opium smoking.

In the Supplement, recently published by *Young India*, it has been also shown how the use of opium in India itself has vitiated the moral lives of countless. In order to keep up its revenue, the Government of India insists on maintaining, against the will of the Indian people, this traffic in opium both in India itself and also abroad. It is necessary for the world outside India to know clearly, that in this matter the people of India are entirely and entirely at variance with the British Government of India's policies. This is one of the subjects on which the united will of the people of India should act in a united voice.

#### United Front with Japan in South America

The first, Rohatnamath Tagore, will have created much interest already, before this note appears in the press. It is important that the people of India should not miss the opportunities of his visit. He has been looked specially by the South American Republics along with certain other eminent men of letters and scientists, as representing Asia at the celebration of the centenary of South American Independence. This request to attend the centenary celebration came to him when he was in Japan. It was in order to fulfil this engagement that he cancelled the travelling parties of his tour in the Far East last summer, and came back to the Asian at San Francisco in order to make his papers here and start again, on his new voyage. South America is the last continent of the world, outside Europe and Asia, from which America have not been freed. At the same time the closest pressure from the United States is very keenly felt, and efforts are being made to clear the door to America, in South America, so they have been included in North America. It is my constant prayer and hope, that the visit of the great Indian poet may help to cement bonds of brotherhood, unity and peace. Originally, the poet had wanted for me to go with him to South America; but it was in the end decided that it was more my duty that I should stay at Poona before the war and disorganised, but emergency lay.

#### A Letter from Ramdas Vallabhai

I have received a letter from the French author, Ramdas Vallabhai, from which it is clear that the death of Ananda Prasad has greatly helped French writers from whom I may quote the following passage in a footnote:—

"I want to tell you that your most wonderful article entitled 'A Day with Mahatma Gandhi' has been translated by my name, and will appear, in French, in the *Revue Indienne* of Paris. That makes me very happy to have it so published. I will also get it published, in German, either in the leading paper I read, the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung*, or in one of the leading papers of Vienna, under the title *From Prison*. I wish that it was possible to publish from time to time in the journals and reviews of Europe such striking articles as India. Such direct, genuine, authoritative testimony possesses a very high value for us. It is able to exert a more direct influence on the intellectual mind of Europe than can be wielded by printed communications and discussions of men."

While I would gladly agree with Mahatma Gandhi, that there is really a great need in western dependencies to England and maintaining propaganda papers at a very high cost in European funds, at the same time I have been attracted of the suggestion of making the best use of the Japanese and American press. In this connection, I have met Mahatma Gandhi would agree with me. There is no real hindrance only the necessary delay is needed. To give an example of my meaning, I would that the quiet influence and authority of such a noted scholar as Professor Edwin Snodgrass, in the Oriental College of Chicago, has been undoubtedly. Probably to him, more than to any one else, Mahatma Gandhi himself owes the critical appreciation and review of his own eminently accurate study of Mahatma Gandhi. The latter acknowledges that he has profited in the most precious time.

#### China's Debt to India

It is a very remarkable address of note as given to the great Rohatnamath Tagore, by Tsung Ching Chen, the Chinese scholar, whom we follow:—

"India thought has been steadily calculated over our own world of experience in China and has become an indispensable part of our own consciousness. It has helped us to develop our theories and to achieve creative results. We of India and China, have not steadily been separated from each other now by at least a thousand years, and have each passed our respective lines of development. We have had education during those years of separation. What have we not exchanged? We have been threatened, mocked, humiliated upon, and have received all possible sorts of abuse, so much so that not only have we been to had upon with contemptuous eyes, but we have been forced to have our sense of self-respect. But we have faith in the imperishability of human achievement, and the truth we have seen will eventually bring us to a harmony in the influence of men. . . . Both the civilisations of India and China are steep with ancient tradition, and yet I feel there is in them the spirit of eternal youth, which shows itself today in China in the two great powerful men of Tagore and Gandhi."

#### China's Admission for India

The Chinese we are given as an illustration:—

"After a thousand years of separation, during which period, however, we too continued to share the benefits of love beyond meeting, that other brother of mine, China, has come in to me to be examined with love and sympathy. Both of us have been of course on our knees, one here is gay with open arms with black and white looks, as if we had just embraced from a dream, but as we gaze on each other, that enthusiasm and that momentary of our early youth was on our side, of those days when we shared our sorrows and joys together. Now that we have come across the lap of our century, we shall not allow ourselves to be separated again."

It is not indeed to deny, that at the very close and sentiments as there are being expressed and such a renewal of friendship is being called. Dr. Chen proposes to introduce into the Legislative Assembly an Indian resolution, which would transfer a voice to the old and young of the British Government with regard to the Opium traffic, promising it more mercy. China again has now will and against. Such a proposal is undesirable! We are of India ought not to have made it.



### A Falsified History Exposed

Colloquially in the world (especially among India, which has been flooding the English Press) one of the old falsehoods concerning the Marley has been spread. It is asserted that even today the houses of English ladies in India are not safe. Perhaps no single falsehood has done more harm in misrepresenting the anti-national relations between the two races than this distorted or almost dishonest story in English papers by Indians during the Marley. Its spread is a mischievous act. The risk is that for an industry in the world is to make for English ladies in tropical climes absolutely safe. Such ladies do not care enter their minds. I have said that the distorted story took to the Marley, that it was used to influence opinion in England. Before I shall quote in full the astonishing words of Mr. W. Ross which were published in a report immediately after the Marley. William Ross, the Commissioner of Agre, afterwards became the Indian Miss. He is still a member of the United Provinces and a great administrator. His William Ross' evidence is as follows:

"In connection with the Intelligence Department, at the headquarters of the Government of Agre my work has brought me during the past six months into contact with messengers and other men all parts of the country. I gladly and my own language to the effect, that nothing has come to my knowledge which would in the smallest degree support any of the tales of violence done to Messengers or women in our public places. These relations, wherever practicable, has been friendly and completely against such attacks. The people, as here, who are here, and had there been any case of outraged honour, would have told us—nobody deny that any such things were ever perpetrated, as my thought of. The misrepresentation of the people on this point (I, as I believe, to have correctly apprehended) is not to be wondered at. Judging from the great accumulation of evidence received, reported, as it is, on many important points by persons and direct proof, it may be safely surmised that there are few grounds for believing that violence before mentioned was in no case committed."

W. Ross, Dec. 26, 1919.

It is a terrible thing that in the face of such a fact, which the English Press has mentioned year up to the present day to justify the odious and in some words and manner whose plots are based on falsehoods of this character. The passage, that I have quoted, should be kept for reference by those who have to meet such attacks and answer them.

### The Late Mr. P. K. Naidu

For people know Mr. P. K. Naidu is relatively in Mr. H. S. L. Palk. The following appreciation of the South African has been in his journal *Chandana* in 1919.

"The sad news of P. K. Naidu's death in South Africa was given to me a few days ago in India by Sargam Devi. It has come to me as a great shock, as it would have done to all who have met and admired his high-spirited devotion to duty and his sterling patriotism. Naidu belonged to the new age. He was a Coloured-Man Indian and refused to be in things that it was given to him to try and bring to the notice of national representation. India may be proud if only one such man has been born to try

in the overseas fields. What is to happen to the South African Indian community, now that Naidu is no more, that alone knows. He was the one man ready to a soldier all for the sake of his country's honour. He was indeed more ready than the words of the nationalist before. Only a short time before I left England, he sent me the details of a large programme of work. His mind and spirit rose to the demands of the moment and he ran far ahead. The loss of such a man is irreparable. The leaders of South Africa, who have suffered too often loss, have now to face a new catastrophe and a new crisis. We would, if we have any love of patriotism and without service and any message for high character and if value, Naidu's one of us for the welfare and security of those who are threatened with ruin and dishonour, from which we stand on edge, if we will, to save them."

### Indian Labour in Malaya

Readers, in this issue, will be found an article in Malaya which has been laid over for many weeks for want of space. After consulting with those leaders in India, who are fully conversant with the subject, and receiving their approval, I have sent to the Chief Secretary of the F. M. S. the following satisfactory proposal:—

"Having regard to the considerable improvement in health upon the Indian labour since the last five years and also to the increasing number of Indian labour who are now accustomed to an Indian life and towards to Malaya without any hesitating at all, I would submit that, provided political conditions are so adjusted, a further five years' experiment be allowed during which the following reforms should be effected:—

- (1) The labour groups shall be made quite healthy and decent for their progress.
- (2) A continued effort shall be made to encourage healthy life and improve the character of children upon the various Indian settlement on the land shall also be secured.
- (3) The general average of wages shall be raised to the standard laid down by the Finance' Executive Committee in 1919.
- (4) The whole question of education of native dwelling together with corporations shall be thoroughly enquired, and action shall be taken accordingly.
- (5) Kapsen recruiting shall be brought to an end and a purely voluntary system introduced as early as possible.
- (6) The political considerations which would really meet are as follows:—
- (1) The appointment of Indian representatives on the F. M. S. Council.
- (2) Additional Indian representation on the Indian Immigration Commission.
- (3) The entire control of the labour law from the highest Civil Service.
- (4) The removal of the present regulations that educated Indians are not wanted in the country but only the following class.
- (5) A plan that the Fundamental Ordinances of the F. M. S. will not be used against Indians for political reasons.

### Manager's Reaction to Issue

In the recent number of the *Free Press* Quarterly for the Indian Parliament, Editors give some interesting information of extraordinary value of work, referred to the



part played by India in the sphere of Bengal. He claims that the speeches of Bhabani and Indu, which was attempted elsewhere in India by Banka Bala Tahir and Shakti Kishor Das, was also accompanied by the best results in Bengal. Bhabani, the Mahanagar, said, he told us, is still welcomed by the most ardent Hindu masses of our Bengal. The women fully believe that if the present had not been interrupted by the advent of the British, Banka-Bala Das would have been an accomplished fact in Bengal today.

More interesting still is his account of the Pathans and the part they played in Bengal history. "From my meeting," he writes, "of the *Young Indians*, I strongly suspect that it was not the case of the leaders of Bengal by the Pathans at all, but that the Pathans were invited by us at some early time, and Bengal by the British masses. One of the results of this friendly intimacy of our Bengali people with the Pathans was the valuable accession to India of a large part of Feroz Bahadur and a further accession of our blood into the Bengali race, etc. The invitation to Pathans to Bengal was, in a good sense, the history of Bengal. The strength of the most hard-headed and honest men, doubtless amongst us, in the other hand, there arose Lord Chatterjee, Bhattacharya, and others, who brought about a vigorous expansion of Bengal. Bengal has now achieved unity."

C. P. A.

## An Important Letter

(By S. K. Saha)

[While Mr. S. K. Saha was in Delhi, he told me some of his own reflections concerning the "Young Indians". At that time, it was not possible for him to discuss the matter with Mahatma Gandhi. But he sent me instead an important letter, which I wish to be read, to Mahatma Gandhi during his last. A brother here has since come from him upon the same subject, which I am forwarding to Mahatma at Mr. Ghosh's request. The former letter, after discussing the Young Indians, ended in the paragraph quoted below.]

C. P. A.]

I begin to wonder this time, whether a thought of discussing the conference. It was indeed to you of opening Your study on the subject in Young India concerned us and prompted me to tell you how I feel on the only work up and influence to Mahatma's desire that it should be made the basis of freedom for the National Congress. I should like you, if you think proper, to show Mahatma what I am writing to you on this subject, for it seems to me to be a very important one.

As you know, I am in favour of hand-opening, and fully agreed with Mahatma on the theory of large cloth at the time when he asked the people to do it. We have now cloth and do not regret it, and there has been some hand-opening, and opening has been carried on in our home, as there is all Indian homes. I have never again previously in the past. I am now opening half an hour or there a day and expect to continue so. I do so because I so appreciate the value of a voluntary act of self-discipline, and because I feel that the discipline of Mahatma and his love and reliance for his fellow-men has to be it, as a voluntary act of discipline upon the part of those who hope to share in the fruits of

his reliance for. When and whenever I read other men will neither in following nor in particular but neither—I am sure as an act of self-discipline, which of us understands it in the proper order and in large numbers, and without doubt make it more fit for self-government, nationally as well as individually. When an individual is an act of self-will self-government. And so the act that I believe upon this or any other discipline upon themselves in matters that they feel are and maintaining, for the sake of an ideal that they wish to attain, the nation will have had the foundation of character needed to the only form of political freedom worth having.

As I have said, I am opening and expect to continue it, but I cannot for a moment except the time of compulsory opening in the case of act of participation in the Congress. In any case who wish to work better honestly and faithfully, on matter what are his particular views on the the nature of his service should be related to being to the national body. To me the value of opening for me is no longer voluntary self-discipline, a self-will act of opening bearing no fruit except in the things of the spirit. To make it anything else is to this way the ideal value, and to require it upon those who do not believe in it as the door of entrance to participation in the national national activities is to make it positively harmful. Though I should continue to hope, I should never feel able to accept the fact that I open on my right to a place in the Congress, and under that except such a principle. I should feel compelled to stay outside the Congress. I feel that I and would my Mahatma believe in. He made to him membership in the Congress into a liability so that his members will be only such as are ready to discipline themselves in order to belong to it. The end I agree with but not the means. It is a matter of principle which goes deeper than any member's advantage. The duty will be to voluntary acceptance upon the part of each of a discipline, the value of which is eternally unchanging. Sometimes the gradualness of which does not need to submit on opening to Mahatma Gandhi. His duty will not be in long as about the direct submission to what they cannot appear to be a membership of those who wish to faithfully serve their country in the Congress.

To me the whole question is concerned with the value of personally and of character. As you know, I consider those values to hold the supreme part and the most vital significance in the world of self-existing experience. The highest value are moral values and character values. Therefore, though there would be a direct national value in compelling all Indians to open, the moral value of opening as of any other act of self-discipline for an ideal would be nil, even if all Indians open subject to whatever form of compulsion. It must be understood before any hope is formed, as it is to have a moral value in the nation. It must be the work of a steady love and an unaccomplished people. And Gandhi's enormous value in discipline is in his being the best of a nation's life, the moral value is even more important. For it is upon the character of those who constitute a nation that its capacity to function nationally must be grounded.

The letter has become longer than I had intended, but I am so certain that the views involved are that that I hope you will forgive it.

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# Young India

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Edited by M. K. Gandhi

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## Notes on the Agreement

### How to Work

In these notes I propose to take up the agreement between the Board party and myself whom I have left in in the leading article. If my recommendation is accepted by the forthcoming meeting, it means re-formation of the Congress organisation and turning the members from being merely vote-buying machines once or twice a year into day-to-day workers and contributing materially to the chief national activity. It will make the Congress a large mass-organisation and removing and developing spirit. The work cannot be organised without method, industry, persistence, patience, self-control and strictest honesty and the required skill. Though anybody can become a Congress member by paying four annas till the Congress accepts the proposal, if the forthcoming meeting approves of the proposal every person must begin to prepare as if the franchise were accepted by the Congress. That is to say, propaganda must be carried on among the ordinary members advising them of the proposed change and giving them with the necessary facility for having opinions and passing the word on. The question will have to be considered as to how this part is to be collected and how disposed of. Without any Congress resolution, are the men applicable to members of Congress executive, and by simple subscription through their names or have they ever been through men and women speaking individually. There must be in the manner. It is, therefore, reasonable to suppose that when and if the Congress accepts the franchise proposal we should be able to rack at least one hundred thousand in a few months. Assuming the average output of year to be a total of 100 annas per month per member it would mean 100 x 1000 = 100,000 annas or nearly 10 lakhs in with and 4 paise in change. And when we remember that labour in the material was speaking is to be five the State must accept with any other work on the market. If only the nation could concentrate all of it in the one national work, collection of foreign cloth, we be achieved without the slightest difficulty and by means the most honourable and non-violent.

### The Forthcoming Meeting

Just all depends on the forthcoming meeting. It is to be a meeting not only of the A. I. C. C. but a representation of all Provincial committees and Associations. I hope that there will be a prompt response on the part of these representatives to Mahatma Mahomed Ali's invitation. The joint meeting will have to decide not only the question of holding the board in the Congress itself but also of making up other change-over bodies in the the

Congress. The meeting has also to issue an effective policy in answer to the Board's suggestion. Whatever the difference as to the method of reaching our goal, there are no two opinions about the desirability of ending the system of arbitrary power.

There is no freedom for India so long as men were, no matter how highly placed, be they be, India is the holder of his hands the life, property and honour of millions of human beings. It is an ancient, sacred and established institution. The end of it is an essential preliminary to Freedom.

### Our Responsibilities

This is agreement. We seem to have lost all power beyond passing resolutions. But if we could all work on the constructive programme, it will by itself be a step towards acquiring self-confidence and power of action. It must be clear to everyone that if Hindus and Mohammedans refuse their names, if Hindus treat Mohammedans as their brothers and if we have so popularised spinning and khaddar as to be within easy reach of millions of foreign cloth, we should not seek to do any more to command attention to our self. What is more we should avoid further severe criticism for the promotion of violence our spot was violent disobedience. Such a desirable contribution can be effected only by united, disciplined and unselfish pursuit of the constructive programme. That, therefore, is my method of effective reply to the religious suspicion of hypocrisy or the chaotic and helpless contribution of a whole nation.

### Other Things?

Mr. Andrews drew my attention even during my last visit to the Mahatma House, regarding response of the national to the constructive programme of the government for abolishing laws concerning drink and drugs. Other friends have attention much earlier to the collection of reference to national schools. I may inform these friends that the constructive programme that forms part of the agreement contains only those items which I have agreed to me to be an impossibility. United and disciplined national schools are those and they must be maintained. They help us to carry the programme through. A drink and drugs reform is already but early going on. It can not be given up. One may be contented about it because we have done away with poisoning as it led to violence. Nor for that matter are we going to give up the idea of promoting private enterprises. Only, none of these things is absolutely essential for achieving Freedom in the sense in which the three items included in the agreement are. Nor is there



any difference of opinion among my well-wishers as there is there is on the three items. In introducing several prohibitive and prohibitive prohibitions in the same branch on the drink and drugs reform, I do not wish to be understood to give the same value to them. The drink and drugs reform is a problem of the highest national importance. It by any means is not as much as it should be away from the drink and the opium side. I should accept and submit them now. But we have no such intent really. Apart from pushing an act passed to deal with the evil, and with which, all we have an effective side in the government of the country. Simply, but in the order it is not a national one. It is confined to a small though enormously growing industry. Hence there would be an opportunity to Japan or other countries if we had the power. It is the Government that collect in the way of the money becoming less in the drink and the drug side. But that we shall not make decision later by legislation. But we are well right in pushing the drink and the drug habit and by closing all liquor and opium shops and thus make it as difficult as possible to indulge in it.

#### Is It Compulsory?

The reader must have read Mr. Bala's protestant protest against total spinning being made compulsory for every Congress member. It is evident to me that his protestant spirit is a legacy of the industrial has disabled him from distinguishing between voluntary acceptance and compulsion. Compulsion means subordination of protestants to the thing they appear under pain of being fined or imprisoned. They cannot escape the obligation or the penalty by themselves outside the compulsion of which they had themselves members. But what is now just a voluntary acceptance such as the Congress has done in willingly and readily or capably subordinates to day, the rules. These rules generally include subordination to the authority in the matter of the majority. The voluntary nature of every act of every member is clear from the fact that he can move whenever the majority pass a rule which is in conflict with his conscience. Mr. Bala's protestant is subordination of all members to the majority. Every decision has since a decision started to it. And only there is acceptance from none to every form of subordination. May the Congress consider the movement started by the majority (majority)? Obviously not. For if they say, then there can never be any majority victory.

When the new Congress was passed in 1939 there was a minority that opposed the principle and therefore created some of the trouble by a majority. Under the old rule some were kept out because they could not unanimously subdivide to it. In other cases I held that the majority had a right to pass the rule. Whether in the case the minority was was and in the other instances was was in a matter of opinion. And even the matter of the present, in order to make hand-spun part of the Congress franchise may be had policy and may help the way of it. But I have a view, but I repeat that there is nothing inherently wrong in it, that it is not wrong in principle, that it is an undemocratic nature of having to call it compulsory. The words I have no sympathy. If hand-spun is an official method of working both voluntary and it must be made part of the franchise. It is the best way of expressing protest, will not be a disadvantage.

#### Public Debt

##### A representative matter

"The way to create the a resolution, moved by Mr. C. Ranganathan in the open Congress on 10th in the year 1932, regarding the importance of public debt that which is referred by the Government of India after 24.11.32, was passed. It is a resolution to state that every responsible man in the public. It is of our country may agree to have been there on the resolution."

I am sorry to have to mention my ignorance of the resolution in question. But now that it has been brought to my notice, I have no hesitation in supporting it. I sympathise with Mr. Ranganathan and the Congress, upon the passage of that resolution. It may be, as some, particularly, but the world should have what we think of the financial and economic responsibilities of India's money. The late Lord Chelmsford called it a power of blinding. I should imagine that any financial reform would include an important chapter upon the responsibilities of the Government of India or the India Office and in connection upon a re-organisation of the financial management of the emerging Government. I therefore regard the resolution as both necessary and reasonable. It may make a public matter. But, when we come to our own, we should be able to point with pride to the fact of our having given this notice. For, in spite of all I have said about the importance of the Congress, who are they that it is the most representative of the nation? It is to be a matter of representation to be concerned respect and attention.

#### A National Loss

Many readers of Young India know Mr. Dadasaheb Govil as an old friend. Some may not have ever heard his name. For he was one of the greatest of national workers. As I am writing for Young India I have a note from Mahatma advising me of the death of this comparatively unknown person. I tender my condolences to his family. He was a cultured Hindu and was doing good work among the Ghatiks and was doing. During 1931 in connection with the demands, he was also imprisoned for his non-cooperation activities. He became actively all during his imprisonment. He was discharged only a few weeks ago. He has a cultured a large family composed of members of the family. An appeal was published in his behalf in the English Press. I hope that the Young Forward Congress Committee will find out all the facts about the late Mr. Dadasaheb Govil's family and render such aid as may be necessary.

(1) K. G.

#### Dr. S. K. Sen and Mahatma Gandhi

I find that in spite of all that I tried to do to prevent any confusion of names, Dr. S. K. Sen's remarkable services to Mahatma Gandhi have failed to receive the due recognition which they so truly deserved. He attended upon Mahatma with unflinching care in making his daily literary output. Other late in the night, after his full day's work was over, he would go on with the labour of day. Both Dr. Sen and Dr. Abanindranath Sen of his generation and manner led us to no such intellectual achievement. I should like to supply, in the absence of, Young India to the gap in the records of the Press.

G. F. A.



## The Joint Statement

The following is the text of the statement issued in Calcutta on the 13th inst. and the signature of Mr. Gandhi, Mr. C. R. Das and Pandit Mohan Malaviya :—

"Whereas although unity is the goal of all the parties in India, the country is divided into different groups seemingly working in opposite directions, and whereas such aimlessness seriously affects the progress of the nation towards liberty and whereas it is desirable to bring, so far as possible, all such parties within the Congress and on a common platform, and whereas the Congress itself is divided into two opposing sections, working in harm to the country's cause, and whereas it is desirable to remove these parties for the purpose of bettering the cause, more unity, and whereas a policy of repression has been commenced in Bengal by the Local Government under the sanction of the Governor General, and whereas in the opinion of the undersigned the way must be found to bring not only every party of a like mind but also the Bengali party in Bengal and those to whom appeal and orderly activity, and whose in themselves it has become a matter of immediate urgency to remove and remove the repression of all parties for putting it into the hands of the nation against the policy of repression, we, the undersigned, strongly recommend that a meeting be convened by all parties and eventually by the Congress at Calcutta :—

The Congress should support the programme of non-cooperation in the national movement, except in so far as it relates to the refusal to use or wear cloth made out of India.

The Congress should further realize that different ways of work if the Congress may be done, as may be suited necessary, by the different sections within the Congress and should realize that the spread of bootlegging, bootmaking and all the industrial progress and the spread of bootlegging and bootmaking has done and the progress of work between different communities, especially between the Hindus and the Mohammedans, and the removal of non-cooperation by the Hindus from amongst them should be removed by all parties within the Congress, and the various committees which the General and Provincial Governments should be removed by the Young Party on behalf of the Congress and as an integral part of the Congress cooperation and by such work the Young party should make its own voice and work and advance its own ends. In so much as repression has shown that neither an appeal nor any other means is self-sufficient, suggesting the necessity of a systematic and in an appeal to bootlegging in the form and the most logical method of establishing a cordial and a friendly bond between the masses and Congress and between and in order to popularize bootlegging and its products. The Congress should repeal Article VII of the Congress Constitution and should adopt the following Resolutions :—

"No one shall be a member of any Congress Committee or representative who is not of the age of 18 and who does not wear bootlegging and bootmaking clothes in political and Congress functions, or who is engaged in Congress business and does not make contribution of 5000 rupees of weekly 5000 rupees per month of his or her own earnings or the sum of 10000, or 10000, or any such sum as the majority of parties may order present."

## An Interview

The following interview on the question of the agreement entered into between the leaders of the Young party and Mr. Gandhi at Calcutta which a representative of the Associated Press of India had with Mr. Gandhi on his return to Delhi on the 13th inst. is published :—

Asked as to why if the agreement signed by himself and Mr. Das and Mohan was intended to be an invitation to Indians and others to join the Congress, they had not conferred with them before making the appeal, Mr. Gandhi replied :

"Such a Conference was impossible before the Young party and Mr. Das and Mohan could agree upon a joint action, because any appeal must be a joint appeal by the two wings of the Congress. It is a matter of fact that I have been in Calcutta ever since the Mr. Das and Mohan. It is true that I met the Mr. Das and Mohan and discussed the situation with them, as also I met, I remember, Mr. Das and Mohan and discussed the matter with him. But I did not even make an attempt to secure their consent for the appeal except that I had at my disposal a majority whereby I could persuade the whole of the Mr. Das and Mohan and I had them personally. I, therefore, thought it best to give my own individual opinion and place it before the country for what it was worth. You will see that the agreement, in a memorandum addressed to all parties which was without the Congress. The then for a Conference of the Mr. Das and Mohan will require their approval through the forthcoming All-India Congress Conference. Mr. Das and Mohan as President of the Congress has agreed to the Conference representatives of all parties including the European Association."

The proposition made by the Young party and appeal will be considered at the meeting for these sympathetic consideration. There is no doubt about the agreement made for the Young party and for appeal personally. Everybody is free to appeal to our nation and I am sure that neither the Young party nor I will stand in the way of any other movement that may bring all the parties together on a common platform and to bring our progress towards the common goal and supply an appeal answer to the Young Government's repression policy on the one hand and unity the masses of the oppressed community on the other and there were them from the appeal. I appeal to all the leaders to accept Mr. Das and Mohan's invitation and make and make the deliberations of the forthcoming Conference at Calcutta."

### Intending Schoolmasters

are reported to want to replace by Master Gopal in Calcutta and not to allow us to use the first number of V. P. as we do not receive subscription by V. P. system.

### Bombay Branch

Subsequent to Young India was published in the Bombay Branch of our office situated in the Pioneer Press opposite Police Bunking.

—Always, Young India.



# Young India

12-11-24

## The Agreement

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I think that that the given strength to surrender to the Swarajists all that it was possible for me to surrender—much more than I or my friends had expected. I must acknowledge my indebtedness to the Swarajists for their accommodation. I know that many do not get the same emphasis that I do on the continuation part of the programme. While every the suffering of the franchise was the bitterest pill not yet for the sake of unity and for the sake of the country they have yielded. All honour to them for so doing.

The agreement puts Swarajists as a par with the Keshavdas. It was inevitable if unity and all it means was to be secured. Non-cooperation means strict accommodation compatible with such principles. Swarajists came to be a growing body. That they have made an impression on the Government cannot be gained. Opinion may differ as to its value but it is not possible to question the fact itself. They have shown determination, grit, discipline and cohesion and have not failed to carry their policy to the point of defiance. Once across the desirability of working through the Council and it must be admitted that they have introduced a new spirit into the Indian Legislature. That their very influence takes the nation's mind away from itself is to me like no regrettable, but as long as our chief aim continues to influence or control policy, we must make the best of the Legislature. Though an uncompromising Keshavdas, I must not only tolerate their attitude and work with them, but I must even strengthen them whenever I can.

If they will not decide matters of important difference by means of the vote, the Keshavdas can sway or Congress work only by mutual consent and compromise unless we wishing to fight. They will refuse from Congress control altogether. It is recognised that neither party can do without the other. Both occupy an important position in the country. The Congress was weakened by the removal of the Loknath and the Jinnahs. The damage was inevitable because they were opposed to non-cooperation as principle. We must avoid further cleavage of it as at all possible. We must not lightly set up as principle some matters of opinion and engage in pitched battles over them.

All the non-cooperation programme as suspended, as I feel sure it must be, it follows in a natural working, that the Swaraj party should have no claim attached to its activity. It is hardly the purpose to say or examine what would have happened if the Congressmen had never thought of the Council. We have to take the situation as it stands today and seek ourselves to do or make it out as, if that is possible.

Early, the Bengal situation demanded that Keshavdas gave the Swaraj Party the strongest support that it was in their power to give.

"But" said some of the Keshavdas and others is no, "how can you subscribe to a document which says that the Government have really attacked the Swaraj Party and not the Swarajists? Are you not

object to the Government?" This attitude pleased me and satisfied me. It pleased me to enter in my questionnaire a solemn declaration to the Government that they do not like it declared my public that my questionnaire expected someone such judgment and belief justice. I answered to them that I had applied the Government the greatest prejudice based on past experience, that the writings of the British and British owned Indian Press had prepared me for an attack on the Swaraj party. But it was the declared policy of the Government to lay off 'ball paper' and that whilst it was possible that among the attacked there may be some with associated tendencies, it was nevertheless a fact that the vast majority of them were Swarajists and that it was a fault on the Government's standard, that the Swarajists were a large party. It was evident that the Government could feel to the main only Swarajists to lay their hands upon. I told them further that if there was an extensive and active non-cooperation, the Government would be likely to be outside the Swaraj party rather than inside it. That in view, it is said, were feared by the police during their night work. Noting that my questionnaire told me to reply check my belief and I am inclined to think that I did not bring my questionnaire round to my belief, I at least answered them that I had good grounds for my opinion and that the leaders lay upon the Government to show that they had no design upon the Swaraj Party in Bengal.

But the proposed suspension does not effect the individual non-cooperation. They are not only entitled to hold to their views but would be very little worth if they gave up their personal non-cooperation. For instance, suspension of the non-cooperation programme cannot mean for me renunciation of my attitude or renunciation of protest or setting up of attitude to Government policies. That whilst suspension will have a suspended non-cooperation but to make the non-cooperation, for those who took up non-cooperation only as a policy and in obedience to the Congress and, it makes it open if they like, to reveal their non-cooperation without the slightest regard attaching to them as doing. Further, if suspension is agreed upon it is not open to any Congressman as such to preach non-cooperation as part of the Congress policy or programme. On the other hand it is open to him if he so chooses to dissuade people from taking up non-cooperation during the period of suspension.

Then there is the splitting franchise. I must not make more blunder as all occasions and spending 1000 rupees per month by all Congressmen except in case of illness or like disability. This has been ordered down to saving blunder as public manners and Congress law and splitting by deputy even for non-cooperation. But how again it was not possible for me to trust upon the leading point. In the first place the Mahasabha party had constitutional difficulty in agreeing to splitting or moving another being part of the franchise at all, and in the second place the Swaraj party was body does not attack the rural representative nature to the wrong of blunder or to handicapping. It does not matter then to be handicapped as I do either the amendment of Bengal or for the inclusion of Bengal itself. It was, therefore, from their standpoint a tremendous obstacle to their agreeing to make blunder and handicapping part of the franchise even in the modified form. I, therefore, gratefully acknowledge the suggestion they have made for the sake of unity. Let those who are



desired to gradually at the constitution remember that it is a great pleasure to rise from the straitened little room (bungalow) to a large and effective bungalow that requires every Congressman to satisfy his belief in the desirability of making India self-supporting as far as his domestic requirements are concerned and that by reducing the old Indian industry of handicrafts and their distribution which means it is most useful.

It has been urged that everybody will take advantage of the relaxation and the area of opening as freedom will break down and that the meaning of freedom will be confined only to political freedom and Congress freedom. I should be sorry if such an outcome is at once to follow the difficulties. Those who have not done so to forget that following by every Congressman, man of his own idea of one man. He has now engaged himself to a new direction of his personal family, therefore, the abandonment of the freedom of the idea area is a marked turn in a marked way and must increase the number of members of Indian and military opinions.

However it must be remembered that it is one thing to actually refuse to be non-responsible or even obligatory members, it is totally another thing to make them part of freedom. Any act by freedom should have no responsibility about it and should be really capable of being carried out. The inability to carry it out means disintegration. The meaning of freedom is all freedom and for all purposes may not be possible even for the best of us.

In practice, however, it will be found that the true meaning of no who can afford a variety of members will find it necessary to wear freedom as all members, it is best to wear it as all Congress members. For to select Congressmen every member is a Congress member and he and she would be an individual Congressman at Congressmen's wishes as they work along according to their own ideas. We should have no one with thousands of votes or equal members. They cannot have many members nor can they have money to buy votes from others. They must give themselves and if we give at least half to India's future to the future. And a Congress member who does not give himself will be found put to it to maintain the discipline of Congress membership of the country of opening. Struggling now, therefore, not as in India and loyal working of the present.

The agreement as what is proposed is a strong recommendation. I have signed it in my own mind and opinion. Undoubtedly the new Indian Model before have opened it to the Indian Party. It, therefore, is a recommendation by the Indian Party and appeal to all Congressmen and others for consideration and adoption. I want it to be considered as a matter. I would urge everyone to eliminate no from consideration. Unless the recommendation is accepted as a matter it will be difficult either to achieve the political unity we want and should have or to achieve the uniformity of Indian cloth which we want have and which is possible only by universal opening and universal use of Indian. If the proposal is rejected on consideration as to give the Indian Party adequate hearty recognition to the Congress or to make the meaning of freedom and handicrafting, whether politically or by doing part of the freedom do not, cannot themselves to the Congressmen and the others who are united they should reject them and substantially from their own subjects in the situation of the nation. They should consider what and what not to do and make no any recommendation whatsoever.

## Untouchability & Hindu-Muslim Problem

[No. 1 / 1924]

The more carefully and thoroughly I have studied the subject, the more convinced am I, that there is no possible solution for the problem of Hindu-Muslim unity, unless the whole question of 'untouchability' is taken in hand side by side with it.

Historically, there is justice and much proof, that the evil treatment of those who were made 'untouchables' led to the downfall of the Hindu population. It formed a vital weakness in the body politic, which, like a festering sore, poisoned all the other members of the same body. There could be no possible Hindu unity and strength, when millions of people were treated as worse than dogs and left outside the social life of the community altogether. These weakness made the Muslims conquest from the North inevitable, that it did so is due to this, however, the conquest of one people by another, when they are very nearly of equal strength, leads to the wiping down of the two races afterwards as previously equal forces. This aim that happened between the Hindus and the Muslims in English History. But in India the final division within the body of Hinduness, owing to the spread of 'untouchability,' made it exceedingly vulnerable and divided. It could no longer stand. The weakness ~~showing~~ the Hindu weakness against the Turk-Ages in Indian History, corresponding with the Dark Ages in Europe.

Secondly, the presence of millions of 'untouchables,' branched from the fold of Hinduness, made it certain that they would very quickly be absorbed by them and become its most supporters in India. Looking to the laws of history, there can be little doubt that vast numbers of those who have been for many generations treated as 'untouchables' were originally Hindus. There is specially vulnerable in East and North Bengal. India absorbed them a few hundred years of history, which they could not find as 'Hindus'.

Thirdly Hinduness today is starting primarily on the decline owing to the while that the numbers of Muslims may increase, who are now numbers decrease. This fact is one of the great causes of Hindu-Muslim tension. Yet it is so clear as possible that the whole question of number depends upon the question of the spread or reduction of 'untouchability,' for if the 'untouchables,' who number nearly 40 millions, remain excluded to all practical purposes, from sharing the benefits of the Hindu religion, then in the process of a few generations they will become lost to Hinduness altogether. The only hope among them is one of death.

Furthermore the number means of Hindu-Muslim tension, as the present tension has been the fact, that the 'untouchables' were being made a base of conversion between Hinduness and Islam. On the one hand, there were efforts made to bring back 'untouchables,' who had become Muslims into the fold of advanced Hinduness. On the other hand, there was an increasing effort to bring about who were outside the fold of Hinduness, but still regarded normally as Hindu, into the Islamic community. The actual weakness of these two propelling factors began the tension between Hindus and Muslims in Northern India. Other factors were still at work, but it was the 'untouchability' problem, which caused the deep outbreak of tension and jealousy leading to riot and bloodshed.



Last of all, it is surely self-evident, that if the whole of the considerable community were brought into a full and living relationship with some Hindu, welcomed as brother during the time left, the Hindu position in India would be far stronger today than it is under present conditions. It would be morally stronger, and as such would be able to act progressively in dealing with Islam.

I have been closely dealing with the historical and spiritual issues, but the argument which goes deeper of all and is fundamental, is the humanitarian principle, which is common to all religions. No man on this earth has a right to treat his brother, whom God has made, as if he were merely even to be treated. Apart from all the practical questions involved, the spiritual world of India as a Hindu will only come, when, from one end of the land to the other, the whole country takes up the voice of those who are so ready and ready against.

## Calcutta's Response

(By C. P. Adhvari)

It was my good fortune to be present in Calcutta during Mahatma Gandhi's short visit to that city. The atmosphere was electric. The attendance at public meetings was unusually large, and there was even great display of violence. Heavily escorted and armed contingents. The Indians in their millions crowded eagerly round Mahatma when they regarded as their personal friend.

I was not personally present at the Corporation address, but I had the privilege of witnessing scenes of great devotion at Mr. Das's home, where Mahatma stayed. All day long there were crowds of simple, poor people, just as at Delhi, waiting to touch only a toe or a hair of Mahatma. These manifestations of simple love did not fail to deeply impress everyone who had the rare privilege of witnessing them.

In his reply to the Corporation address Mahatma Gandhi went straight to the main issue, reaching the most extraordinary conclusions. The city of Calcutta properly called the city of justice, he remarked, was nevertheless a city of shame. The shame consisted in a sad state of affairs existing for centuries and proper attention on the part of the Corporation. As was to be expected, Mahatma did not seem to refer to the most serious connection with Calcutta, namely, the infamous treatment of dirty work. While it is extremely a particularly heinous form of cruelty involving horrible torture. The work which was quickly accompanied by this cruel process of forcing men to do this day after day of work was then sent to the slaughter house. The primary responsibility of the Corporation, Mahatma said, was to remove pure water, no milk and meat, and then attention in the city. Mahatma was confirmed in reaching these the Royal Society, saying that his statements to municipal authorities was welcome, but that he equally decried the extraordinary measures adopted by the Royal Government. He described in deeply moving terms the high character and integrity of Subash Chandra Bose. It was inevitable that a similar Government should immediately arrest and detain without trial such a noted person.

In the midst of all the surrounding confusion and excitement at Calcutta I did not fail to notice the extreme weakness and moral fatigue of the Mahatma. He was tired beyond words. I suggested that after what I regarded as a absolutely necessary to secure a note of warning to

the public. A brief note to be placed in the columns in Mahatma's magazine. The Doctor in Delhi had given us the clearest warning. The state of the present movement is dangerously excessive. Persons are not the Congress were intended for great thought and meditation is imperatively needed. And there would be no better place for this purpose than the Government Address.

## Further Yarn Particulars

The following further report on the September yarn scheme is issued by the Industrial Department of the A. I. E. S. —

**Analysis**—There has been considerable delay in the dispatch of yarn parcels. The final figures of the Pradesh authorities will not be available.

The figures as they stand now are 1,411 contributions in all of which 420 are "later goods".

The extraordinary contribution from the East India Company came from an announcement to be made later in March and exceeds that previously announced. The total value is 180 yards and 215 ounces. The error in the yarn is reported to be the most of accounts being prepared at the Provincial headquarters.

**Amount**—The final total for these, from 27 companies previously, is 128.

**Count**—All Parades returned in time. The previous has proved to equal all the rest in the quality of yarn and accuracy of label.

**Deliveries**—By a serious mistake yarn ordered at Provincial headquarters was not dispatched as an all very late. The mistake for the September yarn to Delhi in the previous report, which is reported. The total number of contributions is 10. Two returns of 10, and 10, September P. O. C. say the last.

**Splice**—The total for these, from 27 companies, is 10.

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## A Morning With Gandhi

(By Mahadevi Chaudhary)

Among those who visited Bikaner, during the winter of previous and present years, there was a group, headed from Bikaner, named Ramachandran. He is one of the people of Mr. Andrews and he had an affinity in pursuing his interest in person, but to stay at Delhi for some time. On the evening when Mr. Andrews left Delhi, he took Ramachandran upstairs and said to Gandhi, 'I have not seen translated Ramachandran as yet to get. But to be here here all the while with us, helping us. He wants to ask you some questions and I shall be so glad if you could have a talk with him before he leaves tomorrow to go back to Ramachandran.' The 'tomorrow' was a silent Monday, and as Ramachandran stayed a day more. On Tuesday morning he had to take his train for Calcutta. Finally at half past five, after the morning prayer, he was introduced. He had no formal questions,—he studied and reflection that interested him. Yet he could not altogether trust himself at first to be able to ask all that he wanted to. But ultimately he managed to collect a string, not he found in his other way, but as a matter of fact, he's quite happy about him, his place, his studies and his own room for his future's movement. It is impossible to reproduce all the conversation that Ramachandran was prepared to have that morning with Gandhi. I can but present the broad outlines.

'How is it?' proceeded Ramachandran. 'That many intelligent and earnest men who love and admire you, hold that you unconsciously or unconsciously have ruled out of the scheme of national regeneration all considerations of art?' 'I am sorry' replied Gandhi, 'but in the matter I have been generally misinterpreted. There are two aspects of beauty—the outward and the inward. It is purely a matter of emphasis with me. The outward has no meaning except as far as it helps the inward. All true art is thus the expression of the soul. The outward form has value only in so far as it is the expression of the inner spirit of man.'

Ramachandran knowingly suggested. The great artist himself has declared, that after the liberation of his eyes and vision is the end of the artist's work, colours, shapes etc.' 'Yes' said Gandhi, 'Art of that nature has the greatest possible appeal for me. But I know that many will themselves to artists, and are unconcerned as such, and yet as they make them is absolutely in tune of the soul's upward cry and quest.'

'Have you any instance in mind?' 'Yes' said Gandhi, 'take Omar Khayyam. I can speak of him as I was in England at the time that he was being much discussed and talked about.'

'I have been told', put in Ramachandran, 'that Omar Khayyam was one of the greatest literary artists of modern times.'

'Yes, that is just my trouble. What was the highest Art, simply an outward form and therefore considered as beautiful merely. All true Art must help the soul to realise its inner self. In my own case, I find that I can do nothing without inward focus in my mind's production. I can claim, therefore, that there is a high sufficient art in my life, though you might not see when you call upon it. But about me? My own way leads

back with me, and I may even despair with the soul as that I may give out upon the story because combined that which is an inward aspect of beauty. What wonderful Art of man can give me the permanent vision that you set before me, when I look up to the sky days with all its shining stars? Then, however, does not mean that I refuse to accept the value of production of art, generally accepted as such, but only that I personally feel that inadequate them are compared with the stored symbols of beauty in Nature. These producers of man's Art lose their value only in so far as they help the soul upward towards self-realisation.'

'Get the artists close to me and to that Truth through inward beauty' said Ramachandran. 'Is it possible to me and that Truth in that way?'

'I would answer the words', Gandhi, immediately answered, 'I am not that beauty in Truth or through Truth. All truths, not merely true ideas, but truths from, truthful persons, or words are highly beautiful. People generally fail to see Beauty in Truth, the ordinary way runs away from it and because that to the beauty is it. Therefore one steps to see Beauty in Truth, then true Art will come.'

Ramachandran then asked 'But cannot Beauty be expressed from Truth and Truth from Beauty?'

'I should want to know exactly what is Beauty?' Gandhi replied. 'It is what people generally understood by that word, that they are able to see. As a woman with her features inwardly beautiful.' 'You implied Ramachandran, without the thing.'

'Yes' said Rupa, answering his question, 'It has may be of an ugly character?'

Ramachandran hesitated. Then he said, 'But for me to that you cannot be beautiful. It will always be the value of the soul within. The true art is with the growth of perception will produce the right response.'

'But says you are begging the whole question,' Gandhi replied, 'You are about that man cannot love me and make a thing, love it. To a true artist only that love is beautiful which goes apart from the outward, closer with the Truth within the soul. There is then, as I have said, no Beauty apart from Truth. On the other hand, Truth may manifest itself in forms which may not be outwardly beautiful at all. Besides, we are told, was the most beautiful man. I have seen and put him between one said to have been the ugliest in human. In my mind he was beautiful, because all his life was a striving after Truth and was very conscious that his outward form did not prevent Phidias from appreciating the beauty of Truth in him, though as we noted he was considered to be almost as outwardly hideous.'

'But Rupa', said Ramachandran, saying, 'the most beautiful things have often been created'—one whom you have seen, not beautiful.'

'That' said Gandhi, 'only means that Truth and outward form are two. I and you are often faced together. In so far as it is. Man's right perception of things and the thing itself. Truly beautiful creation comes when right perception is at work. If there is, there are more in life they are, that can be Art.'

All this Mr. Ramachandran took up hard. I only quoted to give things out to him. I am not doing without a word of reply to Gandhi, by only half to







# Young India

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## Notes

### Dr. Ambedkar

It is difficult to think of Dr. Ambedkar as dead. Who does not know the steady figure of Dr. Ambedkar at his work in public gatherings? Though old in years, the possessed the energy of youth. He travelled constantly in the wings of the Hindustani and Bombay A. Ambedkar followers of India, the realised that the cause of India, in as far as it depended on human effort, depended upon the freedom of India. He worked with equal conviction that freedom of India was inseparable without Hindu-Muslim unity and brother. He therefore constantly preached unity which had become an article of faith with him. He had discarded all her language or will made showing and taken to himself. He had no desire to be a hero. He had exposed upon him that as his death she should have nothing but brother. Therefore I had the privilege of going to her bedside. Her capacity was about twenty and four. The capacity was severely injured by her plague that had might great wisdom. Hindu and Muslims to understand the necessity of unity and that. His way in his way, but her life in his being established. The best way in which we can improve the nature of the human and noble and it is to let her in her and for the common cause. Hinduism without unity and twenty is as much as a part as India. Would that Hindu and Muslims had the consciousness of Ambedkar to appreciate this elementary fact. God grant her soul peace and the all spiritual strength to achieve the purpose longed for in this.

I must not omit to mention the impressive and solemn scene that I had the great pleasure to witness on the night of Dr. Ambedkar's death. Having heard that he was going away in his, Ambedkar and I went to her bedside. She was surrounded by many members of the family. Dr. Ambedkar, the friend and physician of the family, was also in attendance. I heard an address though I cannot hear anything from Ambedkar's bedside. The big lecture continued towards with dignity, though there was an unusual solemnity about his face. They were all chatting the name of Ambedkar. One friend was writing the last pages. The Bombay press was already making copies of Dr. Ambedkar's lecture. But the work was not completed for a single moment. He did the Ambedkar's address for one national day. Indeed an excellent public duty was completed. Ambedkar's death. He would not deny of my participation. My visit to the Mount College. And like a good soldier he kept the appointment. He had made with the Hindu of Ambedkar

although he had to proceed there about immediately after Dr. Ambedkar's death. All the time as it should have been. Both and death are not two different states, but they are different aspects of the same state. There is no life more to depend on the one as there is to be placed over the other.

### Late Social Conscience

A noble mind and heart. From his own point of view and some of the death of Ambedkar's Ambedkar. For me it was a personal loss. He was a noble heart, dear friend and devoted co-worker. He was a friend of mine as he was a great leader. He was an equally true man. He was an excellent friend, but his conscience was as broad as humanity itself. He understood all without distinction. He could not possibly forgive anyone, but he could be forgiving when the wrongs depended on. He was not as good as his friend. He was there in a last. He was deep of feeling person, but if he made them, he never let him to keep them. After he had died himself a martyr, he never moved away during the darkest hours of the movement, not even when the most serious matter to be done. When he took the pledge to me by me then a young man. He was as enthusiastic as Ambedkar's participation. But he never reached the end. He believed in the without a moment. He gave about twenty his name and yet never wavered. He died in the most noble manner. He gave himself for Ambedkar, Ambedkar, national school. He was a great man, even his name to Ambedkar, as he was called throughout Ambedkar. Personally I am much to him. I have many friends in South Africa. But I have not known a person like him. He understood me when I was young. His house was a place of refuge for me and some. People wonder why I am not in Ambedkar. I am not partial, but I am thankful that I was once testimony to their noble deeds. As long as the memory of Ambedkar's person will live, we will not feel the pain of Ambedkar's death. My respect and devotion. If we had any Ambedkar in our public life, we should not be long in reaching our Ambedkar goal. May he rest well in peace, and may God give wisdom and strength to his two sons to follow in the footsteps of their noble father.

### Supernatural Power

The following extract from a letter recently received by me will come back to the reader as it has to me.

'I am here in the very heart of the people's village where Mr. P. T. of the Ganga are living. While reading I happened to come to a village named Ambedkar in the village of the Ambedkar state.



of Chhatgadh. Devotees in the Central Province. On Sunday last there was a great gathering from the surrounding villages. Many of them had come from a distance perhaps of more than 15 miles. I stepped into the centre of the gathering and came to know that for the past two years they had been enjoying every Sunday as a Gauri day. On that day they do not work at all. Some men or women in the congregation are supposed to be visited by your spirit and are said to be inspired. They tell husbands and younger children to burn incense. I know that you will join you. Can you not send one of your workers to stop this practice? If the practice of worshipping you is not stopped now, I think the day is not far off when they will actually place an idol of you in a temple and commence worshipping you."

There is already enough superstition in our society. No effort should be spent to create further addition in the shape of Gauri worship. Personally I have a horror of all superstition. I believe in allowing nature speak from the morning. And that can be done only after the master's death. There is nothing. It is possible. I rise peaceful and harmonious in our peace or anger. The poor Hindu have nothing of me or my master. I know I have no power to give any power anything. The very idea of my spirit making and possessing any power is impossible to me. The practice can only do harm and lead to fraud. I urge co-workers to put down the worship the corresponding devotion. It is a sin to let such folk such as the Gauris to be encouraged in the practice of superstition.

#### The Forthcoming People's Conference

Mr. Bhambhani, who is at last becoming a specialist in Hindu worship after a successful selling tour in the Punjab complained to me that the Hindu sales are likely to be interrupted by the government and preparations for the forthcoming that is to take place only next month. I should have hoped otherwise. Preparations for conferences should always mean more demand for Hindu. It should be specially so in the Punjab. When Hindu had previously did not go other parts of India, the Punjab was still manufacturing and using Hindu. And today the Punjab is finding it difficult to run the shops of manufacturers. Let me hope that I shall not have to witness the breaking-up spectacle of the conference, packed with men and women dressed in kurtas or even well made cloth. The Punjabis should prove Mr. Bhambhani's view to be unfounded.

#### Robert Bellagant

I have been reluctant in the past urging me immediately to go to Ranchpur to meet the religious from Kishor. I have also had messages to the same effect from them directly. I am extremely sorry that I am unable at the present moment to respond to the call. My health is not yet such as to face the stress of continuous journey and I dare not postpone my visit to Ranchpur to attend the forthcoming Conference in connection with the Bengal separation. I hope, however, immediately on my return from Ranchpur to proceed to Ranchpur. Meanwhile I wish to give my assurance to the religious that they have never been out of my mind. As soon as the fact as I was able to move about a bit, I made all the preparations to proceed to Kishor. And I have promised

I would have been my first duty to go there in the company of some Hindu and Musselman friends. I told that I could then have rendered useful service and in company with the friends could hold my hands close towards reconciliation between the Hindus and Musselmans of Kishor. But my visit to Kishor having been prohibited, I did not feel that a visit to Ranchpur would serve any useful purpose. I know too that many hearts were yearning the religious and that Pandit Mahabir was giving special attention to them and with through conversations in the cell from the villages, as already stated, I shall go to Ranchpur, I believe that deep going comfort to the religious I ought to at little service. The work, however, I shall continue to urge upon the attention of the religious that the Kishor question is an All-India question. Both the Hindus and Musselmans of India are interested in a proper, harmonious and correct solution and settlement and they should be well advised before accepting any settlement to secure the approval of the Hindus and Musselman leaders. Indeed I will continue respectfully to tender the same advice to the Government. I am glad to observe that they have denied the existence of the issue said to have been offered by them. The Government have declared themselves in favour of unity. It would be no secret of people told if they would take the public into confidence and secure public approval of any terms of settlement that they might propose for the acceptance of the two communities.

— R. K. G.

### Dr. Gaur's Opium Policy

(By C. P. Andrews)

I have received from Dr. Gaur the following letter which I gladly publish —

"The note on my Opium Revolution, published in past issue of October 25, overviews the real issue, which has compelled me to presence of my Revolution. If you will kindly look into the China Year Book of 1916-18, you will find that Revolution China has completely repudiated our Opium Convention, and that 95% of the world's supply of opium is now grown in China. Before adopting our consumption policy, this country had an annual income of Rs. 8 to 1 crore, under this head. This was cancelled in the hope that China would honestly respond to the demands of the anti-opium League against opium consumption. Far from this being the case, China has taken advantage of our self-deceiving weakness and is now producing opium in the quantity above stated. Judging from the "Times" special article note of October 14, the Soviet Government is encouraging the cultivation of the opium poppy in Turkestan and has established an office at Kowloon. The growth of opium in Persia and Turkestan has gone up correspondingly with its decrease in India. In view of these facts, and the altered state of the Indian finance, the present decision of our opium policy would seem to be inevitable and morally paralytic."

The simplest answer by Dr. Gaur's letter is to reproduce in full the statement of the Premier of China, Mr. W. W. Yen, describing the present situation —

"It is strange indeed that China declares the non-cultivation of poppy planting in some parts of this country and the non-imported arrival of opium smoking, both of which had been in the main a few years ago. It may be stated that some are more concerned and dependent on the economic state of nations than the



intelligent leaders and patriotic citizens of China. It is a mistake to assume that there is any intention on the part of the Government to the deterioration to stamp out the spinning wheel, or that public opinion has assumed a less than statistical consideration of the degenerating process. Both the policy of the Government and the general sentiment of the people have remained unchanged. It is mostly within the area not under the all round control of the United Government that paper spinning and opium smoking have increased. Those who are responsible for it are held up as such public contempt that none of them dare to effect their connection with it.

This temporary setback is a great forward movement has been caused by the general event which has come in the wake of the political upheaval produced by the Revolution. Many problems present in position of respectability, have caused these people and others compelled or induced the farmers to plant poppy instead of their usual crops, so that they may reap heavier returns in the way of taxation and heavier loss. The problem is, therefore, part of a greater problem, that of checking the extravagance and irresponsible people through strengthening the hands of the United Government in its control over the Province.

It is particularly distressing at the present opinion situation, as the Opium Agreement of 1911 between China and Great Britain was practically negotiated by Sir John Jordan and myself, although it was signed by the late Mr. Tiao Chiao, then minister of Foreign Affairs. The problem is not only one which affects the social and moral welfare of the nation, but is also one in which China's international prestige is involved. An effort should, therefore, be spared to spread the will. This hope that this war may be accomplished seems to be justified by the following considerations: First, that with the exception of the few conspicuous persons, who are exploiting the people for their own selfish interests, the nation as a whole is so anxious and determined to end coal of the smoking evil as ever before, mostly that opium cultivation and smoking have been placed under the ban of such public contempt and condemnation that no self-respecting man dares to do it openly, and finally, that thousands of hands in it the most of all evil, is bound to be swept away upon the re-establishment of order and respect in China.<sup>1</sup>

I am sure that, after making the statement carefully, Dr. Shaw himself could not possibly wish to renege the existing Government of China; it will be true, as the mind of his own national struggle, and that he will stand his resolution. It is exceedingly difficult to follow the military struggle, but the words, both of Marshall Fong and Marshal Wu Pei Fu sides, are equally strong against any renunciation of the Opium Traffic with China which Dr. Shaw's resolution makes it worse. It was unanimously agreed by the British Parliament in its "morally and legally."

#### Recent Yarn Figures

The various quantities of yarn of different counts received for the month of October are 180 lbs. of 16 counts, 350 lbs. of 11 to 14 counts, 350 lbs. of 17 to 22 counts, 50 lbs. of 13 to 20 counts and 25 lbs. of 25 counts and specially up to 275. The total weight approximately is 575 lbs.

## All-India Spinning Competition

(Technical Department A. I. C. F.)

According to the usual practice, a Spinning Competition is to be arranged in the Exhibition Hall during Congress week at 2 P.M. It is to be a 7 days' programme just with the sanction of the Congress at Allahabad three years ago. The Exhibition Committee have even read in one of its bulletins that four persons from each province selected by the Provincial Congress Committee will be admitted to the competition. Each competitor is to bring about 4 lbs. or less own choice and must also be previously supplied with all other necessary material such as spindles, spacers, mule, etc. The mule would be judged by the length, strength and strength of the yarn. All those coming into the competition will be given facilities for food and lodging for which they would have to pay. Free shares will be given their money too. The importance of this competition is easily realised when one thinks of the rapid strides made in the efficiency of spinning in the past three or four years. At the Allahabad competition the average speed per hour maintained throughout a whole day had been found to be 150 yards. After that an enormous public spinning competition has been known to have taken place. There have, of course, been many such local competition experiments held in different provinces, and the results have been most encouraging. In a one hour's competition held recently in Madras in connection with the Exhibition Exhibition, the person making the first yarn did 600 yards of 16 counts. We have had an opportunity of examining the yarn. Though seeing the yarn is well twisted and has a sleek short fl.

But from samples and particulars received from Bengal from Ananda Roy's spinning organisation in the famous students union it appears that the spinning rate is yet destined to rise to greater proportions. We have a sample of 375 yards of 8 counts and another of 104 yards of 7 counts. Both these have been spun in thirty minutes. The speed comes therefore, to 750 yards and 300 yards per hour respectively. This, you see, is well-twisted and strong. The advancement is much less, it remains to be seen how far the rate can be kept up during six continuous working. Nevertheless, it seems to meet the practical standard of spinning and the fact that such high speed has been brought within the limits of practically most commonly used is sufficient to enhance the common view in the country.

We trust that all the Provinces will send their best spacers to Bombay. The Exhibition Committee have also decided to include spinning in the competition. Each spinner will therefore have to be prepared to send his or her own choice at the competition. The competitors would be well advised to devote some time to practising on the competition before proceeding to Bombay.

One or two friends have attempted to attract attention to effect a sum of money at the disposal of the Exhibition Committee for the cost of the yarn to be awarded to the winner.

#### To Spinners

Instead of using the same of the mule in the trials, as reported previously, such qualified spacers might use the convenient number of the handloom of the pure jute. Then a competitor who having sent his contributions for the first month, i. e. July, might be sent to the August, September and October should visit Bombay 21 and 22 November for November.



# Young India

20-11-29

## On Trial

(By F. S. Gundle)

It is not to be wondered at that No-changers are extremely dissatisfied with the agreement arrived at between the Swarajists and myself. I have repeatedly admitted that I am but an humble explorer of the waters of non-violence. Its depths despite numerous dangers are just as much as they stagger millions. I observe that the agreement meant just now its safety was in the hands of it. Many No-changers regard it as an agreement made in the Swarajists as my part. Many No-changers regard it as a paper of no account & find says that it has caused confusion among students. Why, they ask, should they remain in national schools if non-cooperation is suspended? They are the greatest enemies and they have not been considered in the past at all. I hold a letter from an Andhra friend which reads otherwise and asks for a rational reply.

Remember on my part it undoubtedly is. It is a dangerous experiment, but not, as an English paper puts it, in the path of violence. I refuse to believe that the Swaraj party is a party of violence. Such changes were I have handled against even the late Mahatma Gandhi and Justice Ranade. They were surprised and shocked. Late Mahatma who had no voice to do with any party of violence than the Mahatma himself was amazed and surprised by that step. I would have been later in the country if I had not stood by the Swaraj party in the hour of its work. Let it be completely demonstrated that it has had nothing to do with violence and I shall be prepared to discuss it in no other language as it opens out to me. On each point I shall meet all criticism with it. But till then, I must stand by it even though I do not believe in the efficacy of non-violence or even some of the methods of working round violence.

But recognition of the party as an integral part of the Congress does not mean surrender by individuals of their non-cooperation. It seems to me that the Swaraj party is a strong and growing wing of the Congress. And if it refuses to take a back seat without a fight and if it is necessary to even experiment to find a light, the status to a definite official recognition is inevitable. Every Congressman, however, is not, by reason of his being a Congressman, bound to be a believer in all the aims of a Congress programme. My own parties, I think, is some, what different. There must surely be instrumental in bringing the agreement into being. I am not sorry for it. Rightly or wrongly, the country expects me to give it some guidance. And I have come to the opinion that it is in the interest of the country to give the Swaraj party the fullest possible chance of working out its programme without let or hindrance from No-changers. The latter system bound to participate in its activity, if they do not like it. They are free and loyal, in the conscience are bound, to pursue the constructive programme only. They are free also to withhold their individual non-cooperation. I am surprised by the Congress leaders that non-cooperative was done in

support or strength from the Congress. They must divide all their strength (my opinion). And that is their test and trial. If their back slides, it is well with them and non-cooperation. If it remains with cooperation, non-cooperation dies as a force in public life. But a third says "If you mean, what about future mass?" I have not missed. My faith in non-cooperation is as bright as ever. For it has been with me a principle of life for over thirty years. But I cannot support my personal faith as others, even as a national organisation. I can but try to overcome the action of its loyalty and nobleness. And if I find in reading the national mind that the action is so far as it is represented by the Congress must have something that I want my faith. I may modify the mind of the Congress. When that happens, I shall mean to be my force in the Congress. That will be an offence. But it would be a rebuke if by my deficiency I stand in the way of the country's progress by other means, so long as they are not positively unbecoming and harmful. I should like to see the nation, even if I were alone, against methods of actual violence. But I have concluded that the nation has the right, if it so will, to maintain law broken even by actual violence. Only that faith comes to be the head of my force even though it be the head of my faith, even as I should like to give in my method of the most safety. But the Swaraj party is a party of safety progress. It may not come by non-violence as I do, but it accepts non-violence as a policy and it demonstrates its nature towards its enemies, it is to be sure, it is not even harmful. It accepts a practical position in the Congress. I do not know that its strength is tested, it might not be found even to accept a permanent position. It is very enough for me to work from the Congress and let the party run the Congress. This I can and will do when I find that I have nothing to contribute with the party. But so long as I have the faintest hope of its redemption I shall drag to it like a child to his mother's breast. I will not make it by discussing its government or by entering from the Congress.

I have said the word 'redemption' is no clearer term. I have two my method of 'Mandala' and 'Mandala'. It is the best the world has yet seen. Consider of my own ground and strength, I let the party set upon me and violence me as much as it will. It would not be hard to have it in its best. I make no secret of my weakness that by coming under its violence, I hope to influence it in favour of my method. It is the process of violence me and violence me, all together to it. I should then declare my conversion from the least to it. It should be done by means appealing to reason and heart appealing to heart. It is the non-violent method of conversion. Let non-cooperation join hands with me. All day come from to them come from to them individual action. If then non-cooperation springs from love, I presume that they will convert the Swarajists, and even if they don't convert, they will have lost nothing personally. If the country is with them, the Swarajists, if they do not follow, will naturally take a back seat. And if the latter give ground during the twelve months of grace, they must be instrumental masters of the Congress, and non-cooperation must be content to be in a minority. They may regard me as always in one of that minority.

The problem with the students is the same. Non-cooperation may be suspended, but which will not be suspended. They are as accomplished but they are among the best fruit of non-cooperation. The students are therefore



important to keep the flag flying and close to the country that they can flourish even though the Government may suppress the sub-occupation programme. It is just like that noble determination for standing firm. That alone is true faith that stands the hottest weather.

## Angels Unaware

(By G. P. Sharma)

There is a passage in the scriptures, which relates that men who are given to indulging have sometimes "celestial angels" around them. In the following story, for which I am indebted to Bala Prasad Chatterji, Editor of *Pathan*, the Hindu tradition found an "angel narrative" in their aged Brahmin but who treated his guests with a truly angelic behaviour and purity of soul. The story is told in Bengali in *Pathan* by Bala Prasad Chatterji, retired Inspector of Schools. He writes as follows:—

"Nearly twenty-five years ago, I went out to visit a distant school, and had intended to pass the night in a little hamlet. The Sub-Inspector with me was an orthodox up-country Brahmin. At night-fall, such a storm came on that we were obliged to find a more sheltered abode as usual. We reached with the greatest difficulty, a village, and entered the common building, which was a one-roomed, clean and dry. It was impossible to search for the owner in the midst of such a storm. The driver told me that that was a Musalman village, without a single Hindu household. Our Sub-Inspector felt very uncomfortable. There was no likelihood of getting a word with his orthodoxy would allow him to pursue.

"After about an hour the owner of the house appeared. His kindly face and warm heart at once restored my confidence. As I had been afraid that we might have been told to go away. Noted the very sight of his white hair and beautiful, tender eyes, all fear left me. He said to me 'I am afraid, sir, you must have been put to great inconvenience. You will see how I may entertain you.'

"Before I could say a word, my companion broke in abruptly. 'Muskil khatir don't trouble. We shall go to the Sub-Inspector after taking some rest here.'

"But the old Musalman replied: 'Sir, here is that even possible? You are my guest.'

"The Sub-Inspector started out. 'The truth is we are orthodox Hind's Brahmins, and in your village, we cannot make use of a drop of water, much less take food!'

"The gentle Musalman replied: 'What you say is good. But if you do not take any food, then my wife and I must go looking for it, for my religion tells me always that to feed my guests. I have only one request to make. Pray, do not leave my roof till tomorrow.'

"I had no intention otherwise of going out in that dreadful weather and valiantly promised to stay. He sat on the dry floor and we fell asleep. I must explain, with regard to what followed, that the water from pots is kept over the outside of the house. During the night, we 'saw a man, and I was terribly afraid. I met not the 'Juggas'. He returned saying, 'but they are digging a well for you. The Musalman' he added, 'has just found in a neighbouring village and brought back Hindu disciples.'

"I was dumb-founded. In order to arrange for drinking water for us, the old man had gone out in the

stormy night, and brought Hindu disciples to dig fresh water for us. 'O dear old worthy Musalman!' I said to myself, 'you are, indeed! you are blessed! I have heard much of our Hindus, about the great or 'Mahatmas' but you truly have made me realise the truth of it!'

"That was twenty-five years ago. I am now an old man. But whenever I think of the incident of that night, I live in proximity to the best of that old white-headed Musalman!

"When morning had dawned, the old man came to us with a reflection. 'Sir', he said, 'the well is ready. The Musalman has reached? I could not restrain my feelings. I was moved and embraced him. Then I said to him, 'Thank you, thank you, with all my heart. Was Master Shukh will you not give us some food?' The Sub-Inspector gave us a terrible look, but I took no notice. With the utmost civility I got my dear old Musalman food to eat alone in our kitchen between us both and asked him next morn. to give us some food.

"The old man's face was radiantly happy, and he said 'Sir, I had really come to ask that favour. I will make no special preparation, but give you just what is in my house. Please thank your morning food and my poor morning prayer. That all will be ready. I am coming back, now.'

"The Sub-Inspector looked at me, as if too perturbed against it. But I ignored him. 'For God's sake', I told him, when the old man was gone, 'don't make any objection.' I had with me a long twirling bill of his, which he had presented recently for payment. He must have had doubts about my paying. I told he needed and said 'No, sir! You are a high-caste Brahmin also, just like myself. If you have an objection, I have none also.'

"Having said this, he retired his servant to apply wood to the fire to cook it. He had some Ganges water with him also, in a phal, which he sprinkled. 'Sir', he said, emphatically, 'I have no objection.' In the meantime, the old man came back with some phantas leaves, some good ripe bananas and three cups of butch being milk and some sweet-smelling flowers. He called also. We both of us sat down to his gift and the Sub-Inspector ate quite a good meal. 'What I was telling here I had a mind to write the first of his list, not of your reverence for the good old man. I should have done so, but I was third because of the presence of that Sub-Inspector! And ever since I have regretted that but opportunist was in a moment of weakness!

"Some days, when I hear of discords between Hindus and Musalman, I wish I could write the story of that gentle old man and say to him, 'Great Sir! Once and forever this ill-will between our races by your goodness passes.'

"I have had to shorten, most curiously, the delightfully true story written in Bengali by Prasad Chatterji. I have not been able to reproduce in English some of the beauties of his story about the Sub-Inspector and I am conscious that I have quoted much of the beauty by retelling it. But even as it stands I feel certain that it will draw hearts together.

"In conclusion let me tell another very brief story of my own, in which the parts played were almost reversed. It was in a village near Agra in the faded district of North Bengal, in the year 1918, at a time I think when the Hindu had subdued. There was one tiny village



I had gone there some weeks after my last arrival. An old Mundana village told me, "Baba's, the Frenchman has been like an angel to us! We were in the depths of despair, when he came amongst us. By the virtue of his great soul he has taken away all our loss. We have never since been to get all our trust in God. Allah be praised for His great mercy!" I found that the French, who belonged to a Victorian house in East Bengal, went to the borders of Assam, had modelled them everything with his hand of wisdom of a most refined genius. All the villages were Hindu. Such an affection had sprung up between them and these Mundana villages, that I could read it in the old man's face and in all I saw among the villagers. It was by the remembrance of one man, and Parnala Baba's story brought it back at once to my mind.

When, at times, we are influenced by the mad note of selfish minds and the cry of people who "know not what they do," let us not forget the lastness that is lying about, all over India, every day of the year before. Hindu and Mundana, remodelling hearts together is easy, interrupted and pure.

### Machinery and Population

In the connection with Mahatma Gandhi, inevitable this and the present condition there is the deeply interesting point raised concerning the displacement of population, even being well and ordinary, otherwise it has saving machinery for itself. The question is raised, as to how far this is necessary and inevitable. An example of very deep and painful practical experience comes to my mind when at Poona, in the Rajahmundry District, during the First World War in North Bengal. There were some thousands of acres that had remained empty, right into the month of March, and the ground was getting harder and harder. Yet it was a clearly necessary for the soil to be broken up before the monsoon otherwise there would be no crop that year. But there had been an extreme drought of cattle because of the flood, and therefore the land had not been tilled at all. To this dilemma, Acharya P. C. Ray agreed with me to make an experiment with a water-wheel. We got the tractor in March, and it saved the situation for that year. It did, in one day, as much ploughing as fifty pairs of oxen, driven by fifty labourers. Yet it only costed one paise to run it. Thus it reduced the labour costs by many hundreds per acre. The cost also of the tractor ploughing was not, as may many people think it was actually cheaper on the whole than ploughing with oxen. Therefore, at the end of the ploughing, the question had naturally to be faced, whether it would be advisable to restrict the tractor ploughing, not in an extreme emergency, but in an ordinary year when things were normal. But in restriction the tractor permanently would mean an opening of village population, such as took place in England early in the nineteenth century, with the advent of the new machinery. It might mean the displacement of many thousands of agriculturalists. It might involve during them, by the sheer force of hunger, with the forces. The displacement of labour would be enormous, and this constant pressure, when it is not so intense, could not be again overlooked. I mention, when I had to face this question, as with a terribly practical force, involving literally hundreds of thousands, now, perhaps millions of human lives, I could not say otherwise.

"Whatever and any happen in the present run of human beings in the process, nevertheless the deepest method of education in all ways must be introduced." I preferred

to think of that great village population, with its thousands filled with superstitions and money-lord classes, and I could not lose the thought of those same country people being driven by starvation and hunger into the towns, while the native workers displaced their labour.

From this old think and the actual problem, with which I was brought face to face, will appear the following's argument concerning the substitution form of all of the crying words of humanity. He stands to-day, at every point simply and honestly for the poor. That is the outstanding character of the whole non-cooperation movement.

### Post Industrialism

It has been the custom to call Mr. Gandhi, in this matter of machinery, a traditionalist, and to say that he wishes to put back the clock of time in human affairs. Those who think thus of him should read the latest book on 'Labour', called 'Post Industrialism' by James J. Pardy, published by Messrs Allen and Unwin, London. The title was suggested to the author by his friend, Dr. J. C. Cunningham, and it is a good one. The book looks, not so much to the Middle Ages, as to the distant future, when the present 'Industrial' revolution will have run its course and declined its own machine to its fall. Therefore, the name has been given to the book, 'Post Industrialism', which is to say the Industralism of the Future. The writer shows with remarkable lucidity, how the present revolution of the West is passing to a full stage, how the machine is not being used for man, but man is being used for the machine. The writer, who is a mathematician, comes to exactly the same conclusion as Mahatma Gandhi on certain fundamental points. He has, of course, shown how Mahatma is a thinker out of the past but of the future.

A second sign of the times in the presentation of Subramanya Tagore's new drama, called 'The Red Chameleon' published in the Visvabharati Quarterly. The latter Post represents the spirit of humanity called Machine, as a young girl, full of naive simplicity and joy and beauty, being caught in the clutches of the machinery of the modern age. All the hopes of her love and life are taken to pieces by this machine. In a way of the most powerful plays that the Post, Subramanya Tagore, has ever written, and it should be read by all.

An old Lady Friend, in her own turn, has put the whole subject into a whole lot of sense, which is so near to the English in the machinery, that it can be understood even without translation. She has put it of all such critical efforts of mankind that their danger is: Pope's Pious Virgins' Pious Dreams. For this the prophetic might run to follow: "The rule of life, as during the very things that make life worth living." Most sincerely, we have to feel every single one of them, and to pass by the one savings too. Is the new machine going to be destructive of what is true and beautiful and good in human nature, or is it going to preserve these elements of life and increase them?

### The Damascene Climate

Mr. Dalrymple's speech at the House of Commons, London, is a criticism of India, with its new damascene climate. It is reported, that his speech was political and religious, I would suggest that the average Englishman's religion



today is not Christianity, is the New Testament usage of the word, but a strange mixture of belief and almost infidel religion, which goes by the name of belief in the British Empire. Its ceremonies and tenets, with its history and mythology, art, and children are being religiously brought up in its doctrine. Religious text books are being written and national legends are being sung.

The children are looking themselves to the ruler and British flag, instead of to God as being up in their holy of holies. Truly all this is a strange and pathetic sign of the times. In foreign lands this belief in the British Empire, quite naturally, the 'religion of the white race'.

According to the Conservative Imperialist Forester Mr. Robinson, there are two articles of belief, which every British flag-worshipper must hold. They are as follows:—

(i) Belief in the British Empire itself.

(ii) Belief in Britain's being an integral and indispensable part of the British Empire.

The next might therefore say,—“I believe in the British Empire, and in India as an integral and indispensable part of the British Empire.”

The Prime Minister, as is usual with high priests of creedal religion, who know ‘morning’ and ‘dormitory’ classes. “Whereas we know in the British Empire, etc., shall be used when ever does not believe shall be degraded. The statement of the Indian Penal Code about sedition, coupled with our ceremonies and regulations, as opportunity may require, are really made up a dormitory article. The ‘morning’ section will consist of belief, however and doubtless of which the Order of the British Empire will be the chief.

#### Government and Violence

If there is one fact that is certain in history it is this, that repression breeds the downfall of a sleeping nation, but it has recently the opposite effect upon a living nation, it quickens its growth. Professor Young has wisely said:—“Let but a nation live and repression will only bring out its creative strength.” History events have shown that the Government of Bengal who directly upon physical violence, set upon moral strength after a while a solution in the past involving the imprisonment of numerous people without trial, the Government of Bengal has entirely determined to use the same weapon again, with the more power of realising the interest with the party. This is a serious warning. It is responsible to call it by any other name.

But make the difference here. This weapon has lost its terror. The way of the people, set on being more everywhere as a people to God,—

“The hands of Bengal, the patient spirit of Bengal

Breaks and shivers in the hands of Bengal,

Trist, and a voice, O Lord!”

This unity is not limited to Bengal. It is a unity, which will draw all India together,—the unity of suffering. In the midst of this unity of suffering, but there is no tears, cry, of sadness or thought, in mind, is not, from the side of the people. Thus the cry of suffering souls will ascend to God,—“How long, O Lord, how long?” and the cry will be answered.

G. P. S.

## A Morning with Gandhi

[By Mahadev Joshi]

“The third question” and Remembrance, “that I would like to ask you is whether you are against the institution of marriage?”

I shall have to answer this question at some length, and say, “The aim of human life is  *Moksha* . As a Hindu I believe that  *Moksha*  is freedom from birth, by leaving the bonds of the flesh, by becoming one with God. Now marriage is a hindrance in the attainment of this supreme object, in so much as it only tightens the bonds of flesh.  *Moksha*  is a great help, in so much as it enables one to lead a life of full surrender to God. What is the object generally understood of marriage, except a gratification of one's own flesh? And why need you celebrate marriage? It propagates itself. It requires no agency to produce its growth.”

“But must you celebrate ordinary and pleasurable and all?”

“Yes, and Gandhi (Mahatmaji) looked puzzled.—“Then you have there will be an end of creation! But the pleasure beyond words, words in, and collection of the human system, but the transcendence of it to a higher plane.”

“But may not an act as a part or a great person have a legacy of his person to posterity through his own children?”

“Certainly not,” said Bapu, with emphasis, “He will have more thoughts than he can ever have children, and though these thoughts of his gifts to the world will be handed down in a way that nothing else can do it. It will be the noble marriage with the spirit, the progeny being the thoughts, not of divine generation. But you must have marriage to take care of itself. Repetition and not growth would be the result. For last has come to play the most important part in marriage.”

“Mr. Ashoka” and Remembrance, “does not like your emphasis on celibacy?”

Yes, I know, and Gandhi: “that is the legacy of Puritanism. Puritanism did many good things, but one of the few evils was that it retarded celibacy.”

“That” rejoined Remembrance, “was because it had no light the deep silence in which the things of the age had sunk.”

“But all that was not due to any inherent evil of celibacy” said Bapu, “it is celibacy that has kept Christianity green up to the present day.”

Remembrance's last question was about the much discussed ‘Sphering Function’. Remembrance asked Gandhi, at the outset, that he was a speaker, but had to make that he, with three friends at Remembrance, only began speaking after they had heard of the fact. He also affirmed that he believed in universal speaking. But as would not understand how the Congress could exempt its members to give. Forgive me and non-compliance should be the method.”

I said, and Gandhi, you go even further than Mr. Ashoka. He would not have the Congress to exempt its members but he would like to have a number of a voluntary speaking association, with rules about speaking. You object to any such association whatsoever?”



Bhambhaniya sat silent.

"Well, then," replied Gendling, rejecting the argument, "I ask you how the Congress can right its eye. And the members can't do that? Will that be a statement of the freedom of the individual mind? If the Congress assumed that right of rejecting statements from drinking, there would be no objection. Why? Because the rule of drink are obvious. Well, I say that in India today where millions are on the brink of starvation and plunged in utter misery, it is perhaps a much worse evil to import foreign drink. Think of the starving millions of India. When I was there, I saw the human condition. There is a hard dependence, who was in charge of an industrial house, I saw the children, height, health and worry, making every of these people healthy, etc. There are no spaces, because there other things were made to support at the time. But as they have there was the history of right work. And when I came to the Bhambhaniya, what did I see? Why was nearly five and four, only coming to die. They were then in that condition, because they would enter in contemplation work. Even though you had character to clear them, if they refused to work, I can see they would have preferred to be that rather than do any honest work. This remains from work in a greater and this hard work. You can take some work out of a drunkard. A five-hand before something of a house. He has intelligence. You cannot see, refusing to work, more like more equal. Now you see the value the position of getting work out of people like that? I see no way except for a permanent opening. Every part of Europe, Asia, America, India, a sea lot of land, stretched out of the mouths at the starving poor. If you could somewhere I can see the signs of the hour when it is given to the starving millions a chance to see their land with joy and gladness, you would not object to the opening. Bhambhaniya. I take the Congress to be a body of men and women who accept the permanent capacity of opening. Why should it not accept the capacity of making it in the body by making it compulsory for every member to open? And you talk of prohibition? What are the better persons than that every member of the Congress open regularly a certain quantity of pure every month? How could it be better for the Congress members to ask people to open, when they do not open themselves?"

Bhambhaniya replied with great satisfaction, "I have seen you selfish people, who do not open, from the Congress? They may be doing valuable service to the nation in other ways."

"Why not?" asked Gendling. "What is the reason for the property franchise? Why is it necessary for a man to pay for money to be a member? And why is age considered a necessary qualification? Would the eight year old children privilege of body have the franchise? The Board had however chosen the way have been, when he was seven years old, with his knowledge of Greek and Latin, had no franchise at that age. Why were these privileges excluded? There are well have to be excluded under any franchise. No, today money will not accept my position, but I have told that the day will come, will say to other my death, when you will say that after all what Gendling said was right."

It was now seven o'clock and Bhambhaniya had moved his house. But he had passed what was extremely rare

judgment. The next morning, before starting, he was intimate enough to get another talk—the time a brief one, but one that he had coveted long.

"So, Bapu, Truth is the only thing," said Bhambhaniya, turning the previous day's conversation. "Beauty and Truth are not separate aspects of the same thing."

Truth? repeated Gendling with greater emphasis, "is the first thing to be sought for, and Beauty and Goodness will then be added into you. There was, in my mind, a supreme value because to me and expressed Truth, and in me Mohammed, the Quran being the most perfect companion to all human literature—not my own, that is what I believe in. It is a human book of these stories that for Truth, that the great of expression certainly was in, and yet neither Jesus nor Mohammed wrote to him. That is the Truth and Beauty I have long been for, and would do for."

Bhambhaniya reacted to his definition in Gendling's logical position with regard to machinery. "If you make an attempt of the finger being machine and pure speech," he said, "where would they express?"

Gendling replied, "Just where they come to help the individual and extend upon his individuality. The machine should not be allowed to supply the limits of man."

"But I was not thinking and now of the practical side, Bapu," said Bhambhaniya, "Ideally would you not rule out all machinery?" "When you accept the living machine, you will have to make exception of the people, the motor car, etc."

"No, I don't," said Bapu, "because they do not satisfy any of the primary wants of man, but it is not the primary need of man to become distanced from the reality of a motor car. The motor car, the motor, happens to be an essential thing in life—a primary need. Ideally, it seems, I would rule out all machinery, even as I would reject the very body, which is not helpful to salvation, and with the absolute liberation of the soul. From that point of view I would reject all machinery. But machines will remain because the body, they are necessary. The body will not be rid of in the present phase of mechanism, but it is a hindrance to the highest light of the soul, it has to be rejected."

"Why is it a necessary evil?" asked Bhambhaniya. "May not after all some machine be able to do what is to be done through Beauty?"

"There may," said Gendling, "but have you not an alternative, I mean that in terms of the machine, and to the machine as machine that failing to accept a perception of Beauty, in such a way as to be free from it. Then there Truth first and Beauty will not Beauty afterwards. Great beauty can be my nature must and to my desire. Whether you are useful? These changing machines in human to my mind. Let us know today that the real things of life and all the great and ornaments of life will follow."

Then the long conversation ended, and only the next morning Bhambhaniya started on his way back to Bhambhaniya with Bapu's message. Bhambhaniya has for the teaching of the Gendling, Bhambhaniya's figure would become with that which he had just seen, and how for there was a fundamental difference.

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subvention in 1927. Its rapid and thorough had been the motive in China could, that Great Britain agreed in 1912 to not start the ten year's period. It came to an end just before the Great War. This was a guarantee not which had something to reduce the category of another time.

Unfortunately two circumstances led to the revival of opium consumption in China. (1) Towards the end of the war most quantities of opium and also morphine pills were smuggled into China. (2) During the intensive struggles in China itself, the military leaders began to force Chinese farmers to grow the opium poppy in spite of the law against it. At present, in all provinces, large quantities of opium poppies are again being grown. Thus China is back once more in the throes of the opium evil, partly as a result of the foreign smuggling, and partly as a result of illegal cultivation within China itself.

The latter, which takes the last aspect of the history of Indo-Chinese opium, shows the fact the every responsible politician in China deplores the present situation, and that the Chinese Government itself is in fact and in theory in error in its determination to suppress the opium poppy which has been raising China far too low. Everyone in India who reads how Chinese behave with sympathy with the Chinese Government, and the last thing that we, in India, should wish to do would be to encourage that Government and further in the belief of all its present difficulties and troubles, by making in any way to secure the growth in India opium traffic of the past. I repeat that in my interview of last I write perhaps too lightly in *Foreign India*, about Dr. Gu's proposal but it is difficult to overstate the harm that it will do if such a resolution as Dr. Gu's attempt to being formed is actually presented to the Assembly at Delhi. It will certainly be telegraphed out to China and mischief will come from it. Before I give the items of some of the most prominent officials and non-officials of China.

#### **His Excellency Hsu Shih-Chang** *Ex-President of China*

My views on the opium question are best demonstrated by the fact that when President of China I ordered the complete destruction of the accumulated stocks of opium in Shanghai purchased by my predecessor amounting to 40,000,000. At that time China had almost entirely ceased to cultivate opium, and, as I was determined to prevent any reversion of the opium habit, I ordered the destruction. I deeply regret the re-introduction of opium cultivation during recent years and sincerely hope that a way may be found to open deliver our people from this terrible evil."

#### **His Excellency Li Yuen-Hung** *Ex-President of China*

"The greatest evil from which China has ever suffered has been the opium traffic. Any one who becomes a victim of this habit, especially if he be a young man, will lose valuable time, ruin his work and spoil his health, and when the habit becomes stronger it is almost impossible to break it. He will end his property, even to his wife and children, for the sake of buying opium. The evil of the opium traffic is, if possible, even greater. Persons who take to these drugs not only destroy of their health, but ruin their reputations and families. For any one addicted to opium has no career, and stands far as a social outcast.

I had extremely sorry that the people have lost their virtue through opium, and will support any effort to suppress it. When the Government was successfully formed in 1912 of suppressing a scheme for establishing a Government opium monopoly, and in doing so the use of opium throughout China, I as President declared "There is no power on earth that can compel my hand to sign an edict to encourage opium." This has always been my attitude, and it will remain so. China must get rid of opium at any cost."

#### *Government Statement, May 1934*

"In reply to enquiries from abroad about the proposed legislation of the opium laws in China, the Government has stated to the Chinese Mission in London Washington Paris, Tokyo and other foreign capitals concerning them to keep all enquiries about opium monopoly. Reinforcing the extreme despotic leadership of the Peking authorities, as yet intended play in the establishment of an opium monopoly will be considered. The Chinese should not underestimate their enemies to stamp out the opium and morphine traffic throughout China. The Government itself has, owing to political reasons, paper has been introduced in certain provinces under the strict prohibition of the unscrupulous individuals who are in "larger controlled by Peking", but this is merely temporary and will be suppressed as soon as political revolution has been effected in China. Hence there will be no change or weakness in the government's policy on China."

#### **His Excellency Sun-Pao-Chi** *Ex-Governor of China*

"China will never make contact with the present opium institutions. The spirit of reform which permeated and secured the prohibition of imports of opium from India a decade ago will produce the total suppression of opium cultivation in China, it will the spirit of the nation. One nation is growing more and more determined that opium produces all social and economic advancement, and so we are determined to advance into the future of a liberal and organized freedom, opium must go. All our energies relating to opium will be directed to the spirit as well as to the letter, not only because they are honest, but because the spirit of our nation is growing more and more convinced that opium is an unscrupulous evil."

With such a large nation and so wide a territory, nations were slowly, but however slow may be that of opium sales, even a new era. We will not the sympathy and patience of all individuals."

#### **His Excellency Dr. Wellington Koo** *Minister of Foreign Affairs*

"It is impossible to exaggerate the effect in both China and foreign nations of the petty re-introduction of opium years. On China, the effect has been both demoralizing and destructive, and in foreign countries it has given rise to many mistakes in the past which have not died upon China's integrity. As the representative of China at the League of Nations, I always maintained that the present re-introduction of opium cultivation was wrong, and would actually disappear when the Great Government reversed policy. I am daily more and more convinced of this fact, and the recent declaration of the Chinese Government "that under an administration would opium be eradicated" fully confirms it. China is finding through a period of transition in her political development, being handicapped by feudalistic ideas and restrained by feudal



work. The present opium commissions were out of the nation's pressing business, it is an incident of low political transactions, and not the men endeavoring to a degraded habit costing one of four p. But for the financial darkness, were the ministers would not probably have based opium commissions upon so wretched people.

Dr. Sun Yat Sen  
President of China

"In my opinion, the problem of opium suppression in China is a question of both the problem of good government. For traffic in opium means war-torn with a National Government during the peace and suffering from the people. Total political reform in China are in a position to direct effectively the suppression of the evil industry. There is little hope for the efficient suppression of the opium evil."

In long as further substantial attempts, and even more completely, the solution of the opium problem is necessary under their control, it is better to direct measures for opium suppression. One of the people are easily given and quickly harvested they paid a for more reason when they escape of military service, loans and corruption, and the farmers do not dare to refuse to cultivate the poppy wherever the military command them.

As a measure of forty years in the Chinese people, there should be no interference in the part of the delegation of the League Conference in such cases changed again are forbidding the export in China of opium and its more harmful products, morphine, heroin, and other narcotics.

The view expressed that because of the absolutely widespread commission of the opium traffic in China, the opium trade should again be legalized and foreign opium openly admitted through the Maritime Customs—directly providing increased revenue for the national treasury—is totally unacceptable. For it is inadmissible that Chinese public opinion—the opinion of the average peasant and landowner, student and respectable citizen—is strongly opposed to the opium evil and yet, even temporary, attempts in the light against the illicit opium traffic, such has the proposal to legalize the legitimacy of the opium trade according to the world."

His Excellency Dr. C. T. Wang  
President of China

"The existing system is not only temporary but we shall have a long fight to get rid of the root of the evil, namely the military police."

The cultivation of opium in China has been put under the law of the law for many years, and is still an illegal occupation. Nevertheless, the present system is to keep up in certain areas under the possession of military chiefs and the Central Government finds itself powerless to prohibit. The responsible heads of the Government, as well as the general public, are thoroughly opposed them. Inasmuch as the continuous growing of opium are considered and temporary, there can be no doubt that with a strong Central Government the illegal cultivation of the drug will be instantly stopped."

Mr. Hsin Chi-Ping

The Information Section of the League of Nations

"I consider that the only way in which we can save our country from this national peril is to get the public in power strongly against the military, who are actually

protecting the opium production and its traffic in order to divide money in support their armies and to fight against their own countrymen."

Dr. W. S. Ts'ao  
President of Tsing Hua College

The international control in China was started after the Anti-Opium Conference of Shanghai. For a number of years, the gradual reduction was in opium consumption of the drug were such small and hard, and many have and have been almost done. The wonderful achievement was made possible by the treatment of suppression introduced by the Central Government of China, by the support of the provincial authorities and education, by the hearty cooperation of the nation directly and indirectly concerned, and above all, by the real acceptance of the will of the people at large. During the last five years, there has been a real transformation of the opium evil in China, both in production and smoking. When there have these happy instances, thereby making a foundation in the machinery of the anti-smoke against the modern world. The fundamental reason is to be found in the greater movement of changing China from an absolute government into a democracy.

As the suppression of opium is a piece of moral legislation, it is the Chinese will of the people that will decide the success of the long run. It is to be hoped, therefore, that as the movement, as democracy grows in China, the Central Government will continue to be right and that the foreign powers will continue to cooperate."

His Excellency Chou Hsin-Shan  
Chung Hsiang-shan, London

"The world knows, or ought to know, that China has made incredible sacrifice to suppress a traffic spread which all that is less and worse in the country has produced with purity, and now, when opportunity is rich with demonstration."

Dr. Ch'ien Hsu

Formerly President of The Supreme Court, Peking

"The prohibition of China's opium has now covered almost the whole country. With the birth of military in the opium evil period. Opium is used by large numbers of the officers of all ranks, whether in the Northern or Southern zones."

The present state of China, unfortunately proves that women and opium are inseparable."

His Excellency Hsiang Shih-Ling  
Lieutenant of China

"The more than a century, a large number of the Chinese people have suffered from the evil and harmful opium. The intelligent and patriotic Chinese have long deplored the harm brought by the drug on the moral and physical constitution of their countrymen. The most reliable among the persons who have made havoc of it is to suppress the opium evil the Government General Lin who gained a remarkable reputation by his drastic measures to clear China of the illicit opium."

Indeed, his only power began to render assistance to our Government in the effort to suppress opium during the the last years of the Maritime Dynasty. For their absolute assistance was action both fearless, and for their moral help and the substantial effort of our late President Yuan Shih Kai, the considerable results obtained during the first and second years of the Republic would not have been achieved.

The great demand for the supply of our former President Yuan Shih Kai is causing a quantity of opium work millions



of India to be publicly burned and an attempt to show that China has no honest intention to get rid of the opium evil.

### Memorials by the China National Antioption Association

#### "Police martyrs"

The opium drug has been a right eyesore everywhere for more than a hundred years. It has ruined the health of the nation and sapped the vitality of the people. Towards the end of the Nineteenth century the practice of opium smoking had been so prevalent and the results so terrible, that the entire nation was gradually coming to the fact that it was a real menace. A few years' limit of high suppression was then proclaimed by an Imperial Edict and an opium treaty. During the course of the drug to be imported was the strongest. In all instances the whole country was unanimous for the abolition of the evil. In general, the officials were sincere in carrying out the mandate and the people were enthusiastic in cooperation. It looked as if the evil was to be totally stamped out of the prohibited area built.

Alas! with the entrance of the European missionaries in 1810, when the Great Britain came into contact by political dominion and economic war, the law of the land forbidding poppy planting and opium smoking actually became a law. The revenue derived from the seven trade ports as mentioned that had not been nullified, the temptation to exploit this new treasury in order to further a big army, and in some instances only by the revenue of opium income. Well a big army to keep them intransigent. Consequently, poppy planting became general and the trade extended. Smuggling, too, in rampant in such large cities as Shanghai, Tientsin, Hankow, and other treaty ports. There is no question that tens of thousands are attracted to opium dealing by the huge profits it provides. It is no wonder that there is every evidence of an opium mania here. What a marked retrogression in race of past civilisation!

The League of Nations is calling for an Opium Conference to be held at Geneva in November, this year, with a view to limiting sources and means production and use by medical and scientific purposes. Our country will undoubtedly be represented at the Conference, and it is certain some kind of an agreement will be reached to check all participating nations and have in common. Now, for the purpose of referring to the League of Nations as the sole means of restriction of the production and use of narcotics to legitimate uses in all countries, and to assist our own government in reducing the opium supplies throughout the land, we have formed among ourselves a National Anti-opium Association with a membership of over ten thirty leading organisations representing national and local interests. A year meeting was held today in the Shanghai General Chamber of Commerce demonstrating our attitude will to eradicate opium. It is high time that each and every Chinese, at home or abroad, should make a national movement against this evil. It is, therefore, our desire here that you, fellow countrymen of the platform, will devote due to the situation and organize Anti-opium societies in order that we may make a united front against POPPY planting and the opium trade.

It is desired that all Chinese should observe September 22 as a Special Antiopium Day, on which day to urge the job men to hold meetings or demonstrations with the sole view of ending the opium connection to the structure of the situation. It is hoped that you will send to us on or before the 15th of October, information regarding the observance of the day in your locality, together with resolutions which may have been adopted.

In conclusion, fellow countrymen, let us be united in the movement for 'China is Strong!' Let us use every means within our control to create a strong people against poppy cultivation and opium smoking, for it is our conviction that when brave protesting countries will cooperate with us in limiting the production, use, the diffusion of China about cannot otherwise deal with the question. But on the part of the Chinese, shall we not fight to the death against the traffic, until the last prohibiting the planting of the poppy and the smoking of opium is actually achieved throughout the land? Is China strong, let us go forward!

#### Memorials by the China Antioption for the Advancement of Education

A thousand professors' Chinese students, members of this Association, met in Peking from July 24-27. The intention of the Association was directed to the opportunity afforded by the conference called at Geneva in November of this year to secure numerous legislation of our own national character. The resolutions contained herein were unanimously adopted by the Association.

1. The opium problem now led our country into battle with other powers and resulted in the loss of territory and lowering of national standing. For this reason any steps of the government towards opium to be an national, strong and general factor. But now, when the cultivation, smuggling, sale, and use of opium proved as every person at not only dirty in the health and character of the people, but also most harm to the national life as well. The people of this country should awake and rise up the public opinion for a strong forward move against a joint and other narcotic drugs.

2. Owing to the increase of production of narcotic goods in foreign countries, the source of narcotics, smoking and trade imported to our country also increases. This is harmful to the people of the A.S. and Indians and especially to our own country. Therefore we must cooperate with other nations to do away with this great evil.

3. The League of Nations has called an International Antioption Conference, to reduce the control of production of narcotic drugs in the actual and the scientific and medical progress. Our people must express in all surveys their attitude in supporting the great antioption against nations.

4. The League of Nations is calling for conference for the end of this year; a conference for the opium producing countries, and a conference for the non-producing countries, to study the problem of A.S. and narcotics and especially the problem of China. Now that the time of these two conferences is drawing near, we the people of China must be prepared in order to do away with this great shame of our country.



# Young India

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## Shall We Unite?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

That the conference that met at Bombay last week did not speak unanimously in favour of all parties to its common platform shows the difficulty of the task. The appointment of a committee to consider the ways and means of bringing about a union shows that the conference does not consider the task to be hopeless or impossible. Indeed Mr. J. B. K. B. B. who moved that the conference should appoint a committee (last December) had a very fair number of supporters. They were quite conscious of immediate action. The conference may by fixing the date of the report at 31st March, if they have reached the difficulty, have also by implication shown to the members the limits of doing so completely action. Whether the Press can confidently help the committee by getting public opinion in the right channel. The chief bodies to influence the conference are the Liberals, the Independents and the United India League. The last led by Dr. B. B. have generally accepted the position set forth in the agreement between the Congress party and me and are backed up by the A. I. C. C. The difficulty is the way of the last two and the Independents are probably the same. They are the most, the leaders of all United work in the Congress party and the leaders. It is said that the result is expected. I cannot to deny the change. It is a recognition of the existing position. It means that the Congress, if possible, will not of course. It is intended to have the limits of the conference of making it possible for us to have some equal partners in the Congress. It is really to show the country's ability to stand on its own legs as an absolutely independent union, if it seems necessary. Since when the Congress is a free state, a voluntary association in the Congress, making its words of India thought it desirable. Since when the Congress must be a partnership or will between the union. This is a vital position which cannot be surrendered. Even if there were any guiding the Congress at the present moment, decided to offer the word to some Union with the Congress only and declare that of a subject there, the rest majority of Congressmen will follow to accept the limitation. To me as changing the word is the direction desired by the Liberals and the Independents is to the union in the present national temper. The only thing they can do is to join the Congress and attempt to convince Congressmen of the utility or the necessity of the change, and as

William Howard Taft has been attempting to change the word as to the independence of British association the only goal of the Congress. I emphatically submit that there is nothing material or harmful in the possible word. On the contrary, the situation that, at the present moment at least, we are exposed for independence may be open to the greatest exposure from an external standpoint. We must that has the will, and be prepared for independence. It may not be that all parties will recognize that the Congress has an objective which can become constant at once and that it is well that it is so.

What strikes the Congress should hold in the Congress is really for them to determine. They and the No-Union today determine the Congress. In the Congress, perhaps two-unionism, the Congress perhaps perhaps become predominant, and if both the parties decide in the national interest not to divide the Congress, they will be recognized as just and equal partners. What I have done is to propose the simple and direct but in the Congress agreement. If any party should move, it can be obtained only by joining the Congress and agreeing to the terms of the Congress or by obtaining the Congress otherwise, and also by joining the Congress. The steps for obtaining the Congress otherwise is to be obtained only by joining the Congress and agreeing to the terms of the Congress or by obtaining the Congress otherwise, and also by joining the Congress.

The third objection to the franchise. It is not that it is a word, it would not only not make any sense, but it would be understood in the last instance that, had it been written who had been the most influential people and not independent or educated men and a property or an education but had been proposed, the present situation would have referred the suggestion and might have been called a demand. But they would have agreed that which might be obtained from the possession of a law, truly better was known to all. My suggestion to make one law of India, i. e. handicapping the last, may be referred may be forwarded, but it is not material nor harmful in the nature. I hold that it is a positive gain in the nature of thousands of men and women labor for the cause, even if it is for only half an hour every day. But will the meaning of India from some say hindrance to my party entering the Congress. Whether has been given very good exposure to the Congress experience for the past three years.



Surely there can be no immeasurable objection to principle in the meeting of Bhaidar in a frontier Post. Unless I am gravely mistaken, none of the best wishes will find an echo in regarding the Congress, if the meeting of Bhaidar and Kanchikunnam were not made a qualification for Bhaidar. There are at present two parties in the Congress. One has its back to the Grand programme as a reason for attending Bhaidar and is satisfied with the Bhaidar activity, till the money is ready for possible disbursement or mis-disbursement. The other, while claiming to believe in the economic value of Bhaidar believes that, if Bhaidar cannot be gained through General money, in the way that a new stage may be taken towards it and some work might be placed upon, immovable misdisbursement. I was on my way to sending a query with the Bhaidar by letter, when you first met me by sending three newspapers in the Bhaidar programme in the form of daily activity. I could thank the Friends and the Independent in separate the first, which was most moved after. But this is certainly possible. Let the Bhaidar, the Friends and the Independent under together and, if they come to the conclusion that Bhaidar is a great belief and that it is a more source of work and if they do not succeed in convincing me of my error, I shall gladly stand out. I will not come in the way of their continuing and using the national representation for what they may consider to be the best interest of the country. I have been told by a prominent Bhaidar that the Bhaidar programme is doomed to fail and that the Bhaidar do not believe in it at all. I told him I did not share his belief. I told him that the Bhaidar had sincerely accepted it and that they would already work for it. But assuming that the friend's representation is well founded and that the Bhaidar risk in a doing factor in the public life, the more the country is disillusioned, the better for it. I must be persuaded still to cling to it, so long as I do not lose heart in it. But I may not be allowed to stop all national activities, if Bhaidar give my utmost assurance that I shall not entirely stand in the way of any economic means that may be desired by the committee for keeping all the parties together. I am deliberately putting myself under the influence of Bhaidar, Friends and Independent. I am honestly trying to learn and understand their way of I have no use of my own to give. I share their aim for the freedom of the country. My way is different from theirs. I would gladly go their way, if I can, i.e. all parties that make an honest and correct plan. I find a way out. Let them approach the deliberations of the committee with both and determination to find a common platform. Let them approach their work in open road.

A hard task whether Congressmen should not possess the objection of the Bhaidar, making the work of the All Parties Committee's representation. I respectfully submit that a well-thought-out programme cannot be lightly questioned. Three months' solid work cannot be thrown away for fear that the Bhaidar programme may not be accepted by the Friends and the Independent. If, however, the Committee think that the Bhaidar programme is inevitable and truly Indian and very, the Bhaidar can be easily accepted by a special session. In my opinion, the interests of the country demands that such party should work on its own initiative all the while allowing for possibility. I have not misapprehension and certainly

## The Joy that is Deathless

(By C. P. Andrews)

[The address, that is printed below, was given at the Bhaidar at Kanchikunnam, in the early morning, on my return from Delhi and Allahabad. Before the address, came the usual recitation of the Bhaidar mottoes. "The man, the man is both" and the singing of one of the Poets' favourite hymns. (C. P. A.)]

Last morning, on my way to Kanchikunnam, after a long absence, I wish to tell you something of the spiritual experience which I had at Delhi during the very anxious time of the nearly two days' fast that Mahatma Gandhi observed. There was reason, none to me through the personality of the address, who gave me the and worked in body, but stronger in soul, as the fast unfolded. They brought to me a wonderful extension of the inner realisation of the spiritual life and they were therefore very precious to me indeed.

When I first heard at the end of twenty-one days and the eye that had been shut, my eyes were opened. I had been with him in his very intense time at the Bhaidar Hospital, Poona, and at Delhi, and in my heart I thought he I intended to Delhi that it was wrong at his post and almost sleeping. I remember to enter upon such a fast he needed as a Bhaidar hope, but in such a weak state of health. He also—I know well, thoughtful others, who were careful and desired to him, in other parts of India. But when I saw Mahatma and heard that he was so severely in pain under himself and so strong in his personal faith in God, my own courage melted, and I turned myself for sympathy and rest of faith. Therefore, now, the determination came to me, to say nothing whatever to him about the fast itself, but rather to work to show in his own act of faith as far as my own weakness would allow me. Indeed I began to be heartily ashamed of earlier doubts and fears. He it came to me in a flash, that what I had to do was to give him every help that cheerfulness and brightness could give, and never to waver at all.

I cannot describe to you what a great experience it was for me, after I had made that simple promise, to make his complete conviction, that God, had been calling him all along to the use of peace and restraint and away from the active life of the world for a season. He would tell me that, when ever he had entered the light under that crushing burden close. The three past and even shining back into his and with an infinite sense of relief.

For the struggle with the power of darkness, which had been terrible indeed. He told me, that before he had entered the light, which, as would rather the three papers in words, he would had been here by an agent all great that he would not have been in such a long without breaking down under a completely.

The most of the Bhaidar-idea is now in our place after another, at Kanchikunnam, U. S. I. has, had made his own eyes dark with pain and anguish. He had needed for the light as to his own sense of work, but he had not come to him. Night after night, he had remained almost sleepless from evening till sunrise. He had got up from his bed and walked up and down the room in the dark, in an agony of suffering. Then, suddenly, in the midst of his prayer for light, the gateway of that had opened upon him and the darkness had



man to lead. He had not shattered the will, at the clearest possible moment, he had seen that he must take upon himself the cross of action, as if the will had been his very own, fashioned by himself.

As man in this condition is led, even to him and he had accepted it, from that moment his spirit had become fixed with a moral power. The spirit, which he had suffered to be, passed away. I do not think that, at any time afterwards, even in the most dangerous moments of the last shell, when the darkness themselves were filled with storm and death, and he himself experienced any sense of the darkness, or loss the brightness of the inner class of peace. The soul had conquered the body and had won a splendour of its own.

Therefore, when I was away far, throughout the last the perfect simplicity and brightness of his existence, I knew that the joy which the Gopasah's spirit, —the 'joy that is darkness'—had come to him, just in the same way that it had come in the child of old. He had, for a time, even when death. He was made a shadow in the divine life itself. I could understand, better than ever before, the meaning of the words, who could not.

I have seen the 'Darkness'. I could realize by personal experience, that the darkness which is darkness, is in very truth the life of God within the soul.

The rules of old possessed, after long meditation and self-discipline, that man himself, in his essential being, is soul, not body. They are that the clinging step, the 'soully' nature of things, which is the body, is really nothing, at all, but the end of everything. They understood the sovereign truth, that men and women really passed their moral existence between two worlds, the material world and the world of spirit. They experienced with their own bodies and experienced the fact, that the spirit of man can rise above the body by an inner power of its own, which they called by the very name of darkness. They said, 'From up all things passed, as up all things have their long, and up all things come.' Thus darkness has their very name for God Himself, who is darkness. He is God, God, darkness.

If we are a simple reality the truth seems to be that men are like to, but as they try to break their way out of the shell of the egg, with violence the first born of their existence. Within the egg-shell, they have all the forces necessary for a fight in the air, but they cannot get to the end. As long as the body nature of the shell is broken, their wings are not free. In a few hours, they begin almost instinctively to 'feel their wings' and get ready to fly. Soon they are coming in the sky. We too have to break through the hard shell of the underlying nature, the movement of hard material existence. One must stand 'feel their wings' and learn to rise. The same have their temporary wings, just as the shell of the egg. But they only go on for a time, while the spirit, of man goes for ever.

The darkness of the soul, as I have already said, the nature called by the name of darkness. A great French writer, Rene Guenon, has spoken of the *Shen* as the, the spirit of life, building like a fortress, with overcast storms. There is an *Shen* in the of the soul. It is the force that moves, when the body passes and temptations have been led to rest and the soul keeps back in the new pure freedom the a shadow of living reality. The I speak, of darkness and the darkness, in

in what Jesus called 'the water of life, which, if a man drinks, he will never thirst.'

It was I looked into the face of Mahatma Gandhi, because with the radiance of pure joy and glowing with the darkness of the spirit, I knew for certain that he was drinking of the cup of immortality. The blood of the ancient races was being poured in truth, life, or love, had been able to break away from the hard outer shell of the body, with its nature. He, at least, had been able to rise above material considerations. With the pure light of truth, he had entered, like a little child, into the Kingdom of God. Thus I began to think endlessly of a wonderful Gopasah figure, which had been inhabited for me by Mahatma. It was a great revelation with Mahatma, and I could understand the reason. It is the 'The pathway which leads upward to the Lord can only be found by tears, it is not meant for the sinners'. It gave me to say that he who would drink the cup of darkness must be ready to abandon his all. Mahatma Gandhi belongs to that kind of man, who had abandoned everything in the search for God and Truth. He was a devotee.

The pure gaze as it says, that he who would taste God's flame must not stand shivering on the bank, afraid to plunge. He must be like the great dove, who is ready to dive to the bottom of the sea to find the pearl of great price. Here again, I could see the true ecology. This pureness had been a part of every day's work for the great Mahatma had been, seeking the pearl of great price. The brightness of his face told the true story. Was not I, that I should ask him to doubt? I could not do so, of his own little self showed that I would never find change.

But what of numbers, who are not known? What of our own weakness, which makes us shrink back again and again, when the day of trial comes? What of our own cowardice which makes us stand shivering on the brink, instead of plunging into the water and then floating, through living death, eternal life? What of my own lack of love, which has made me with the last shell to be broken? All that I knew and about Mahatma is true for in this, and we must not shrink from the test. But we have lost of all to have our own weakness. We must get back to our natural strength of our own. We must trust in God. For God's beautiful strength is made perfect in and through our weakness. In God's strength, we too can become immortal.

We cannot leave this house of all alone. We have to leave it 'like upon the sea, jump upon a precipice, have a little and there a little', as a great prophet had said of all. We have to, upon this very day. Now, we must begin this very hour. We must start with little things. There must be no selfish, no cowardice, no violence, no superiority in our lips, or in our heart, today. Today at once, in God's strength we will not belong any more to the darkness. We will seek the pathway of the heaven. Even if we can only take one step, along that way, yet this will itself be enough for a small beginning. Other steps will be given afterwards, if only the first steps are taken.

How great have memories in the new freedom in all that I live truly in it a matter of life and death! For ourselves, for our country, for humanity, simply and finally in it now, that only along the pathway of our day and the death, which is within the soul, must not let the light and find the true happiness.



# Young India

22-11-34

## The No-Change's Plight

(By M. K. Dasgupta)

The position of No-changers is truly pitiable. The thought that I am largely, if not wholly responsible for it makes me sad. My weakness—because that's what it is—is that I am probably the most ardent No-changer of all. But what is a No-changer? Is it an ugly word. It explains nothing. But it has been used to describe one, who agrees by the original No-cooperation Resolution passed at Calcutta in 1920. Its operative part is non-violence. We were non-cooperating since before 1920 so that our main aim was to work against the Government, which was agreed to co-operate with it by our conduct. All this was changed in 1920. We understood to establish co-operation between temple, wall and dead. We discovered that such co-operation was possible only through our withdrawal as they discovered that, if we withdrew from the Government as much voluntary co-operation as was possible, it went upstairs to the people. A No-changer therefore is one who, not withdrawing II to the government but still willing to destroy their system, maintains the paradox (so-called) of the system, viz, temple, wall, dead, alive and hanging foreign cloth. This was its negative path. Its positive and permanent part was establishment of independent schools, voluntary education and maintenance of handicraft pure and from the house of hand-woven clothes. The Congress took the place of the Central Legislature, and sold work by voluntary workers was itself the highest life. But the New Government institutions are being built and destroyed, and the new ones are being done and effective results, some of us but least and sought in the Gandhi a sense of working national interest. For the No-changers, if they feel truly inclined to non-violence, should not have been withdrawn over the issue of but in the part of their voluntary co-operation. They should have gone from the same world the luxury and pampering that they showed for themselves. But they violently opposed the no-workers, who were seen to be called No-changers. If they were truly non-violent, they would have been tolerant and have tolerated those for their ill-will and allowed them to go their way. But their intolerance was not their fault. They did not even know that they were irrelevant. Instead of being irrelevant and having no responsibility left in their own programme, they might straight from the No-changers, even as we all, are willing to bring under to economic co-operation, with strength from our action. That morality of independence will workers, and from the No-changers with the agreement. When the No-changers had love for the No-changers, even though they may not be all that they claim to be and even if they may be as bad as some of us believe them to be. If they have that love, they will not worry about what the Government are doing.

After the vast majority of No-changers have no ability to absorb them the whole of those that were included. They were kept a common attitude about

Khadi-Mandi, education and education. But all which have any sense work to do in regard to these things. The national schools are but about only a few workers and they must have special qualifications. But it's better to be nobody that can absorb all the form of all available men and women and grown up children, if they have faith. If they are truly non-violent, they must also realize that, with determination is an any ordinary of the preliminary work of co-operation is done. And determination means capacity to suffer and suffering, without the leastening sentiment of help. That meant even with we have entered a nation violence in the atmosphere, and could we have a reasonable certainty that Khadi and Handloom, Education and No-Non-violence, Co-operation and co-operation will not spread and could we have understood the secret of handicrafting and hand-weaving to the extent, by their all, of being independent of public support for workers. We may be only a few such to many. If we are many, we have created a wide atmosphere. If we are few, we must push to the attempt to spread the configuration upon which we. If there are such no-changers, they cannot quarrel with the agreement. For it is but a method of finding and the number of voluntary and voluntary No-changers—No-changers whose love will avoid the common law and whom built in the high construction programme will it necessary, without the institutions of the one of it. They must be so used of sympathy from my eye. On the contrary if as I who said and said it of all the sympathy and support that they can give me. These cannot be self-helping, about and national workers with a granding and without the recognition of social and the application of such own good men. Let the reader be sure that there are such workers. They said no introduction or afterthought through the pages of Young India.

## May God Help

After much prayer, after much long searching, and not without love and friendship, I have decided to accept the honour of presiding at the forthcoming Congress. I am to preside at a time when a gulf seems to be growing between advanced India and myself with some terrible consequences, and, even for a few young educated leaders of this house, the conflict of the minority seems to be waged without any steps of thought and action. And yet as I seem to be popular with the masses, and as many advanced workers believe me to be as good a lover of the country as themselves, they want me to attend the Congress at the usual places in the history of the country.

I feel that I must and must then. On the contrary, I must let me understand as I have, to be briefly of the nature. I was coming before a long as a dead decision, for the spirit of the All India Congress Committee. At its meeting the No-changers were chosen by their choice. I know that many of them are not very much about the proposed attendance of the function. But for the sake of peace and unity, they gave their vote in silence in favour of the decision. The No-changers were dependent, during at the meeting, as they felt it to be, of their departed shade. They protested, but they did not make the vote against the agreement.

This reflects credit on both the No-changers and the No-changers, but it is an encouraging atmosphere to both in, especially when such is expected from men. But this is



just the means for getting my work in. Address to the test. If I have equal love in me for Communism, Socialism, Nationalism, Hinduism, Islam, and Home Rule, Independence and for the United Kingdom, I know that it is well for me and well also for the world.

I must not despise the country. For me there is no political or social religion until the religion of the republic is made the ideal, whereas that bourgeoisie believe, but the materialists have of Tolstoyism. Tolstoyism is not morality as a thing to be avoided 'There' says the writer, 'I must return from all political activity'. Such is meant as an expression. I must try to live in society and get things understood by the people. Any day, for me to not step from the Congress at the present moment would be something—after me not to accept the Presidency would be to run away, especially when everybody is trying to make the work smooth for me.

I have shrank back in my shame and humility. Lying humanity is so weak that any other, possibly a better, indeed the more generous faith is better natured. Walk through the path opened, God will light it and guide my steps, if I have faith in His goodness and humility enough to acknowledge my helplessness without that infinite goodness.

Though I remain a confirmed non-cooperator and non-resister, I recognize that there is no atmosphere for non-cooperation or civil disobedience in a national trial. My attempt will therefore lie in the direction of bringing all parties together without discussion of race, or either or even in the good of mutual tolerance and then to this extent I realize that the Congress non-cooperation was not successful or at least on that or rather. I would thank the leaders of all the parties including non-cooperators and civil disobedience supporters, not by means of suppression, but by exhibiting bearing. I venture therefore to ask representatives of all the parties to report to Harold Wilson at his residence in order the Congress as evidence, when they cannot attend on discipline, and give the house the basis of their action.

There is a busy day today on the shoulders of Samaritans, whether Samaritan or N-vingers, Hindu or Moslems, Brahmins or Non-Brahmins. They have to show their preparation on other people and to show daily conduct. They will attend the Congress on a regular and on a regular day. They will show their faith in Hinduism which they have been practicing for the past four years by showing it in the conduct of all other work. They will show their faith in unity between all real religious men and communities by showing the greatest Brahmins against one another and showing respect for one another's religious community. Hinduism will show their faith in the removal of untouchability by going out of their way to be interested in those of those who may attend the Congress.

[illegible]

1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 26

Two E girls broke asking to justify the representative going now being granted to Bryant asked me what I would have done if I had been in Lord Bessing's or Lord Ligon's place. The answer came easily in reply, that I observed that I gave no satisfaction to the friends. This means for demonstration was that they thought that it was easy enough for me to give the answer to me, as I was not in a master of fact in the place of those distinguished Englishmen. But as, after having thought over my answer from every point of view, I repeated it to be heard, and as I have no doubt that many Englishmen, who formerly believe that representative is justified, think like the two friends, I venture to reproduce my answer with some modifications.

The very first thing that that I would have done would have been to remove Indians of position and trust, and I would have shown them all the papers and would have been guided by them. In the case of *Shishin* (Quinn) Ross, I would have conferred him with my assistants and prohibited his statement. In accordance with these Indians of position and trust, I would afterwards announced *Dashinawon* (his son) and put the whole burden of responsibility on his shoulders, or at least on the respected members of his group were concerned. By this procedure I would have quickly covered public press or have secured that the information given to me was wrong. Thus in the last I would have done, and that too if I had no trust in my legislature, or if I hope was so high to remove it. What is more, I would have realized my own considerable position. I would have seen at once the hypocrisy. Having therefore dealt with the crime, I would have tried to discover the true source, of which the crime was but a symptom. For that purpose I would have announced *Shishinawon* Indians before me and tried to ascertain why there were peace, able and otherwise powerful men, who would occasionally kill (murder) men and unkindly put their own lives in danger. I would have learnt that they had no relief, and said that they wanted liberty for their country. I would therefore have been guided, in dealing with the first crime, by the advice of the commercial representatives, which were that no legitimate foreign business was thereby jeopardized, and hereby, done this I would have benefited free in the knowledge that it would be equally the business of my legislature or mine to deal with any such future crimes.

I know that in the struggle I have made no new discoveries. But the distance is the north. The printing system has been an invention and Young after Young on a scale has stood by upon the obvious necessity of something better system. The literary power and the maintenance of the state is to preserve the maintenance of the system, rather which such systematic delivery of public upon is possible. He would the Young, instead of allowing the public system which is thought, he should have had, is obliged to have some maintenance from somebody the whole Indian culture.

4. *gpa* decreased as *rel* increased (Fig. 3)

My note on the Open Congress Resolution about the suspension of public debts has I think given rise to some misunderstanding. It was unfortunate that I was



published at a time when we are thinking of unity. The fact is that the type was common three months ago in answer to a correspondence. From then to now my notebook put it by to give place to other things, and its value appears more than important. When it was finally published they did not see any inconsistency between that time which was based on ideas rather on policy and what writings which were intended as a platform of action of agreement. What, therefore, I was for the appearance of the most important of the present subject, I must say that it will represent my view of public duty. Whether the Congress resolution may mean, my note is quite clear. I do not wish to represent all duties imposed by the present Government but I do submit that when the final transformation of power comes it will be necessary to maintain all the traditions of the Government and they will have to shed the light of examination. Suppose for instance the Government were to make a gift of a hundred million to a foreign institution for the improvement of the material resources of the country, it would not only be just but it will be the duty of the Congress Government to republish it. Indeed perhaps I go a step further in my report, than the Congress resolution. I would submit being under scrutiny not merely the transactions were the state of the machine but every transaction of the Government which may appear to bear an historical tint. For this Government claims to be and is presented in not fairly, honestly and as leaders for the welfare of the people of India. Hence of trust in any other report dealing with the problem that government give to historical dealings.

H. K. Q.

## The Truth about Nationalism

(By C. P. Andrews)

It is becoming clearly a matter of first-rate importance for the younger generation of Indians, who are faced with the difficult world situation since the Great War, to think out clearly in the light of their experience, the truth about Western nationalism and its application to the East, almost every day fresh questions are coming in. Hence it is, which chamber for a solution, and many of the English educated Indians are badly trying to do so. There is hardly Western bias. For a very long history of the west of diverse thinking, I would take a special note from England concerning an important source of the 'East Indian Association' in London. The subject was, 'The Relation of India to Europe.' We read as follows:-

"Mr. Hyam, from Singapore, then raised the flag of nationalism. He declared that the moment, which had expelled Australia to keep the country 'white,' applied equally to Burma. He hoped that Hyam would be kept for Germany. He urged the expulsion of Germans from India."

What has attracted my attention in this passage is the obvious way in which Mr. Hyam has unfortunately followed the criticism that is popular in the West. One of the earliest results that has followed in the wake of modern Indian education is in fact that the western drift of the West are most ready and quickly are shed, while the Sapper and more applied kinds remain almost unaffected,

Therefore, although Mr. Hyam's proposals are undoubtedly superficial, we cannot afford to get them in our side and laugh at them. For they reveal a distorted view of what is really healthy in what we suppose, our power and good-will. For we cannot build our foundation upon violence and warlike. Therefore, we are compelled to look around and to ask ourselves the question, whether the new struggle concerning Swadish, that are being started in India, are themselves truly concerned about Agita and upon unity, the more have become it we that something may be fundamentally wrong with the popular Swadish movement. This fact has given us deep down, that I have finally tried to bring it up to the surface. When I have tried to describe it, my anxiety has been that there should be an understanding of thought very from the ancient Indian conception of national hospitality to the nation. Whether idea of mutual national sympathy. It was this latter thought, which I was proud to Mr. Hyam's argument, and is profoundly disturbed me.

The truth is, that during my recent travels in Malaya and China I have in all sides this healthy towards Indians, as foreigners, being gradually and it has not. I could not help wondering my heart in that was whether anything or anything was the least sense of it. It is true that the original inspiration came from Europeans. It was an idea of Western nationalism. But that was really one of the most disgusting things about it. For it meant to say, that the whole world was going and after 'nationalism' of a European type, and not Europe only. I had noticed the very same thing in Japan in 1914, when the part, Mahatma's Tiger, spoke out so clearly and courageously to the Japanese condemning their imperialism, which had humiliated China and China. To give only one instance of this one spirit in Burma, I was told by a prominent Burmese leader, that, if he could have his own wish fulfilled, he would have Indians included from Burma tomorrow!

These things had disturbed me before Mahatma Gandhi's last, but during the last half the further thought came to me, that just as in Europe the wave of hostile indignation had rolled in the wave of hostile reason, so in India the East-Indian brother might easily take the same error, where we were concerned about it. For what we saw in India today was a 'nationalism,' which was not actually in itself into a certain 'nationalism' later on.

Then my mind went one step further. We have, what this today in nationalism is India a characteristic, equivalent to the clear world to become India and Capital in Europe. There is the really common bond by which class and class captured in 'nationalism.' For as things are today in India, there are really two 'nations'—the Hindu and the Mohammedan—who are living in the confusion of the other, with no possibility of any and there. In spite of all their claims and hopes have tried to do, the real of 'nationalism' remains fairly unbroken in its strength.

What, then, do we actually stand today? Are we truly representing the national rights of India, to all our own development? Or are we merely copying after the steps of the most unregarding leaders of the West? Is our picture of Swadish, however, shared with Gandhi's







mounting a great indictment of India, in which a young British farmer stopped and said to a house a young girl who had left her studies, the punishment awaiting is her death. The verdict gives me encouragement for our work with hand labour. The *India Advertiser* has the following comment:—

"Here, we take a great deal about the native and wage rate perpetually. What is the answer question? We answer unhesitatingly that, fundamentally that is the entire question. Think for a moment of that native girl who has a little white child, understanding little about the law of commerce and not yet broken in to the economic system which demands people must pay-as-they-work for their livelihood. Suppose, now, a master should go and bring such a child back, whip it, and tie it by the neck to a machine as a doctored slave there was a play of those miles between clanking up in a rigid positive and unchangeable. And suppose that child died as a consequence, well what would we have... what would we do say? The answer is pretty clear to our own minds. There would be no talk about economic miracle, nor by an almost universal punishment."

"Well!"

"What's the good of talking about ending entire problems in the country, when a boy can go and have his tale whittled to them and can wonder about 'common sense'?" What's the good of General Hastings preaching about treating the only as you, with justice when one of his own lieutenants, Sir von Priton, can calmly review all the evidence, and see in the white eye the royal child, the stamp, the revenue, the indifference in the law which provides for justice, in that case must result in summary and rigid punishment for it, the whipping, the flog, and pain, the suffering, almost as terrifying to a juvenile mind as an actual execution, and then the white return to his own quarters of the young house to drink highly placed with himself and his estate recovery is a house shielded, what's the good, we say if coming about treating the native justly, when a judge of a White Court looks my work's imprisonment for common sense (the case contains one might get for having a pleasure big enough to kill back) will mean the destruction?"

Whether the wrong done is committed by the brutal master in America or the master in East and South Africa, or the planter in other parts of the world, or the Hindustani clerical grinding down to a level by his fellowmen, the "responsibility" in this country, the West of the Hindustani system must rest to the God of mercy and pity, and He is not destined to the my. He surely as the one true and true, such people, that there can only be God's innocent children to go on as doctored, well till I would encourage the *India Advertiser* for the Indian response and condemnation of these things.

#### Romaine Rolland's Song

The following comment on Romaine Rolland's book, entitled *Millions Struck*, has just reached me:—

"This is a great book,—the study of one who will surely go down in history with the greatest of the Christian Church, such as St. Francis of Assisi and St. Bernard, regarding them all as the splendour of life

attempt to deal with political evil through the resolution of non-violence. Both from the achievement and from the partial failure of the non-cooperation movement we are here shown lessons that we need as much for our own struggle in the West against war and social injustice.

"Here is the direct vision of the truth, the rational appeal to the opponent, the self-satisfaction with the peace, the acceptance of the life of poverty and poverty the proper and the cooperative, not only of Hindustan, but of France.

"Here, too, is the attempt to lead a mass movement to show off a new system, if not by suffer and loss of good-will, at all events without violence.

"Here is the complete setting off from a system, which as the balance is followed in the exclusive negative side of it is much more readily understood, than by the means than the positive strategy of love and love, which the leader himself realises."

#### Unity and Unchangeability

I publish below letters, which reached me by post at the very time that I was writing an article for *Young India* on the same subject. The article will be found on another page. Dr. Harnad Charles Russell of Chicago writes as follows:—

"The whole of India rightly appreciates the splendid work done by the Unity Conference. It was common to create and propagate love and good-will between the two great communities of India, and a fine poem for the work wonderfully well. One is almost certain that, had it not been for the unendingly step taken by the present. Letters show, as each Conference would have taken place.

"But of your justice is unknown and a very lengthiest India for the present step, he is taking, say I may say, in the Conference of love and good-will, when Hindu and Mohammed have openly accepted the fullest rights and privileges of each other, there is not a word uttered about the poor unchangeable. Do they not discover the aged face of some Hindu and Mohammed? One is shocked at the thought of the future of fifty million Indians, who are, every day of their lives treated by us for more in many respects than we treat even our dogs, when one learns to read, that is, the order of privileged darkness, having for hours and days, within every one present and with every other in showing brotherly feelings, love and regard, not a word was heard who thought of the unchangeable. How are, with the whole of India is engaged with groups of the Hindu and Love Conference, nobody uttered a word for the poor work. The evil part of my human nature seems to say again, 'It is not because the unchangeable cannot break down, pull down buildings, and at times reduce whole countries to ashes. It is not because the Unity Conference was like the League of Nations, where the subject people have no voice!'"

C. P. A.

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my return to India, said to Mr. Gaudin in Bombay, 'I was willing to open half an hour a day, if it would help unity. Hence, the Ministry is a very charming woman, and 'has a way and her' as the Irish say. He then suggested to the woman who began to sigh miserably just, that they should open for a clerk that would be their one, they preferred the woman, but she so proved the usefulness of having a clerk with which they could go on opening more personally, that they understood from her clerkship and then invited them home for they say so. The year is made and women are clerk in the Court House, and out of the shirt little picture of the South Indian Indians are made for the children and there are becoming the custom of the school. Mrs. de Marshley taught various kinds of children, and she said the comparison between them made me which is very simple and children. They open from the inside slowly, without any intermediate process. How she has gone off to have reproducible dying, which is well done in Southern India and which she wishes to add to our village town. This is a well-constructed plan, and she also may speak. Parts of it might be taken up in my village, and the whole in the larger village. If a Parliamnt was added to it, the village would be in the right road."

#### Break of Faith ?

It is a healthy sign of the times that there are people in the country who are jealous of the words of the nation, & find, not himself a Liberal, who, 'Was not the maintenance of the agreement between the Congress and Gandhi by the A. I. C. C. a break of faith with the All Parties Conference?' The answer, in my humble opinion, is an emphatic 'No.' The agreement is the basis of civitation. The two wings of the Congress must first unite. In the scheme of the Congress, that unity can be expressed by the A. I. C. C. The agreement is that so far as the two wings of the Congress are concerned, but it is open to attack and even to remove at the instance of any outside party. The attack can succeed only if it appeals to the masses of both the wings. No party is called upon to surrender the principle for the sake of unity. The agreement was made by the A. I. C. C. it is not an ultimatum,—either this or nothing. There are many things outside the agreement which all the parties have to consider. Congressmen are not expected to surrender their principles or policy pending decision of the All Parties Conference. But they are expected to keep an open mind on every thing. They must approach the question with a complete mind. Subject to that one essential condition, it is better that all parties declare their principles, policies and intentions. There should be no mental reservation. Not to proceed with the maintenance of the agreement would have meant a mental reservation. What we must aim at is the same spirit of tolerance that we need and are striving after in the relations between Hindus and Mussulmans. We want to work and respect one another in spite of the sharpest differences of opinion, that is to say, if we have a common goal in person. We may find lower grade good that there is no common good, that Gandhi does not mean the same thing in any of its aspects to all parties, that our interests are not the same. Then I admit there is no meeting of all parties on the Congress

platform. But that would be the same thing as saying that there is no meeting for your India. For after all when strong views, different parties will work in the same broad Parliament. The Congress is intended to be a framework and prototype of such a Parliament.

#### An Important Omission

Perhaps Mr. Ghosh says that an important reference in my speech at the recent A. I. C. C. meeting about the propriety of an appeal by the Congress Party for support has been omitted in the *report* published in the press. It was undoubtedly important and I wanted it to be reported. I therefore gladly give below the paragraph.

The Congressists have a perfect right to strengthen and organize themselves and to appeal for support in the country, not including the Noncongress. It is unimportant in respect to the Congress Party has the same status as the Noncongress in the Congress, the latter may not object to such propaganda. Indeed it would be improper to do so. Such is my opinion in the unqualified implication of the acceptance of non-cooperation. This does not mean that noncongressists should join the Congress Party. An individual has had a perfect right to do, he invited me to join the party. I told him I could not, so long as I had no faith in non-cooperation. I could only help from outside. Nor could any other noncongressist join. But those who have no such scruples and decide not, only because the Congress programme attracts, may certainly join the Congress Party without any interference from noncongressists. The latter's propaganda against non-cooperation cannot be easily, their attitude with or the direction must speak for itself. The Congressists have both the principle and the direction. Noncongressists have nothing but the direction to cover by."

#### Pragati Bhava

On learning that Mr. Tuggh Doss who, as the Editor of the *Nanapani* of Bhub, was the officer (he mentioned in two years' imprisonment with hard labour, was waiting and was not getting proper food, I wrote to the Inspector General of Prisons enquiring about Mr. Doss's condition. The following was his reply:—

"I have enquired into the allegations regarding Mr. T. R. Doss.

"(1) It is a fact that his weight has fallen from 120 lbs. to 100 lbs. in 120 lbs. now. But as he is weakly about this can hardly be regarded as a ground for complaint. He is still 12 lbs. above the normal weight of a man of his height.

"(2) He is not isolated from the rest of the prisoners. & several rights visitation is always with him and they work together. He is also within sight of other prisoners.

"(3) The Superintendent declares that the vegetation given to my prisoner are in a safe quantity and suitable. Considering that there is a large and excellent garden at Dytrochil Prisons there is no reason why this should be so.

"(4) He was continued in prison (not simple) imprisonment and therefore cannot be allowed to choose the work on which he shall be employed in Jail.



"(c) The Medical Officer of the Hyderabad Central Prison is at present an Indian Officer of the I. M. S., who can be entirely trusted usually to regulate the diet of all prisoners according to the requirements of their health and constitution. He reports that Mr. Datta does not look much or

"In conclusion I may say that I respected Hydrusht's Prices three weeks ago and so that weekend saw Mr. Dunn. He did not complain to me of any of the matters mentioned by you. His only request was that he should be treated, & on the change of Hydrusht did not agree with him. On first met no reason, he thinking it of such was the case, I did not consider it necessary to take any action."

It is quite true that Mr. Dean made no complaint. He did not tremble. He thought he should not complain against officials who were all Indians. He wanted to put up with the measurements. I knew that Mr. Dean was a hard laboring person, but even a hard laboring person may ask for the kind of labor for which he is best fitted. I have the pleasure of knowing well the personal qualities of General Fennell, for he was the Superintendent during the last months of my imprisonment. He is strict, but in a just and gentle way. I am therefore hoping that Mr. Dean will not be allowed to undergo unnecessary sufferings.

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The United Government are still after the Indian soldiers. They are determined to force them out of East China by hook or by crook. The latest is a measure that among other things deprives the Indian troops of the necessary fuel. There have been hints in Chinese papers of late of plans of the Government. It is extremely un-Chinese action. But the idea is simply to make it hard for Japan to do as he pleases, and to make it impossible for the corresponding Japanese to remain in China. Let us hope that the Government General will as before, refuse his consent to the proposed measures.

## 1998-1999 1999-2000

The *Knightsbridge* needs no record of the activity of a spinning club formed at Traylor. It is too early out to write with confidence about the activity of this club. But the formation of such clubs is very desirable. They can aid the development of voluntary spinning and cannot but be helpful to us here. The Traylor club has about 22 members. They hold competitions. Every member is pledged to spin at least 2000 yards per month for the day. I K. N. S. hope their number clubs will be formed all over the city.

These results indicate that the model is able to capture the main features of the data. The model is able to capture the main features of the data.

Parasit. Das sind, wie die following note der polhemant  
an. (some) (some) —

= A. reduced English part of the syllable ending

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There's always one leader and one follower in each

"To those I said that the education, which is spreading among our people, is worse than a high burning. The right sort of knowledge, which is gained in the heart of the Indian people, is a gift of God, and of those Indians who alone know who demand their rights here, in the name of God. This is positive knowledge, while the education of the stomach does which has the heart as a clean man."

of positive knowledge. The acquisition of negative knowledge is tantamount to a loss of positive knowledge. Hence, it is tantamount to a knowledge state less than *max* state. Therefore, the most highly and/or educated man in India at this present day is no reality an improvement in comparison with a slightly educated man of India, who may never in his life have crossed the threshold of actual and rationality.<sup>10</sup>



1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 26

The offering is the introduction of a Chinese word at Time One, Time Two:

"The complex man is he who has penetrated the depths of our nature and feelings understood the changes of moods and plants, learned the relation of stimulus and treatment things, and found in its words the stress of our being. So colored, he may deserve to be called complete. Knowing the ways of Heaven, he will be able to hold his life upon knowledge and righteousness, maintain wisdom and harmonious enjoyment, which make the complete life.

"And if he will not lie down upon his victim, he must make the whole spiritual significance of life and have the measure of birth and death."

It is not difficult to see, on such an ideal, a perfect harmony with Indian thought.

## Trends in Lung Cancer Mortality

The London Times has just published the following account of the case:

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<sup>1</sup> I understand that routes do have only marginal value for the firms that opening to the Roman, are now in search of connections for the Pontiac and Oriental Company for the purpose of carrying mails and passengers from to Colombia.

It needs to be understood in India that the rickshas there are probably the most luxurious carriages and conveyances put down by the skill of man, even more so than the famous Pullman' cars of America. In the poorest country of the world, where the third class passengers pay for the pleasure of the ride, it is an asset to find before the eyes of the poor Third class passenger, just as it is an asset to the poor for Congress and Muslims of India to travel about in their white covered carriages which take up so much space and involve so much weight, to be drawn by the coolies, as our rough carriages of the Third Class, into which a huddled poor man and woman and children will be huddled together.

67

|                              |             |
|------------------------------|-------------|
| South India Flood Relief     | Rs. An. In. |
| Total presently acknowledged | 15,104, 0-4 |
| Remained since 1950/51       | 2,432-14-2  |

[This amount includes \$5, 101-0-0 equivalent to 1000 hours earned by the Hawaiian Government of Hawaii, Malapogor in two installments of \$15 and \$10 (base week)]







be in himself an unbecoming person. Many of our distinguished citizens, though not all, do in so small things that the Party gets into contempt. Therefore if they give you in their work (and I have no reason to doubt it), some justice do not need any special organization. The Ku-chang-shan and so, ought not to take part in the general activity and therefore the Ku-chang-shan have the sole authority and responsibility for the general programme. They will use the name of the Ku-chang-shan as of right, but they will not therefore act in the name of the Ku-chang-shan. The Ku-chang-shan is a part measure in which the liability and responsibility for certain items are joint and for a particular activity given to and taken over by a center.

If unity, instead of understanding and the sharing are an integral part of the problem of this country, the Ku-chang-shan have all the facts, all the circumstances and all the opportunity that they may wish for. A Ku-chang-shan's fight with the Government amounts chiefly to pushing himself and developing his own strength. But he must not let any act of his require the power of the Ku-chang-shan when he is bound to regard as himself as himself. A Ku-chang-shan should be the last person to attempt authority for himself in the existence of others. And granting that the Ku-chang-shan system is bad, let this act out as if the existing system of Government is not much worse. Even a failure in accordance has to be followed by a revolution which is not bad or whose cause is just. Between Japan and Russia, Turkey gave her credit, the Japan between England and Dutch South Africa, W. T. Wood acted with the Jews and played for England's defeat. Between Macedonia and the Government... I do not take a slight second to make my choice. There is danger of our some being forced because of the Ku-chang-shan work against the programme of THE ASSOCIATION for the moment that the Ku-chang-shan are as bad as the Government would have us believe, even so their government will be relatively preferable to a government which has had their success for winning the slightest attempt of independence of thought or action. I am not aiming at any "vintage" unity. I am simply aiming at representation of all parties in the Congress, so that we may learn to tolerate one another's opinions, so may have one similar better, so may meet upon one another and, if we cannot find a common method of solution, we may at least try a common interest of peace.

I agree with the friend in his surprising remarks that it is not the general programme that will ultimately keep the imperialist divided from united, but it is the non-united non-cooperation which makes the highest spirit of self-interest that will save him from the error of his ways. I promise that I have been striving to make the among non-cooperation. With regard, I have put him in the middle. Let him consider himself in the street on the side of non-cooperation. Let the whole Congress will follow him like one man. But each has to be an owner himself. The more efficient a man is, the more silent and the more subtle it is. Let us in the subject I live in the world. If the Ku-chang-shan has it in him, it is well with him and every one else.

## Suspend or Abandon?

(By M. E. Smith)

The answer to the question whether non-cooperation should be suspended or abandoned depends partly upon the temperamental state of the movement. He who has never believed in non-cooperation entirely made a mistake. For even if the idea like us has always believed in and practiced it, whenever and wherever necessary, and who therefore means by it not only of itself only to be practiced in case his suspension in the hope is that some time or other he will be able to carry his project and the achievement with him and make his national working a success. Suspense therefore is the central state that can be accepted by all parties. Those who believe in the efficacy and necessity of non-violent non-cooperation may be permitted to stretch the legs first if the common movement cannot the same would take it up. Those who doubt it or will to have other suspension to push its will efforts in their opinion of non-cooperation to prevent Congressmen to their doors. That is the great opportunity that movement gives them. And it may appear a really non-cooperating Congress cannot be expected to go further than suspension. I say 'really non-cooperating Congress' because Ku-chang-shan too should to have faith in non-cooperation. Let me give up a word, I must be able to explain. The very first draft prepared over more than three months ago began with a possible extending ideal in non-cooperation. It was quite acceptable to Ku-chang-shan. But it was rejected by several reasons in order to make it easier for friends and others to join. It was pointed out by some friends that London and Montreal were before might object to voting for the possible. It had something with philosophy extraordinary over the table by all who had a hand in drafting the final agreement to introduce and make the requirements of those who have remained outside the Congress. I have that year on, the agreement falls short of the full requirements of the various political groups and parties. The reason for the delay is not due to want of effort or will, but it is due to lack the Ku-chang-shan and myself having to take into account various principles, or all their limitations of that word is preferable.

However I cannot but often regret the fact that we had the great Congress elsewhere to meet. It is true that it is to get not always necessary when it ought to be but I have agreed that we consider it our duty we will despite the effort of the leaders in the meeting. It is the same doctrine that all of us have in mind and be shared by. In taking the ways and means of agreement I cannot to think that each party if it is to work in union has to be satisfied with just willpower and no more for the requirements of the movement.

After all we can make non-cooperation for the sake of it. It is a goodly improvement to freedom. But what freedom is properly, non-cooperation may be a duty and peace may be a pain. It is for all those who would make every accommodation with non-cooperation to make it necessary for non-cooperation to meet in it. And one of the best methods of bringing about such a result is for all parties to work, discuss a scheme of Ku-chang-shan acceptable to all parties and discover at the same time if it is possible a common method of achieving that scheme.







# What is sedition?

The Hon'ble High Court pronounced. Professor Bhandarkar's Hindi Booklet to sedition, with up it was attacked (1) the authors contained nothing but sedition from top to bottom in conclusion. The High Court has also wanted to suspend the professors in the name of the G.O. The Bhandarkars have presented three years after their judgment. I admit that and there are some to be such things of hope of time. But it is too late to ask the Government should the act be not for such a long time. It is a good photograph that the Government about a time when non-cooperation was in the air. The relevant question however is, what is the Hindi Booklet of letters still these persons and those criticisms that are many the Bhandarkars do? It is not an easy question to answer. We are about to suspend non-cooperation and therefore also the distribution. There are therefore several more the actual support of the Congress. Every individual and every committee must act on its own responsibility. The speaker quoted in his judgment that, themselves take these points:

(1) Those that are said to contain hatred against the Government.

(2) Those that are said to excite hatred against modern education and by implication against the Empire.

(3) Those that contain hatred against persons belonging to different religious communities.

In the first instance I venture to suggest that almost any book can be held seditious, if selected passages from it have been taken out and are to be judged. So far as I know the judges had nothing more. Personally almost every Indian newspaper can be declared seditious, because it does contain distribution towards the Government. In the system, not the most completely established by law. For almost every Indian has presented against it and in looking to and around it. So far as the media question is concerned if it is possible to find these passages from Hindi complicity building up the modern system is seditious and wrong. My brother, from which passages referring to modern education have been quoted, has been placed in the hands of students with impunity. I may have tried to my recollections that it was in this way to present hatred against any person of position but for all that later. I know of no instance in which a single word has been corrupted by the reading of that booklet. It has been translated both in Urdu and almost into several languages. It has been presented by the Government of Bombay. But the passages have been required in question of not in theory. It is strange then that Prof. Bhandarkar should be punished, when I was last mentioned. In support of the third charge namely promotion of inter-religious hatred, I am only one passage quoted. I do not know at what context it occurs. But it is clear to me that the books have not been presented for the sake of that one passage. I know that the professor has a clear conscience. He has not intended to excite hatred against any individual. I know too that he has made no get out of the matter. If I were he, I would have the conclusion substantiated. The books in which most have been condemned by the Government already. But where the Eastern university being taught, I would encourage to teach these values the points in the former Hindi education.

M. K. G.

# That Fij Report

To

The Editor, Young India

Sir,

Scarcely three years ago the Government of India sent a Commission to Fiji Islands to enquire into the condition of Indians residing there and to ascertain the cause of discontent among them and to advise whether or not, having regard to all the circumstances of the case, Fiji offers a suitable field for Indian settlement. The Commission visited the Islands in the beginning of the year 1929 and submitted a report of their enquiry to the Indian Government in September 1931. In the report has been made the Government of India for more than two years, in the last session of the Legation Assembly, Mr. George Fernald spoke about the Government of India some questions about this report. Here are three of his questions:—

(1) What is the Government of India intend to publish the report?

(2) Is it a fact that the Colonial Office has taken strong objection to certain views expressed in the report?

(3) Will the Government be pleased to lay on the table communications on this subject which may have passed between the Colonial Office and the Government of India?

Mr. J. W. Moore replied on behalf of the Government:—

(1) The question of publication is still under consideration.

(2) & (3) In case of the answer given to part (1) of the question, I hope that the Hon'ble member will not press for an answer.

The report of Mr. Moore to Mr. George Fernald State not to press for an answer to his questions (2) and (3) were complete in our minds. Is it really a fact that the Government of India has been withholding the Fiji report simply on account of the objection of the Colonial Office? Our colleagues in Fiji who were mainly engaged for this report have now given up all hope of its being ever published and there is no other chance that the report may be suppressed by the Government of India. If this proves to be a fact, it will clearly show that the Indian Government is only a subordinate branch of the Colonial Office in London.

The Indian public has not forgotten the hardships to which our people in Fiji were subjected during the Mahatma last days in Fiji, when more than two hundred Indians, men and women were imprisoned, their families including Mr. and Mrs. Bhambhani were dispersed and our was killed and many were wounded. This was in the beginning of the year 1922. The Government of India was asked to send a commission of enquiry to investigate into the cause of these disturbances, but they refused to do so. They did not even press the Indian claim for an independent enquiry. Mr. George Fernald told us definitely that the Government of India did not think that they would be justified in pressing for an independent enquiry. Our members if they are ever justified in withholding the report of their own Commission on account of the objections of the Colonial Office, I hope almost it may be



apart from the Indian ignorance on this Commission and the Indian public has a right to demand that the report of the Commission should be published without any delay.

I am etc.

**Rameswami Chelamrao**

[Let me hope that Mr. India will be more successful at the forthcoming session of the Legislative Assembly.]

**M. K. C.**

## A Woman's Voice from Ceylon

[By C. P. Andrew]

There is great pleasure to me to publish this letter which I have received from a Sinhala lady who studies her English in the beautiful island of Ceylon. It will be remembered that more than two thousand years ago King Ashoka sent from Southern India his own son Prince Mahadeva to spread the Buddhist message of peace and goodwill in the farthest north. His memory and that of his family believe are still preserved in Ceylon and the spirit of the Buddha still dwells in the island. The letter which I have been obliged to shorten, even as follows:

"I have read with very great interest the Report put forth by all representatives of the Ceylon Conference to bring about a spirit of tolerance and unity between the Hindus and Muslims of India, and while I will rejoice to see perfect unity existing between the Hindus and Muslims as peoples, even though split-up by nations, I am inclined to think that the Ceylon Conference, with its many weaknesses, and gaps and omissions, will not achieve as a lasting peace in India any more than the League of Nations has brought about world peace up to now. The race, which has taken place subsequent to Mahadeva's last, gave the seeds of the war.

"A woman sometimes looks at a matter from a different angle from that of a man, and somehow I feel that the seed of true unity has been sown, not in that great hall at Delhi among a vast multitude but in that small meeting room of Mahadeva's when he looked for the work only a handful gathered for prayer.

"There was truly an inspiration of God, when he revealed the fulfiling of the three great purposes of the world today to ourselves according to His own various scriptures. More than one Christian friend who read the portions quoted at that proper meeting, have even asked me whether the Vedicists and the Koran contained such religious passages, and on my replying that they did, they could hardly believe that any scriptures outside the Bible could contain such wisdom and lofty ideals. This gave me food for thought. I venture to place with great hesitating belief now, what I think will and must rather in a free and lasting study, not only between the Hindus and Muslims, but between the members of all the other religions as well.

"It is this, I think the Mahadevas and Ashoka along with the Buddhists would do well to make the plan of the Divine Trinity and have their various scriptures translated into all the languages current in India, and

teach them throughout the length and breadth of India. The Sanskrit and Pali, which were in the books of the Hindus and Mahadevas today are no longer suited to the requirements of our modern India.

"I had hoped to make this suggestion more especially because we had a weekly prayer meeting, which I held every Tuesday, and at the one that fell on Tuesday, the 7th October (in evening before the Mahadeva celebration here), the Mahadeva was remembered especially in our prayers. At Christmas I also had prayed in a ceremony that God Himself might send the Mahadevas that very night to the suburbs of his town and thus lay up to us a great deposit of love in regard to the work of O.D. among India's religions. Following up the theory of prayer was that 'prayer was worth nothing' I have been led to think that the best of the Mahadevas step the best who understood the power of a few words and really have been as access to the temple of that Religion. I trust before that Mahadeva may become another Ashoka, who will work to carry on the spirit of tolerance and unity, which India surely needs as she is to take her rightful place among the nations of the world. Will the Mahadeva take up the work of spreading the message of the Divine and Mahadeva religion and thus make to the God's King of peace and unity? May God help him to do so!"

It may be well to add some words of my own in the teaching lines, which will in a more emphatic it, while not going against the idea contained in it. For a long time past, I have felt it to be a sad thing, that the Bible is pushed to its corner, and covered loosely in millions of squares in the poorest uneducated form. There are persons in the Bible—especially the Old Testament,—which reflect more human responses and thought and give out a lot of other religious and golden. At the same time, as every one knows, there are the most perfect religions, which give the fullest moral teaching that can be given. I have, however, my own response for an obscure passage that what I have said about my own work upon the one about others. The fact has surely a man, as human beings, to deal wisely, religiously, humanely, and in an enlightened manner, with all these uneducated sacred books, which are the most precious heritage that our human race has ever received. While we should not lose there is a steady personal work, removing everything that will not square our own hearts, or the laws of our own age, we surely ought to remove those passages which have affected good souls and succeeded better our consciences for generations after generations. Some of those passages (such as the story of David in the Old Testament) go back to an age of total slavery. Others have obscure stories of others, which cannot but give pain. Now and then, in a passage which is said to be clearly revealed.

It would surely be possible to take the best from the scriptures of the world, without in any way injuring their completeness. That which is evident to them should probably be 're-educated' in good, in the different languages of India, as widely as possible.



# Young India

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## My Punjab Diary

(By M. A. Gandhi)

Met by Chitra

It was not by chance but by necessity that I embarked on my journey to the Punjab Provincial Conference. The Punjab wanted an authority to preside over it of all possible Muslims and of Indian rank. The Muslims felt however was something. He said he would gladly attend but thought he would be more useful if he remained free. The Muslims' position was appreciated. Punjab Ministry was then approached. He was good enough to say he would preside, if he was not prevented by any untoward event, and if Parda (Mishal) was prevented from presiding I was to fill in his place. Unfortunately the unexpected happened and Punjab Ministry could not come. As the reasons given by him are of public importance, I set them forth in his own language.

Put up?

Is he better to sleep in my —

There has been intense misapprehension about my acceptance of the Presidency of the Punjab Provincial Conference. Mishtap and I had agreed on Monday that Mian (Mishal) Karam would be the most suitable person, but that as soon as he could not be made to agree I was to take his place. I received news of the serious illness of my daughter-in-law and had to leave abruptly with an expert physician. The Muslims Public came out of the meeting hall with me and I told him distinctly that my Punjab and Nagpur engagements were all such that he must preside at the Punjab Conference and for some other date for Nagpur. I came away under the impression that he would reach Mishtap and he upon some one else in place of his himself was unwilling to do so. On arrival here we passed a most excellent day trying to reach the new bus stop, but the poor man gave up. The disarrangement here certainly was truly great, but not entirely satisfactory as it had a long time. In the course of these months I got news from Calcutta of impending developments and was asked to be ready to leave at a moment's notice.

As soon as Mishtap's wife was pronounced to be out of danger, I turned my attention to the unexpected situation in Mishtap and made up my mind to do what I could while waiting in Mishtap under orders from Calcutta. I found the situation to be as bad as it could be and was, thus, compelled to

all other with better complaints at my continued absence from my own city and province. I feared that I could give much impression by working for them for a while longer.

"I set about immediately to make good this absence. During my previous flying visits I had been thoroughly disgusted with the scandalous conduct of Hindus and Muslims and decided to work in the manner from the bottom rather than of the top. I took up my old idea of organizing a Hindu-Muslim League and giving it a start from Mishtap. The first step taken was to approach the University professors and students. We have a University Commission with a number of small schools. Both have a fairly large membership. At the meeting with the Professors it was decided to take steps to see for some of the small schools to be taken over by the Hindu-Muslim League. Accordingly two M. A. students, one Hindu and the other a Muslim, both of proved capability in commercial matters, are now engaged in organizing members of the League from among the students there. Both by and with this very Mishtap is being actively engaged. It is however I am to visit the Mishtap personally and also visit the Indian students, who have been invited to attend classes at various times. After this preliminary work is done, I will speak to the students generally and also address one or two public meetings. Then proceeding I shall visit Lahore and take similar steps there.

"You will see that the above programme is a very solid work and really concerns the dirty part which unfortunately has come to be the only part of our public work in this city. To tell you the honest truth I am completely fed up with Government which are going down at the moment and generally waste in making misstatements. The Nagpur decision are very far from and letters received from Nagpur show again a very sorry state of affairs. I have sent two more to Mishtap and Karam and of Calcutta proposing the latter has received no reply from him.

"I have written of this length to you to give you an accurate idea of the work I have had out for myself and I hope you will agree that a shift to the Punjab in this direction would not be so profitable."







position led to her position. The fundamental distinction between private trade and capitalism. There is that in the latter the business is conducted for the purpose which is a question of the State & the people, and then the State goes on, as matters who is related to similar people. In private matter, every person is a well ordered State is fully conscious of both his responsibility and of his rights. The stability of a State depends upon the existence of every citizen in accordance his rights to those of the rest. The fact that the rights follow in a matter of course the performance of duty. The State is the command of the members on his behalf of an authority. But what I place on record my protest to the defence for their money and attention. I would like to mention that there is still a considerable as sometimes lack of self-reliance. It is independence for marriage, public or private, that there who attend them do not all work at once are cheaper or one another. I think they have to what is being said. The whole value of marriage is that it partly are not attractive. The reader will remember the success of the as well as the self-interest of these remarks. I wish to prepare the ground for England. All these was raised the Congress and conference at Niagara, 1906-1910.

The Conference went through its work, as every hour on Monday the 14th morning 8 to 11 in the morning, and 1 to 4 in the evening. The 14th Conference took on leave. The work was done systematically, because as time was lost money for nothing. The proceedings were started previously at the appointed times as far as the Conference was concerned.

### The Convention

The previous day, i.e., the 13th was devoted to the meeting of the representatives, the members had two 12 persons and the 13th morning of the National Conference. The day was continued upon the 14th morning, who reached the following early in the morning, which was administered by John Edgar Lee as the speaker as Chairman. 'I strongly desire that I shall do nothing in my lifetime that will stain my religion as a man.' Among the members who reached their 12th day was one girl and one woman. The company was enormous, but I could not help feeling all the while I was creating the impression that I was a poor man in a 12th day. My notion of education are an evolutionary and a social system. In my opinion, I am only a child of national education as terms of Social. There I would have seen the education should be education to producing themselves in the act of speaking and a 12th day. I would have them make the education and help them of their. They should know how long it takes to establish a well and the capital required. They should know the business in the possibility of an individual's expansion of wealth. They should know too the method of distribution of wealth through gifts and that through hard spending and hard earning. They should know how hard spending and the maintenance of health when was destroyed. They should understand and be able to demonstrate the effect of the expansion of hard spending in the collapse of the efforts of India's people. They should know how a full revival of the stage industry will move into an individual where the modern Hindu and Muslim have. But there they are either behind the fact of a

advance of it. It does not much matter whether they are behind or ahead of the fact. Thus I know that every day or when the whole of educated India will adopt them.

### A Social Law Prisoner

The reader will recall the case of Henry, Edith and Edna. Henry, the two married men, prisoners who were sentenced to be hanged and on whom Edna, Henry's wife, took an appeal to the Jury Council. The reader will remember further that though the appeal was dismissed, the death sentences were commuted to 100 years. Now Mr. Henry's wife, Henry has been brought back from the Anderson to the Indian jail where Mr. Edith, I understand, is still kept in the Anderson. I had a visit from Mr. Henry's mother-in-law. She informed me that Mr. Henry has been here suffering from leprosy and piles and for the last three months has been suffering from leprosy. During the rainy days of the summer, I used to tell the members of these prisoners that they would be soon released. I told every time that in the fall to hold out my hope to the members of the early release of her mother-in-law although he is ailing and has already served the years of imprisonment. In writing the members of the fact of these two prisoners, I had expressed my own case that there was nothing in it, something wrong for the reader. The Jury Council, it will be remembered did not go into the merits of the case. These judgments came and the appeal as what may be called a closed process.

### A Warning

During the last few months every household will have its share. By refusing or neglecting to work for the common good, he will not only not be able to work directly in support of working every part of the nation grows in half out of the country and selling some of it in the world. By neglecting sufficient action, he can produce hard-panning and being hard-panning in the action of such householders will not be hard-panning. The share of every part to contribute in fact and that during its action means. Contribution can do double work. They may support every household in the performance of the primary duty of working enough money. And every that all the households are not yet able to their duty, they may also start without order for the sake of the defectors. This can be done either by begging or by begging. We have had many Hindu households of the common. There is a reason why in all nation-growing some action should not be begged from door to door. Therefore such a system of action in such, the action should be treated easily in the same way as we would treat such action. Receipt should be given in such and both of action should be in fact. If action should be through a 12th day, Special will be needed for classifying and receiving action. This is the time for strong action or it may be a 12th day of the action of the action.

W. K. G.

| South India Fund Raised     | No. As To             |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------|
| Total persons acknowledged. | 17,511 persons        |
| Received since 1-1-1914.    | 1,771 persons         |
| <b>Grand Total</b>          | <b>19,282 persons</b> |



# Young India

11-12-34

## My Path

(By M. K. Gandhi)

It is my great fortune and misfortune to receive criticism in Europe and America at the present moment. It is my great fortune in that my message is being studied and reflected on in the West. It is my misfortune in that it is attracting older commentators suggested as wildly distorted. Every truth is self-evident and possesses inherent strength. I therefore remain unperturbed even when I feel myself grossly misunderstood. A kind European friend has sent me a warning which states, of the information given to him by him, that I am being widely and wilfully or deliberately misrepresented in Europe. Here is the message:

"The Russian representative at Berlin, Krombholz, would be asked by the Minister for Foreign Affairs to give an official address. Gandhi (G) and I 'piled' by the Minister to undertake a 10-hour propaganda mission among his listeners." Krombholz would be given the task of inviting Gandhi to come to Russia. He is expected to give a lecture for the publication of propaganda literature among the oppressed people of Asia, and so it is heard, but the purpose of the invited. Cliché and Krombholz, a press in the name of Gandhi, for students who are of his class (of the idea of Gandhi as of those of Moscow). I am sorry that Krombholz would be asked to do work. All this is published in the Russian newspaper late the day of Oct. 1934."

The message gives the clue to the reports that I was likely to be asked to visit Germany and Russia. I need not say that I have remained in such relation at all, nor have I 'piled' in slightest degree to visit those great countries. I am conscious of the fact that the work for which I stand has not yet been fully accepted by India. It has not yet been fully vindicated. My work in India is still in the experimental stage. In such circumstances any foreign adventure on my part would be altogether premature. I should be fully satisfied if the experiment dramatically succeeds in India.

My path is clear. Any attempt to use me for violent purposes is bound to fail. I have no secret methods. I have no diplomacy save that of truth. I have no weapons but non-violence. I may be successfully led away for a while but not for all time. I have chambers well-fortified, walls which show I may be used. Attempts have been made before now to use me violently more than once. They have failed each time as far as I am concerned.

I am not ignorant of what usually happens in. I have not been able to strip it. I do not know whether it is for the good of Russia or the long run. But I do know that it is for me in its heart of violence and denial of God, it repels me. I do not believe in short-cutting to success. Those Bolshevik friends who are following their ambition to me should realize that however much I may sympathize with and share their motives,

I am an uncompromising opponent of violent methods even to serve the wishes of Russia. There is therefore really no meeting ground between the object of violence and myself. But my stand of non-violence not only does not preclude me but compels me even to associate with capitalists and all those who believe in violence. But that association is always with the sole object of winning them from what appears to me to be their error. For experience has taught me that permanent good can arise in the outcome of violence and violence. Even if my belief is a false delusion, it will be admitted that it is a laudable delusion.

## Hand-Spinning Day by Day

The last date in the current year for spinning in celebration of pure according to the Ahmedabad spinning tradition falls during the present week. Every province will be in a hurry to spin this day as it is one of the spinning Congress. But we are about it will be difficult for us to come very soon a detailed report about the activities of the last month. We are hard put to it to cope with the big bundles sent us by the various provinces. What a difference in last month! Gujarat, Bombay, Bengal and Madras have been highly commended for the first, but not being dated by this. Some provinces have been steadily making progress and others disappointing. Among these the advance of Bombay is indeed remarkable. Other provinces have also worked satisfactorily. Maharashtra, Bihar, Madras and Madras G. P., Punjab, North, G. P., Bihar, G. P., Assam, Kerala, Orissa and India have also shown signs of diligence and discipline. Negatives have not advanced. The Punjab has increased its quantity, but as before it leaves much to be desired in other respects.

### Selection and Collection of Cotton

Every province has three papers in the selection of cotton. Only the G. P. of cotton featured in this matter. But the same is now appearing, and it is time for spinning as well as hand and personal Congress representatives to arrive the last quality of cotton and to start it up against the requirements of the next year. The Government is the price of cotton are indeed satisfactory. For the selection of that spinning are only to be used from experience of such collection. Personal Khadi should be made in the community by obtaining the cotton and the experience of cotton workers in their respective provinces.

Attention is now the activities of the United States, it is now the cotton growing in of vital importance. Detailed reports about the activities of the crops in every single cotton farm in the country reach the provincial body and through it the central bodies in regularity that they are able to forecast the quality and the quantity of the crops, to estimate the prices which are likely to rise and thus to control the world market. We in India can do the wonders if we will. Every experienced, every intelligent, every Congress representative which will start up cotton will from the foundation of the market, will deserve well of his country and the spinning of cotton will be hardly less useful than the spinning of cotton in days of famine.

### Hand-Spinning at Adyar

Shri Devadas Gandhi attended the spin of a hundred galls per hour on the 10th, about a month ago and his work highly qualified him to be a spinning master. He



has one hole at elbow for a work-trough. Mrs. Panty is aple. He came from Madras on the 10th, saying that his journey has been successful. Dr. Panty who had his faith broken that day has made great progress. His efforts are covering large numbers and actually spreading. Mrs. Emily Sampson is trying hard to master the Tamil. Mr. Samuel has decided to baptize one or two English lady workers for a month's teaching at Belurmath. Street Ranganathan has been with Mrs. Samuel throughout. They have been to St. George's Kanchi where she is spending as high as 20p. and managed to have a photograph taken of her work.

#### The Congress Kanchiworkers

Shyama Ramaswami Karjick, Secretary of the Kanchi Committee, writes to say that there will be two speaking engagements, one for a week and the other for a few days. G. V. Rangan Chetty has threatened the award of gold and silver medals on the basis of Gangey to the competitors who take a high rank. Those who are not recommended by Freeland Committee may also take the engagements.

Our two letters of the Congress will be a speaking bill held up with two hundred students. People desirous of speaking will be admitted freely wherever they like on the payment of 1 rupee and 10 paise, and the price that will be granted to the Congress.

We wish confident speakers like Shyama Ramaswami attend the Congress but first by force of personal example give an impulse to the art of speaking in our country.

Magister K. Sundhi.

#### What is Unity?

I have received the following note on Hindu-Muslim Unity from a student worker and friend in Gujarat, who had been with me previously for some years in Belurmath:-

"Unity can never be obtained by violence, or violence, nor can it be obtained by the restriction of conferences. There can never be solid unity by mere discussion."

"Hindu-Muslim Unity is not the unity of the two religions of India alone, but the united action, life, of the whole Bang. The Bang is one, not two. If it is one unity, there should not be the two religions in us, the evil and the good. Hindu and Muslim are not two religions."

"I have just read Darwin's *Parasite*. They are spoken by a Fellow of Congress. But the whole book is full of words dedicated to the Kingdom of Greys. They are just like those of Jewish Hades, the Ghetto-Park, Hades for the money. Now that of Hindu and Muslim. More people should read this book."

"This is the darkest period of history. We must be very careful in the changing period. One is not so much to move out into wider life, but rather to go to God, deep within. The money of the lower being is hidden. We must be to have the All-powerful divine energy."

"Unity can be obtained, only through His money. Let us try to be such as to receive His money. Let us be free from money, even from golden money, but let us be one with Him. Let Him not through us, considering one before the one alone."

G. P. A.

## Can Untouchability be defended?

(By C. P. Andrews)

I have received the following letter from Baba Kishanlal Chakravarti of Chhatrapur:-

"I have just your article 'Indian Untouchables in Burma' and 'The Fact that God has chosen' published in 'Young India'. I have been reporting that some other untouchable person should remove your wrong impression about our social system. It is really a surprise to me that a pure, good and like you, who has so long been working hard and hard to help us to get rid of our social system."

"You are perfectly right in saying—'So long as there are no village untouchables of any kind in India, India, and India and untouchables and untouchables, there is no possibility of obtaining them from going out, however hard the untouchables may be. A strong man, with his family pending before his eyes, must get away untouchables to others too.' But in your statement 'So long as there is a separate and practical system in India, India, and so long as the system of untouchability, (which is an Indian system) then the system is in India' means untouchability in India, must remain in permanent.' I am not that you have been following untouchables wrong impression. Where do you find separate and practical system in India? Can you point out any person to help of persons engaging any class of untouchables under such terrible loads as are put upon in English colonies as untouchables and untouchables supported by the English standard?"

"More than 10 p. a. of the untouchables who go to Burma from Bengal and Assam are untouchables. Can you say that they are suffering under oppression of untouchability in their motherland? Although, Hindu who go to Burma or elsewhere very few, and even 1 p. a. are untouchables."

"You have suggested untouchability as an Indian system than the system in India. I do not know fully the condition of untouchables in British India. The British system, that prohibits untouchables of India there to work on a road with other people, is not in regard to Bengal and so far as I know in central and upper India. In the temples of Jagannath, Varanasi, and Chhatrapur and with every Hindu, one enters along with high caste. Hindu untouchables and untouchables the British. In Jagannath-India even untouchables cannot work do not stand to take untouchables from the hands of Chhatrapur and untouchables, though at home the untouchables and the high-caste Hindus do not allow lower caste people to enter their temple, kitchen or bedrooms, and also to within unless reporting first and death. It is a necessary necessity to prevent the purity of the nation. There was a standard to take or oppress work even. If any body is depressed, oppressed, or hated more by others, it must be due to the new situation created, not by the religious heads of society but by others."

"Can you show that Brahmins, or other high-caste Hindus, made firm to deprive any low caste people from their lands, or their professions, or Englishmen are doing in the colonies? In India, my dear, to be a untouchable or a foreigner, would mean many something to his place, enjoy life as well as other people. The first if India has been kept open, any foreigner would enter into it and live



supply with others. To keep them off is thing was harmful. Acts of untouchability were necessary. One sided a clock of photography. English people have set up an opinion against it, and one-sided people have swallowed the bait. The result is, our houses are broken down to pieces, and we have been degraded to the verge of destruction.

"In Bengal, the Europeans and the Hindus are the richest people, but they are surrounded by high-caste Hindus. Can you not find they are oppressed or oppressed by others?"

"In Chittagong, a famous musician was born in our village about 50 years ago. He held a very high position in society. Though it is 50 years ago, even to-day, his name is still mentioned as the friend of the people, or Begum Chanda Bibi. At that time, people, the title was synonymous with Hindustani art, it was conferred on him by the people. He formed a late party with young men of the Dowd clan, who lived in the Hindu village. In the temple of Hindustani and other high caste people, they would play their parts. Since then, the system and system are being purified from high and low classes and they work together without objection.

"About 40 years ago a Brahmin named Nara Puri married English children and was appointed a clerk in the Chittagong Collector's office. Nobody objected to work with him. One English Minister started a club shop. Even the Brahmins found no objection to produce goods from him.

"I tell these relations to show that the idea of degrading or oppressing any people, however low they may be, was never entertained by the Brahmins or other high caste people, the path of which is now being followed by them. Further, the highest of Hindu caste in Chittagong, and the highest of Muslims, as Begum Chanda Bibi, tried to raise them up. Yet there was no such outcry. One Englishman, and other Indian masters who have moved as much as they against untouchability, have to have done are much of what our Indian did quite unhesitatingly 50 years ago for the low caste people?"

"The other day Mahabharat has said that untouchability is a crime, but a somewhat unpopularity in public. Exactly the same is the case with untouchability. When it is a crime where untouchability was hated and oppressed, but without them very good. It was designed to keep the people separate when Christian, Hindu and Muslim are not working, and the kept the society in peace and contributing for thousands of years, and hence it has no corruption and destruction.

"You may think that our Hindustani or others are very untouchable persons. No doubt in a remote corner they are, and every correspondence and keep should be given to them in time. But do you think they are more untouchable than those English are and women at whose feet the Mayor of London and the other day that they were obliged to show their eyes when passing through places like Hyde Park and Clarendon Court? The corner you mention the untouchability of untouchability, the corner you can expect to find them never existed here.

"I want to show that, in the long course of social evolution, a great many ideas and customs have crept in the society. These, like the system which prohibits untouchability of people to work on a road, or to take

water from a public well, are socially infamous, and should be removed at once. But the attempt to remove the system of untouchability and to remove has been doing considerable mischief, not only to Hindu society, but to humanity at large: the higher classes are being corrupted, the lower classes are spoiled by such interference and hatred towards the higher ones. The spiritual and literary relations and harmony between classes and classes have gone. The whole of society is working with confusion and disorder."

"If you look into our social structure, you will find that it is more democratic and more free - ending than the Hindu-Muslim leaders and benevolent opponents."

I publish this letter gladly. It is a strongly correct and a serious criticism of Bengali. Owing chiefly to the mis-quoted reference of the Chittagong Post, Bengali recently learned that not 'untouchability' is, but the past, Hindustani figures, which is one of his mistakes, but he found a Hindustani living in the town at the point of death, when some of the more villages would break, having in his name. This was in Bengal. How can one help poor people in time, if one ought not to touch them? The Chittagong Post very early asked that question. He did touch them. He ordered them. The great temple of Jagannath Puri, has asked it. It concerns them, like a mother, etc.

But and 'untouchability' must be seen in the South to be understood. I have been in the very midst of 5000 'untouchables' near to Chittagong, who had come to meet him. His untouchable friends I have nearly seen in Ganga's bank. It took my heart to see them. They were more wretched than the untouchable castes, who had come down to Chittagong. They were more degraded, in human beings, than those untouchable Indians, whom I saw in the West photographs and in 1891.

It is true, that Mahabharat from Chittagong go to large numbers to Burma. I was not thinking of them when I wrote, but of the Village and their relations. In Malaya, a very large population is there made from the 'untouchables' of India. They go back again and again to Malaya, because there is no stigma of untouchability. There are many. They can be proved.

When I thought in the meetings of the colour bar in Africa was known I felt certain that the negroes there is the same. The white people in India long ago made 'untouchables' the dirty name, just as the white Europeans are making 'untouchable' in Africa the dirty name today.

Chief, British, Chittagong, Khasi, St. Francis of Assisi, and all the saints, embraced the 'untouchables' of their time, and spread words to them the same of their time. The English Mahabharat made the Negroes dirty in most devoted dignity. Let us follow their example.

"In my opinion, Mr. Mahabharat is unconsiderate to take Hindustani Hindustani. Whilst the tradition of untouchability in the world is no doubt much more than that of the untouchability in Bengal, it is bad enough in Bengal and worse of an abuse. Mahabharat can better speak of the effect of untouchability than its defence. Let us learn from the English when the people feel that the opponents are blind to the economy of their own methods. The untouchability of Hindustani is probably



more than that of the western Imperialists." To have made it boundary with a rigidity not yet conceivable about an Imperialist. Will these Hinduist plain members that the English Imperialists do for their responsibility the more defence that is done for the Hindu responsibility. The only reason therefore is not to find out which is more to compare the work of one set system and reference to not it not. (N. K. G.)

## Art and National Development

(By C. P. Andrews)

One of the most interesting studies in Indian history is to trace the correspondence between the rise of a great Literature and Art and the dawn of a new national life. Music, which is close to Literature and Art, has a number of points to consider. These nations, if at all, are more highly gifted than others in artistic faculty, but even among less advanced people there are times when the joy of new national life springs forth, like a fountain in the barren soil, and they become great in song under the strain of new aspirations.

The lyric is surely this that Art, Music and Literature, when they are wholly spontaneous and sincere, come with the note of universal human joy. Therefore, when a new day of hope begins to rise on any people, they are likely to make their aspirations. The resurgence of new Music held in common by multitudes, the first strains of the triumphant song of a new day—call them only to find an expression in beauty. The creative faculty is more in splendour. Literature and Art become the natural expression of the awakened spirit which animates the whole community.

We need not go to other peoples to trace out the birth of all this, for we have the most vivid example of all in Indian History itself. In the earliest recorded days, when the Aryan people, in the prime of their youthful vigour, came through the northern mountain passes, they entered India singing their hymns of joy and glory in the bright shining sun. When they entered to be their protection. The haunting appeal of these earliest hymns which were as with today, live in the traditions and simplicity of their aspiration, and in the beauty which they carry with them of the morning of the world. The Vedas are the poem-songs of the heroic Indian nation.

A later period came and with it a new type of poetry of a different type. When the new movement was, we can only dimly conjecture, but it may be assumed that two supremely important events are portrayed (1) In the *Mahabharata* as we come to find a new expression of the Aryan and their struggle in the death with the earlier Aryan nations, it is a tragic story, which reaches its second height in the *Ramayana*; (2) In the *Ramayana*, we read of the valiant passage of the Aryan under their banner, long and strenuous, Hinduism between the South. Since the great epic poems have probably done more to cheer the hearts and keep up the courage and dignity of our nation and wounded among millions of simple Indian people than any other Indian poetry. Even today, they form the staple of almost on the mountain summits of the village hill, who are neither read nor write, but can learn the *Shravan* by heart and reflect of the problems of the *Ramayana*.

The heroic period may be closed,—the period of lyric and song. The highest epoch in Indian History comes like a glad sunset after a night of a thousand, steadily and calm. When all we read has reached its measure, Hindu and Hinduism began at last to settle down into a calm peace. A creative period in Art and Poetry followed, of which the greatest architectural glory of the world, the Taj Mahal at Agra, is the symbol. It is of supreme interest to understand, that the Art itself was a flower, for undoubtedly Hindu participated in it along with the Muslims and then brought it to perfection.

The question remains to be considered, whether the national awakening in India if ever was there great as yet any promise of producing a great Literature and Art. The movement is too young, its early promise of India, for us to expect to see immediate results. But we are, who too clearly studied the Indian history of Bengal, too dark for a moment when a creative period has dawned there. It represents, both in literature and artistic genius, the full impulse of the soul of the people, not merely the highest spontaneity of any national group.

In other parts of India, the national movement is deeply noticeable at present on account of a remarkable resurgence of literature in the mother tongue (Hindustani). To take one example only, the Hindi language in the South has had a revival, that might almost be called a resurrection. I anticipated that at Calcutta, the same thing is happening today before our eyes.

On the other hand, there is one thing in the national programme which strongly enough has not been able to achieve in full itself to do not certain forms of beauty, namely 'beauty'. It is true that the humanistic cloth has a protection of its own the something that made in the world. It has, that is to say, high personal artistic qualities. Nevertheless, an absolute measure of which, with hardly any variation at all, gives us what is the certain sense. When that also and a certain make over the whole 'beauty' shall completely, not only in those we return to the, but actual richness. Surely there is something lacking here, which those, who are most truly and rightly enthusiastic about 'beauty,' should heartily help to supply. It is not a matter which can wait indefinitely without reference here. The wonderful days of earliest India might be brought back, especially so, the land of light concluded there should not be missed if there glorious primary colours, the earth, the gold and the blue, with all their many variations, which only the modern can make harmonious. In the dull grey modern clothing, it is impossible to wear bright colours like those that we wear in India without discomfort, therefore natural and without have been to be employed again. But in India, just as in many Italy and Greece, the modern world wears colours of the brightest dyes, and a joy is added to life by their employment. Such a joy is no more distant in reference to the land and spirit of a people.

[There is no danger of the other sense being lost. That set is being taken care of by Hinduism and other places. Therefore may and should disappear, as the nation develops the sense of proportion.]















to do what he wished for the name of freedom in his motherland, India. Very clearly, his mind was made up; he gave his gifts generously and with the greatest care, not recklessly and in a spiritless manner.

When I was returning to South Africa, after many years' absence, the new press in which my heart most burned, with the approval of long-expected welcome, was *Pearl Bunting*. My own dear friend, Willie Pearson, had wished to work not with me again, but he had been prevented. He had a special place of affection in Pearl Bunting's heart about questions of Indian freedom and nothing after his death, it was Willie Pearson's name which came first in his inquiries, when we met. If Willie had been alive today, his grief at the death of Pearl Bunting would have been no less than my own, for he loved her very deeply as a sister, and used to speak to me constantly about her.

Our great civil stand-out in Pearl Bunting's life and work is what it was. This was his devotion to Indian freedom. He tried to free, more than to any man else in power of our time. For, apart from Mahatma Gandhi, he might indeed have been a progress politician, but he would hardly have reached the heights of sacrifice and devotion in his country's cause which he actually attained. He was the trained journalist and leader of Mahatmas throughout the whole South African struggle and it was this leadership that made him one to be remembered. Of all the leaders that Mahatma Gandhi had with him during the present resistance movement, with its hardships and hardships consequent, Pearl Bunting was among the most faithful and the most true.

## Lord Curzon on India

(By C. F. JAIN)

The following passages came through Radio news from a month ago from England and were published in all the Indian papers: "In a speech in London, today, Lord Curzon said that the position of India had not been created and that it ought not to be modified. He was almost on the verge of saying that today. The Indian question was a great error and India was far from happy."

"Some of these speakers were not ripe for judgement, and in dealing with the case, such as Egypt and the Sudan, Mr. Macdonald fell into the policy of the politicians, which they, in turn, would also pursue."

"Lord Curzon said he was a student growing up in India which would be a challenge to British rule, and would compel us to decide where long whether we would not have to make a stand for British institutions, British government and British rights."

Since that date, the Curzon story has continued to become more alive and Lord Curzon, along with Lord Balfour and others, will have a big meeting as well as the settlement of foreign affairs. Unquestionably when Lord Curzon said, in the words quoted above, will represent a programme for the future. Let us see what this programme means for India itself. He says, "We shall have to make a stand for British institutions, British government, and British rights in India itself." Here we have a plan to rule in India which is entirely contrary to the true spirit of the country. It is obvious that the opposition upon another country of everything that is foreign and only led to one effect. It destroys the indigenous life of the country itself.

Let us suppose, for a moment, that the present which Lord Curzon said was a demand and that India was to say to Great Britain: "The time is coming, when we shall have to make a stand for British institutions for Indian institutions, Indian government and Indian rights." The thing would be regarded as absurd. Or suppose the Japanese, who have more military power than India today, were to make an Japanese institution, Japanese government and Japanese rights being established throughout Great Britain, would and every Briton at once be up in arms and regard her whole national destiny as at stake? Would not the British people say: "British power shall be done" and stand to the utmost for such questions of foreign institutions, foreign government and foreign rights?"

I am an Englishman myself and I know what my own people feel. There would be such an immediate rally to the British flag, if any such thing were made by any foreign power, that it would be quite reasonable.

But if my friend, "India is a compound country, and has to obtain its own share and importance of a large power."

If that were truly the case, then it should be said to openly, but we are constantly told that this is not the truth, and that India is free to choose her own destiny and self-government in the end is true.

From this self-government in India means "a challenge to British rule"? All? That is the whole question in a nutshell. Lord Curzon, at one time, says it does not. But the present India means self-government, in the very highest degree, for it is an ever up to arms and declares that a challenge is giving up in India which is a "challenge to British rule". Again we may ask: "Is the management of Indian institutions and Indian rights of government and Indian rights inseparable?" Lord Curzon would say it is not. "Certainly not. Why? We are all in favour of India governing herself". But the present Indian rights in practice to form their own institutions for a government, and to form their own rights, as human beings, that same moment Lord Curzon is up in arms and says that the situation in India is so great as to compel us to decide whether we shall not have to make a stand for British institutions, British government, and British rights."

A few days ago, a question from America asked me the question whether India would prefer to have foreign domination or to say for a few months past, when it might be left with less danger and confusion and disaster in the process. I said to him the real danger was not that of the rule of which might take place if foreign were to take possession, but rather the danger of delay in bringing foreign rule, because every year that foreign was an obstacle was another year of foreign institutions, foreign government and foreign rights. I showed him the passage of Lord Curzon and what him, as an American, what he would think if foreign institutions were imposed upon his own country. Would he wish to get rid of them immediately, with all the war and some disturbance in the process? Or would he be willing to wait for 50 years, during which there may foreign institutions would become well more hard to get rid of? He replied immediately.

"We would never allow foreign institutions to be imposed upon America even for a moment. It would lift our national life." I said to him: "Then you see the whole







## Patriotism Run Mad

(By E. S. Gosselin)

It is a fine thing to be a patriot. But when patriotism is taken beyond a sane and sober balance, it should be made to respect the rights of others and should not be allowed to offend women, or in a more serious case, the highest conscience. These reasons against law order and decency are used to have declared its madness at war against India, and to have said that by violating the just rights they expect to stop the nation in a time of reconstruction. This is madness in a sense supposed to be good, but all however, which whether put up as a good cause or bad. As a matter of fact every cause is good in the estimation of the fanatics. Several hundred men had thousands of Englishmen and women who actually thought with their hearts full of love for the nation which is unconditionally believed to be good. He thought that by that one act he had saved English lives and the Empire. That it was all a sign of his imagination, cannot affect the relations of the country of his association. Lord Lytton and Balfour himself believed that the Punjab party of British troops in violence, but this ignorance cannot be put down as the cause of the history of these events. The cause that these and thousands of Englishmen held to be just and good, the Government first supports vigorously before it is rejected. They are a minority of people that these actions will harm the surrounding villages that they have paid full compensation to the parties damaged that the latter have voluntarily returned their belongings and that their actions will be a boon to England and that therefore those who seek to divert the attention of the people. They are as much entitled to their lives as I am to mine that the actions will not harm the people in the neighborhood, that it will spoil the natural beauty of the place that the poor villages had no word of their own and could therefore hardly be said to have voluntarily returned their belongings, that no compensation was an adequate consideration for anything, and a much continued has believed and that it is a matter of question of the actions will be a boon to England, but unconditionally I accept to reject the actions. I am in the right, I accept the actions of the Government. And these things are chaotic and unreasoned standard of right, therefore must be held to be wrong in every case. In other words pure nationalism never justify anyone in violent action. I am therefore unable to comprehend the thousands of these actions, remember to the authorities. The secretary is an indication of the action. Many ready to make friends. The authorities fully the other day in (Karn) would not, were himself in the police because he considered himself after the manner. The attack upon the innocent women who were among the innocent Englishmen was especially heinous. The authorities friends of the British villages had a perfect right, if they had wished, to go to the Government and by agreement with them from following the the British. But they had no right to take the law into their own hands. They have done it a good reason in obeying the wrong method of violence and should stand in the sympathy they had. There is no way of getting away from the fact of Government and the actions, because to put a person in a prison was not a crime, because he had a right to his belongings and the actions were not determined and of this nature, the actions were not a crime, but a crime.

over them that will cause and get involved in a crime. The only alternative was to stand in sympathy with the actions and cause the world to be made better. The world would be able to play, not the future of the world is being sacrificed for the present. The people who the other day very easily marched war against an innocent Englishman because an sympathy because they are willing the Government to take the side of the country and because they were taking that side in the attempt. Those who are engaged in the actions are ready for such unscrupulous people are harming the country and doing no service to the nation.

## Harry Thacker of Kenya

(By C. J. Baker)

There is a man all over the world. The answer to tyranny lies in the suppression of the individual, without any trial by his fellowmen and without any evidence being given in public against him. For instance, the British people struggled and resisted government and brought men before the court, in support of any man however humble and lowly. In Africa the British people was for the Government the rights of freedom that each country. They had previously allowed this in the eighteenth century and they have never lost it since, so that we can say.

Among the British people, the tyranny of secret imprisonment, removed for longer or shorter. It was only when the French Revolution that the system, called *Detention without trial*, was abolished and the people of France the way their freedom. Russia has never been entirely emancipated from this tyrannical system. Even today, under the *Reds* rule, the tyranny of secret imprisonment seems to be nearly as bad as ever as in the old days of the Emperor of China.

It was one of the best of the British people that under the British Empire the British Empire Act was strictly observed, but even the war and even before the war, this highly professed professed of freedom under the empire has not been justified by the facts. The war itself was one of the most terrible things in history, that the world has ever seen. In every country because of the British Act was passed which practically deprived hundreds of thousands of their personal liberty. In America, which was once regarded as the home of freedom, large numbers of people were imprisoned without trial in India such numbers of people suffered in the Punjab and in Bengal and elsewhere under the Defence of India Act. Today, the Bengal Government means the new Government, which the Defence of India Act had regulated during the war. It is reported that in a few months' time people are imprisoned hundreds of thousands of people without any open trial, that the British Empire will be in the danger of the Government, which every is secret police evidence against them as prison.

When I was in East Africa I met one of the brightest men I had seen in that country. His name was Harry Thacker and was a Christian. I was one of the men of the African who lived in the British and because I was able to have a good deal of the Act a meeting of the actions in the African. Harry Thacker



Refuge, which he had extended for me, I up to the African themselves about Queen Victoria the Great, and the death of Henry was never regarded which she had professed to be. Foundation of 1848. The Government of Native Affairs was passed and acted as an emergency. The meeting was very orderly indeed, and it did great credit to the my Father who organized it.

About a year after the conference, I was sent for by the papers that the African had been found on and many killed and wounded, because of settlement in Natal, and that Henry Thacker himself had been deported to a place called Khamarpo, without trial. He sent a message to me, through Mr. Marshall Drew, asking me for help and sharing the right of a hero's subject to be tried free to face with his enemies, instead of being secretly taken away to a distant place and executed without any trial whatever. I did my very best at the time to make his wife heard in England, but without effect. Again, quite recently, another appeal from him has come to me. That other year, he is being kept in a wretched condition. His whole life is being ruined, and his family, of which he is the only supporter, is suffering from destruction. He himself is not allowed sufficient money to keep him decently. This is his own story and I publish it just as he gives it. In his position he writes as follows:—

"In the month of March, 1871, I was arrested under the authority of His Excellency the Governor, Sir Edward Northey and deported to Khamarpo for detention. I was not tried by any tribunal.

"It is quite clear from this, that the British Empire has not been founded on justice, as it is professed to be.

"I have not and will not attempt at any time to take into my mind, that the people of Great Britain are all against me. No, I was spoken once that there are a great many good and God-fearing people among them.

"The treatment I have been accorded, since the celebrated deposition is perfectly creditable. I have been allowed a small allowance and sent to an excellent allowance, somewhere 20 cents, and what was my challenge put down. I had been abused by European nations for wearing new clothes on, etc."

"My old mother (aged over 55 years) and my beloved sister (with four children) have been forced to pay but taxes, and by that you can well make out a terrible and what other families they might have paid, when I am suffering deprivation here.

"I brought all these cruel wrongs against me, and my family, to the notice of our Lord Governor as through the English the Great Native Commission, but having made any return, I have not been lucky enough to receive a reply even. The Almighty alone knows what must be my task on my point."

"The British nation has entered the membership of the African, and moved and my family, as African, is also a part of their race. For this reason to have forgotten that, undoubtedly, when I write to inform you that I am writing a request, it is a wish, but one I am conscious of not being unreasonable in doing, if I think the

Government might be capable of her action. And from the policy to be observed. Why then put such a man at a solitary place, with such tortures and away from his countrymen?

"Is it because of my pointing, that the wretched African globe should not be forced by Government to work on the plantations of white nations, as it is lawfully entitled to temporary and systematic of domestic law, or because I presented that my country people should not be flung to death etc. etc. that I have been kept here? That the worthy British Government should stop to dispute and continuously harass a poor, defenceless and helpless individual like me is really a matter of shame. Release me and help me and my countrymen to work up and go on to wealth and civilization.

"In conclusion, I most humbly say, that I am conscious of my illness of mind, for which I have been deprived, and this statement of mine is obviously true, as I was not tried by any Jury or Court. I was simply caught in it by the Government and deported. The rule applied to me is without doubt 'Right is Right'.

"I therefore pray, you, that you may be pleased to be around my illness, as I have already suffered a great deal."

It used to be a true and honorable declaration of an Englishman, that under the English law as now was regarded as guilty, until he had been actually proved guilty in an open trial by his peers, and that every man was by law assumed to be innocent until otherwise proved was allowed to police to show to all the world that he was guilty. With Henry Thacker, no great wonder has been set forward of his guilt. An open witness has been given against him, subject to cross-examination, and therefore has been allowed to continue the justice of Government and to place for him in an open court, a really free trial, and a full, free inquiry has continued, that long as it goes to last. To do it, and not with Thacker has not finished!

These who have been deported or imprisoned under the law English Government are acquainted with Henry Thacker and others, in different parts of the British Empire, who are suffering the same fate today.

To me, these reported acts of injustice are an unconscionable pain. For more than thirty years, I had held evidence my own faith in British justice but events like these shake the very foundation of that faith, and now I cannot hold my head up high, as I used to do whenever I used to speak of English freedom.

I fear Henry Thacker will appeal to Mr. Anderson and my confidence of it in three columns will mean as called for that victim of bad for proof. If however he ever was there here, he will perhaps find comfort in the thought that even in distant India many will read the story of his destruction and break with sympathy. He may also find relief in the fact that many perhaps as innocent as Henry Thacker are today being kept up in England without any trial or hope of it in the near future.



## Eleven Days in Madras

In a declaration made in the press some time ago Dr. Bhaia Bhaia said the word "do or die" in the matter of setting a practical example in handwriting of that way the thing that stood between her and the Congress. Bhaia made this emphatic declaration, my duty in her part as out of the question. It was on the 14th of August that Dr. Bhaia and my father were holding an important consultation on the political situation in the country. As I happened to be sitting out-of-door at that time, I was surprised to see the middle of their consultation with my little spinning implement. I gave just a cursory demonstration of the working of the wheel at the balcony on the 14th of the Dr. Bhaia. Having then had one paragraph I was easily and entirely back of for the other a, giving actual lessons to her in spinning. I was asked to keep myself in readiness to go to any place where I might be called upon to go for the purpose. The expected invitation came from Adyar on the 15th of December. It seemed to me I was placed in the very awkward position of the man who cannot read to himself. I could almost hear my friends laughing at the very thought of my going to a school of teaching spinning, a place which was the seat of that great art. But a promise was a promise, and this fact gave me heart in my continuous trip.

I was equipped for more work in Adyar than merely helping Dr. Bhaia to acquire the art of spinning. I had in my baggage besides a few tables a clock-like of an easily portable one, several books, and other accessories essential to spinning. Mrs. C. Rajagopalakrishnan, a member of both the school and the art of spinning, joined me on the very last day to give me a proper start. Dr. Bhaia was so immediately on my arrival. She discussed with Mrs. Rajagopalakrishnan a few details about her accommodation at Adyar during the Congress work and asked him where she could obtain a copy of the Congress constitution and the need which she wanted to see before going to Adyar for discussion with the Congress being not on the question of the school but on the question of non-cooperation.

Now, from the time I left Ahmedabad, the thought appeared in my mind was how best to obtain Dr. Bhaia's consent to give a trial in the school before taking up the teaching. I could not get over the idea that the teaching was more a question of the school than a technical one and completely failed the experiment of the school. It was a more important which could not be easily obtained due to the absence of the school and was not in any way to be compared with it. However it had been borne in upon my mind that a knowledge of the school difficulties, process of spinning on the wheel was practically better and more easily acquired after one had practiced sufficiently in the spinning wheel. Through I may have been wrong in the latter impression, for the reason I have mentioned I had determined to do all I could to prevent the possibility of the inevitable help beginning with the art. I found, however, that, if I had harboured any apprehensions on this score, I had made a mistake. Mrs. Rajagopalakrishnan agreeing with me in my report, Dr. Bhaia, in our agreeable conversation, readily consented to take on the school work. I felt my task half accomplished.

The first lesson was to be on the morning of the next day.

The day of our arrival was spent in getting friends and making new ones. To a happy coincidence, while we were talking with Dr. Bhaia in the large hall of the Adyar House, Mrs. Margaret Loomis returned with a number of hand-loomers whom she had seen. The group were dismissed immediately. We had other valuable information also and this incident in fact paved the way for our further work. It was settled that we should meet Dr. Loomis and Mrs. Loomis in the evening when we could also discuss several matters connected with spinning and weaving. There was quite a conference at the Congress in which numerous friends joined. It was decided there that a demonstration of the spinning wheel to be held and teaching.

Dr. Bhaia made very good beginning. Her success was in fact, the open part, and began to make beginning do. Dr. Bhaia started with utmost concentration. The hands moved steadily. When the thread began to twist we each drew to replace to her the motion. The motion to carry on a one usually passed and I supplied them with it. She tried hard to avoid committing a mistake and gradually succeeded. After about 20 minutes I asked her if she did not feel tired. 'No' was the decisive reply. She had got a parallel form and the spinning system had evidently to be changed and all moved on the second, but she worked very little in it. She was determined to master the art. When the first 'lesson' was over, I found I had learnt more of concentration, steadiness, endurance, and patience than the example I had just had the privilege of watching than I had thought of spinning. The second lesson was to be given the following morning at 11 A. M.

After the lesson under the demonstration, The Congress before reaching in Adyar, some of them guests and students, whom as change of important function of administrative work under Dr. Bhaia, for what it was arranged, were deeply interested in it. A number of them decided to go to the spot to read themselves of the various stages of learning spinning. When the party broke up, some of us went to a little school opened two years ago in the neighbourhood (situated in the middle of the distance of the neighbouring village). For the past two months Madras de Khosrovi had been teaching handwriting in the school. We were shown round by Mrs. M. W. Bhaia and Madras de Khosrovi. Everything was perfectly neat and tidy. The children, some as large as twelve, the first being boys, were in their own way learning their alphabet and arithmetic from little wooden pieces of group culture and shapes. It was an excellent spinning wheel had a central place. Some of the children were spinning for all they were work at which work that of considerable improvement.

To Lady Mrs. Bhaia, Mrs. Bhaia and Madras de Khosrovi was to get into touch with everything in Adyar that concerned my mission. They were extremely interested in getting all possible knowledge of spinning and the process connected to it. Madras de Khosrovi took no time to make all the little details of spinning and when she tried the task it seemed to come naturally to her. She is already used to her hand-loom and hand-loomer Madras and when Mrs. Rajagopalakrishnan asked her if she thought Madras was learned enough she said 'I would not be making Madras if I did not think it necessary to learn'.







# Young India

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## Presidential Address

[By M. K. Gandhi, at the 23rd Indian National Congress, Bombay]

Friends,

It was after much misgiving that I accepted the burden of the honour you have done me today. The unique honour for this year should have been bestowed upon Sirsat Sarojini Naidu, who did such wonderful work both in Kenya and South Africa. But it was not to be. The developments both internal and external have necessitated my acceptance of the burden. I know that I shall have your support in my attempt to do justice to the high office to which you have called me.

At the outset, let me note with respectful feelings the deaths during the year of Dr. Ambedkar, Sir Asutosh Mukherjee, Mr. Bhupendra Nath Sanyal, Dr. Subramaniam Iyer and Mr. Dal Behadur Gidwani at home, and of Messrs. Khandekar and P. K. Naidu in South Africa. I tender to your next my respectful condolences to the bereaved families.

### Retrospective

From the September of 1920 the Congress has been principally an institution for developing strength from within. It has ceased to function by means of resolutions addressed to the Government for redress of grievances. It did so, because it proved to be more in the line of the character of the existing system of government. The breach of faith with the Mahatmas of India was the first real shock to the people's faith in the Government. The Rowlatt Act and the 1919-20 movement in the Jallianwala Bagh massacre, opened the eyes of the people to the true nature of the system. At the same time it was realised that the existence of the system depended upon the co-operation whether conscious or unconscious, and whether voluntary or forced, of the people. With the view therefore of mending or ending the system it was decided to try to begin withdrawing voluntary co-operation from the top. At the Special Session of the Congress at Calcutta in 1920 the boycott of Government titles, law-courts, educational institutions, legislative bodies and foreign goods was resolved upon. All the boycotts were more or less taken up by the parties concerned. Those who could not or would not, retired from the Congress. I do not propose to trace the chequered career of the non-cooperation movement. Though not a single boycott was anywhere near completion, every one of them had undoubtedly the effect of diminishing the prestige of the particular institution boycotted.

The most important boycott was the boycott of violence. What it appeared at one time to be entirely successful, it was soon discovered that the non-violence was only skin deep. It was the passive non-violence of helplessness, not the enlightened non-violence of non-resistance. The result was an eruption of intolerance against those who did not non-cooperate. This was violence of a subtle type. In spite, however, of this grave defect I must hold to say that the propaganda of non-violence checked the outbreak of physical violence which would certainly have broken out, had not non-violent non-cooperation come into being. It is my deliberate conviction that non-violent non-cooperation has given to the people a consciousness of their strength. It has brought to the surface the hidden powers in the people of resistance through suffering. It has created an awakening among the masses which perhaps no other method could have.

Though, therefore, non-violent non-cooperation has not brought us freedom, though it has brought about certain deplorable results and though the institutions that were sought to be boycotted



are still flourishing, is my humble opinion, non-violent non-cooperation is a means of attaining political freedom has come to stay and that even its partial success has brought us nearer Swaraj. There is no mistaking the fact that the capacity for suffering for the sake of a cause must advance it.

#### A. Hali

But we are faced to face with a situation that compels us to cry halt. For whilst individuals hold firmly to their belief in non-cooperation, the majority of those who are intimately concerned have practically lost faith in it, with the exception of boycott of foreign cloth. Scores of lawyers have resumed practice. Some even regret having ever given it up. Many who had given up Council have returned to them, and the number of those who believe in Council entry is on the increase. Hundreds of boys and girls who gave up Government schools and colleges have repented of their action and have returned to them. I hear that Government schools and colleges can hardly cope with the demand for admission. In these circumstances these boycotts cannot be worked as part of the National programme, unless the Congress is prepared to do without the classes directly affected. But I hold it to be just as irresponsible to keep these classes out of the Congress as it would be wise to keep the non-cooperators out. They must both remain in the Congress, without either party interfering with or hostily attacking the other. What is applicable to Hindu Muslim unity is, I feel, applicable to the unity among different political groups. We must tolerate each other and strive to time to convert the one or the other to the opposite belief. We must go further. We must plead with the Liberals and others who have decided to reject the Congress. If non-cooperation is suspended, there is no reason why they should keep out. The advance must be from the Congressmen. We must cordially invite them and make it easy for them to come in.

You are perhaps now able to see why I entered into the agreement with the Swaraja.

#### Foreign Cloth Boycott

You will observe that our boycott has been retained. Out of regard for the sentiment of an English friend the word "Boycott" has been changed in the agreement into "refusal to use foreign cloth." There is no doubt a bad odour about the word "Boycott." It usually implies hatred. So far as I am concerned, I have not intended the word to bear any such meaning. The boycott has reference not to British but to foreign cloth. That boycott is not merely a right but a duty. It is as much a duty as boycott of foreign water would be if there were suggested to substitute the waters of the Indian rivers. This, however, is a digression.

What I wanted to say was that the agreement was an emphatic— the boycott of foreign cloth. For me it is an effective substitute for violent methods. Just as certain acts such as persons, abuse, insulting conduct, lying, causing hurt and murder are symbols of violence, similarly courtesy, selfless service, truthfulness are are symbols of non-violence. And so to us a boycott of foreign cloth is a symbol of non-violence. Revolutionary crime is intended to exert pressure. But it is the means, pressure of anger and abhorrence. I contend that non-violent acts exert pressure far more effective than violent acts, for that pressure comes from goodwill and gentleness. Boycott of foreign cloth exerts such pressure. We import the largest amount of foreign cloth from Lancashire. It is also by far the largest of all our imports, sugar being next. Britain's chief interest centres round the Lancashire trade with India. It is the one thing more than any other that has ruined the Indian peasant and imposed partial villenage upon him by depriving him of the one supplementary occupation he had. Boycott of foreign cloth is therefore a necessity if he is to live. The plan therefore, is not merely to induce the peasant to refuse to buy the cheap and new-looking foreign fabric but also by working him to utilize his spare hours in carding and spinning cotton and getting a woven by the village weavers to dress himself in khaddar as women and thus to save him the cost of buying foreign and for that matter even Indian mill-made cloth. Thus boycott of foreign cloth by means of hand-spinning and hand-weaving, i.e. khaddar not only saves the peasant's money, but it enables us workers to render social service of a first class order. It brings us into direct touch with the villagers. It enables us to give them real political education and train them to become self-motivated and self-reliant. Organisation of khaddar is thus infinitely better than co-operative societies or any other form of village organisation. It is fraught with the highest political consequence, because it reserves the greatest material temptation from Britain's way. I call the Lancashire trade sacred, because it was raised and is sustained on the ruin of millions of India's peasants. And so



our immorality leads to another, the many proved immoral acts of Britain are traceable to this one immoral traffic. If therefore this one great temptation is removed from Britain's path by India's voluntary effort, it would be good for India, good for Britain and, as Britain is today the predominant world-power, good even for humanity.

I do not endorse the proposition that supply follows demand. On the contrary, demand is often artificially created by unscrupulous vendors. And if a nation is bound, as I hold it is, like individuals to comply with a code of moral conduct, then it must consider the welfare of those whose welfare it seeks to supply. It is a wrong and immoral for a nation to supply for instance intoxicating liquors to those who are addicted to drink. What is true of intoxicants is true of grain or cloth. If the discontinuance of their cultivation or manufacture in the country to which foreign grain or cloth are exported results in enforced idleness or poverty. These latter hurt a man's soul and body just as much as narcotics. Depression is not confinement upside down and hence equally disastrous in its results and often more so because we have not yet learnt to regard as immoral or sinful the depression of idleness or poverty.

### Britain's Duty

It is then I hold the duty of Great Britain to regulate her exports with due regard to the welfare of India, as it is India's to regulate her imports with due regard to her own welfare. That commerce is a trade which ignores or disregards moral values. The essence of the law of non-violence is the demand of commerce means nothing less than the introduction of moral values as a factor to be considered in regulating international commerce. And I must confess that my ambition is nothing less than to see international relations placed on a moral basis through India's efforts. I do not despair of cultivation of United States non-violence, I refuse to believe that the tendency of human nature is always downward.

The freedom of the boycott of foreign cloth through hand-spinning and khaddar is calculated not only to bring about a political result of the first magnitude, it is calculated also to make the poorest of India, whether man or woman, conscious of their strength and make them partners in the struggle for India's freedom.

### Foreign versus British

It is hardly necessary now to demonstrate the futility, not to say the violence, of boycott of British cloth or better still British goods as so many patriots have suggested. I am considering the boycott purely from the point of view of India's good. All British goods do not harm us. Some goods such as English books we need for our intellectual or spiritual benefit. As regards cloth, it is not merely British cloth that harms us, but all foreign cloth, and for that matter to a lesser extent even well-made cloth imported. Boycott brought about anywhere of British cloth cannot yield the same results as such boycott brought about by hand-spinning and khaddar. This necessitates exclusion at least of all foreign cloth. The exclusion is not intended as a punishment. It is a necessity of national existence.

### Objections Considered

But, say the critics, the spinning wheel has not taken, it is not existing enough, it is an computer only for a mass, it means a return to the middle ages, it is a vain effort against the majestic march of scientific knowledge for which machinery stands. In my humble opinion India's need is not equipment but solid work. For the millions solid work itself is excitement and trade at the same time. The fact is that we have not given the spinning wheel enough trial. I am sorry to have to say that many of us have not given it a serious thought. Even the members of the All-India Congress Committee have failed to carry out the series of resolutions on hand-spinning which they themselves have passed from time to time. The majority of us have simply not believed in it. In the circumstances, it is hardly just to say that spinning has failed for want of gentleman about it. To say that it is merely an old woman's occupation is to ignore facts. Spinning mills are a multiplication of spinning wheels. They are managed by men. It is true that we get out of this superstition that women occupations are beneath the dignity of men. Under normal conditions no doubt spinning will be the occupation of the gentle men. But the State of the future will always have to keep some men at the spinning wheel so as to make improvements in it within the limitations which as a cottage industry it must have. I must inform you that the progress the mechanisation of the wheel has



made would have been impossible, if some of us men had not worked at it and had not thought about it day and night.

### Machinery

I wish, too, you would dismiss from your minds the views attributed to me about machinery. In the first instance, I am no more trying to prevent the national acceptance of all my views on machinery, than I am preventing the whole of my belief in non-violence. The spinning wheel is itself an exquisite piece of machinery. My head daily bows in reverence to an unknown inventor. What I do want is the wisdom and wisdom destruction of the one cottage industry of India that kept the well from the doors of thousands of houses suffered over a surface 1800 miles long and 1200 miles broad.

### Spinning Franchise

You will not now wonder at my passion for the spinning wheel, nor will you wonder why I have ventured to present it for introduction in the franchise, not say Pandit Madhav Sahas and Dadabhai Naoroji accepted it on behalf of the Swaraj Party. If I had my way, there would be no one on the Congress register who is unwilling to spin or who would not wear khaddar on all occasions. I am however thankful for what the Swaraj Party has accepted. The modification is a concession to weakness or want of faith. But it must serve as a spur to greater effort on the part of those who have full faith in the wheel and khaddar.

### No Other Message

I have thus dilated upon the spinning wheel because I have no better or other message for the nation. I know no other effective method for the attainment of Swaraj if it is to be by 'peaceful and legitimate means'. As I have already mentioned it is the only substitute for violence that can be accepted by the whole nation. I swear by Civil Disobedience. But Civil Disobedience for the attainment of Swaraj is an impossibility unless and until we have attained the power of achieving boycotts of foreign cloth. You will now easily perceive why I should be a useless guide for the Congress if my views about the spinning wheel are not acceptable to you. Indeed you would be justified in regarding me, as some friends do, as a hindrance to national progress, if you consider me to be wrong in my repetition of the doctrine underlying the spinning wheel. If it does not appeal to your heads as well as your hearts, you will be wanting in your duty in not rejecting my lead. Let it no longer be said, as Lord Willingdon has properly once said of me, that we had not the strength and courage to say 'No'. Indeed your rejection of my proposal, if you do not believe in it, will be a step towards Swaraj.

### Hindu-Muslim Unity

Hindu-Muslim unity is not less important than the spinning wheel. It is the breath of our life. I do not need to occupy much of your time on this question, because the necessity of it for Swaraj is almost universally accepted. I say 'almost' because I know some Hindus and some Mussulmans who prefer the present condition of dependence on Great Britain if they cannot have either wholly Hindu or wholly Mussulman India. Happily their number is small.

I share Mahadevi Shastri Aji's robust optimism that the present situation is a mere temporary discomfiture. The Khilafat agitation in which Hindus made common cause with their Mussulman brethren and the non-cooperation that followed it caused an awakening among the hitherto slumbering masses. It has given a new consciousness to the masses as well as the masses. Increased persons who were disappointed during the policy days of non-cooperation, now that it has lost the charm of novelty, have found their opportunity and are trading upon the religious bigotry or the selfishness of both the communities. The result is written in the history of the first two years. Baluchistan has been wrested. Tribes have been degraded by the name of religious sects which, the former claim, must be observed at any cost. Economic and political crises have been brought into play for the sake of fostering trouble. The religious point was reached in Kabul. The tragedy was aggravated by the wilful indifference of the local authority. I must not tarry to condemn the crises or to discharge the blame. I have not the material for the task even if I was needed for it. Suffice it to say that the Hindu refugees fled for fear of them here. There is in Kabul an overwhelming Mussulman majority. They have as far as is possible under a foreign despotism effective political control. It is up to



them, therefore, to show that the Hindus are as safe in the midst of their majority, as they would be if the whole population of Kohat was Hindu. The Mussalmans of Kohat may not rest satisfied till they have brought back to Kohat every one of the refugees. I hope that the Hindus would not fall into the trap laid for them by the Government and would resolutely decline to go back till the Mussalmans of Kohat have given them full assurance as to their lives and property.

The Hindus can live in the midst of an overwhelming Mussaman majority only if the latter are willing to receive and trust them as friends and equals, just as Mussalmans, if in a minority, must depend for honourable existence on the aid of a Hindu majority on the latter's friendliness. A Government can give protection against thieves and robbers, but not even a Swaraj Government will be able to protect people against a wholesale boycott by one community of another. Governments can deal with occasional outbreaks. When quarrels become a normal thing of life, it is called civil war and parties must fight it out themselves. The present Government being foreign in making a void military rule, has resources at its command for its protection against any combination we can make and has, therefore, the power, if it has the will, to deal with our class trouble. But no Swaraj Government with any pretensions to being a popular Government can possibly be organised and maintained on a war footing. A Swaraj Government means a Government established by the free joint will of Hindus, Mussalmans and others. Hindus and Mussalmans, if they share Swaraj, have perfects to settle their differences amicably.

The Unity Conference at Delhi has paved the way for a settlement of religious differences. The Committee of the All Parties' Conference is among other things expected to find a workable and just solution of the political differences not only between Hindus and Mussalmans but between all classes and all castes, sects or denominations. Our goal must be universal, at the earliest possible moment, of communal or sectional representation. A common electorate must impartially elect its representatives on the sole ground of merit. Our services must be flawless especially rendered by the most qualified men and women. But till that time comes and communal jealousies or passions become a thing of the past, minorities who suspect the motives of majorities must be allowed their way. The majorities must set the example of self-sacrifice.

### Untouchability

Untouchability is another hardship on Swaraj. Its removal is just as essential for Swara, as the attainment of Hindu-Muslim unity. This is an essentially Hindu question and Hindus cannot shirk their duty till they have restored the dignity of the oppressed classes. They have sunk with the latter's oppressions. Honourable will be that the Aryas, whether trained the original inhabitants of Hindusthan precisely as the English consider treat us, if not much worse. If so, our history is a just retribution for our having created an untouchable class. The sooner we remove the blot, the better it is for us Hindus. But the priests tell us that untouchability is a divine appointment. I claim to know something of Hindustan. I am certain that the priests are wrong. It is a blasphemy to say that God set apart any portion of humanity as untouchable. And Hindus who are Congressmen have to see to it that they break down the barrier at the earliest possible moment. The Valiant Satyagrahis are showing us the way. They are carrying on their battle with gentleness and firmness. They have patience, courage and faith. Any movement in which these qualities are exhibited becomes irresistible.

I would however warn the Hindu brethren against the tendency which one sees nowadays of exploiting the suppressed classes for a political end. To remove untouchability is a purpose that costs Hindus one to Hindness and to themselves. The purification required is not of untouchables but of the so-called superior caste. There is no race that is special to the untouchables, not even that one institution. It is our struggle which binds us as "superior" Hindus to our own kith and kin and which unifies those of our down-trodden brethren whom we have oppressed and whom we keep under suppression. Religious lineations are being washed on the balance. God's grace and revelation are the monopoly of no race or nation. They descend equally upon all who wait upon God. That religion and that nation will be blotted out of the face of the earth which place its faith in injustice, untruth or violence. God is Light, not darkness. God is Love, not hate. God is Truth, not untruth. God alone is Great. We His creatures are but dust. Let us be humble and recognise the place of the lowliest of His creatures. Krishna honoured Sudama in his



may as be honored as we die. Love is the root of religion or sacrifice and the possible body is the sort of self or intelligency, says Tagore. Whether we win Swaraj or not, the Hindu has to purify themselves before they can hope to revive the Vedic philosophy and make it a living reality.

### Swarnaj Scheme

But the opening speech, Benin Mukherjee said, and removal of artificiality is only meant to an end. The end we do not know. To me it is enough to leave the matter. Men and end are convertible terms in his philosophy of life. But I have long preferred my conviction to the view general upon the public in India. Bhagwan Das said the public must know the end, not vaguely but precisely. They must know the full definition of Swarnaj, i.e. the scheme of Swarnaj which all India wants and must fight for. Happily the Committee appointed by the All Parties' Conference is charged with that mission and we do hope that the Committee will be able to produce a scheme that will be acceptable to all parties. May I suggest for its consideration the following points?

1. The qualification for the franchise should be neither property nor position but manual work, such for example as suggested for the Chinese Franchise. Literature or property test has proved to be elusive. Manual work gives an opportunity to all who wish to take part in the government and the well-being of the State.

2. The various ordinary expenditures should be included in the proportion necessary for protection of life and property in normal times.

3. Administration of justice should be cheapened and work done in view the final court of appeal should be not in London but in India. Parties to civil suits must be compelled in the majority of cases to refer their disputes to arbitrators, the decisions of these Pandits must be final except in cases of corruption or a gross misapprehension of law. Multiplicity of intermediate courts should be stopped. The law should be such that the general procedure should be simplified. We have slavishly followed the cumbersome and worn out English procedure. The tendency in the Colonies is to simplify the procedure and to make it easy for litigants to plead their own case.

4. Revenue from intoxicating liquors and drugs should be stopped.

5. Salaries of the Civil and Military Services should be brought down to a level compatible with the general condition of the country.

6. There should be redistribution of provinces on a linguistic basis with as complete autonomy as possible for their provinces for its internal administration and growth.

7. Appointment of a commission to examine all the monopolies given to foreigners and, subject to the sanction of the various provinces, full guarantees to be given for all vested rights justly acquired.

8. Full guarantee of these rights to the Indian States without any hindrance from the Central Government subject to the right of appeal to subjects of these States who, not being offenders against the Fundamental Law, will act as self-governing India.

9. Repeal of all selective powers.

10. The highest post to be open to all who can be shown to be fit for the Civil and Military Services to be in India.

11. Recognition of complete religious freedom to various denominations subject to mutual tolerance.

12. The official language for provincial governments, legislatures, and courts, within a definite period, to be the vernaculars of the province, of the Privy Council, the final court of appeal, to be Hindustani, the script to be either Devanagari or Persia. The language of the Central Government and of the Central Legislature to be also Hindustani. The language of inter-national diplomacy to be English.

I trust you will not laugh at what may appear to you to be extravagance of thought in the foregoing sketch of some of the requirements of Swarnaj as I would have it. We may not have the power today to take or receive order the things I have mentioned. Have we the will? Let us at least affirm the desire. Unless I have this highly attractive, because speculative, theme



let me assure the Committee in charge of the drafting of a Swamy scheme, that I call for my suggestion no more attention than it would give to any single individual's. I have incorporated them in my address only to gain greater currency for them than they would perhaps otherwise receive.

### Independence

The above sketch presupposes the existence of the British connexion on perfectly impossible and absolutely equal terms. But I know that there is a section among Congressmen who want under every conceivable circumstance complete independence of India. They will not have even an equal partnership. In my opinion if the British Government were what they say and honestly help us to equality, it would be a greater triumph than a complete severance of the British connexion. I would therefore vote for Swamy within the Empire, but would not hesitate to sever all connection, if severance became a necessity through Britain's own fault. I would then throw the burden of separation on the British people. The better mind of the world desires today not absolutely independent States warring one against another but a federation of loosely inter-dependent States. The consummation of that event may be far off. I want to make no grand claim for our country. But I see nothing grand or impossible about our expressing our readiness for mutual interdependence rather than independence. It should not vex Britain to say that she will have no real alliance with India. I desire the ability to be totally independent without swerving the independence. Any scheme that I would frame, while Britain declares her goal about India to be complete equality within the Empire, would be that of alliance and not of independence without alliance. I would urge every Congressman not to be insistent on independence in such and every case, but because there is anything impossible about it, but because it is wholly unnecessary till it has become perfectly manifest that Britain really means subjugation in spite of her declaration to the contrary.

### The Swamy Party

So far, then, I have considered the contents of the agreement and the general questions arising from it. Not much need be said about the status of equality given to the Swamy Party. I wish I could have avoided it, not because the Party is not worthy, but because I do not share its views about Congressism. But if I must remain in the Congress and even lead it, I must recognize facts as they are. It was easy enough for me to go out of the Congress or to decline the honour of presiding. But it was not, so I thought and still think, in the interest of the country for me to take that step. The Swamy Party represents, if not a majority, at least a strong and growing minority in the Congress. If I was not to divide the Congress on the basis of its status, I was bound to agree to its conditions so long as they were not in conflict with my conscience. They are not in my opinion unreasonable. The Swamys want to see the name of the Congress for their policy. A formula had to be found for their doing so without their pledging or binding the No-changers to their policy. One of the ways of doing it was to give it the authority and the responsibility both financial and executive with regard to the framing and the prosecution of their policy. The Congress as a whole could not guide that policy without sharing the responsibility. And as I could not take the responsibility, and as I apprehend no No-changer can, I could not be party to shaping the policy, nor could I shape it without my heart to it. And heart can only go where belief is. I know that the reluctance to the Swamy Party to see the name of the Congress is regarded in the Council programme makes somewhat awkward the position of the other parties wishing to join the Congress. But I fear it is inevitable. The Swamy Party can not be expected to surrender the advantages it possesses. After all it wants the advantage not for itself but for the service of the country. All parties have or can have that ambition or so other. I hope therefore that the others will join the Congress and work from within to effect the course of the country's politics. Dr. Bhaer has led the way in that direction. I know that she would have many things done otherwise, but she is content to come in hoping to bring round the electorate to her view by working within the Congress. The No-changers can, in my humble opinion, vote for the agreement with a clear conscience. The only national programme jointly to be worked by all the parties is Khilafat, Hindu, Muslim unity and, for the Hindus removal of untouchability. Is not this after all what they want?



### Purely Social Reform?

It has been suggested that this programme turns the Congress into a purely social reform organisation. I beg to differ from that view. Everything that is absolutely essential for *Purely* I mean then merely social work and must be taken up by the Congress. It is not suggested that the Congress should confine its activity for all time to this work only. But it is suggested that the Congress should for the coming year concentrate the whole of its energy on the work of construction, or as I have otherwise described it, the work of internal growth.

Nor does the agreement exhaust the list of constructive items that the Congress must handle. Those I am about to mention are of the highest importance, but they, being non-contentious and not absolutely essential for Swaraj as the foregoing three items, find no mention in the agreement.

### National Schools

One such is the maintenance of national educational institutions. Probably the public do not know that next to Khaddar the running of national educational institutions has been the most successful. There can not be given up so long as even a few pupils are left. It must be a point of honour with the respective provinces to keep up their colleges and schools. Suspension of non-cooperation should not have any injurious effect on these institutions. On the contrary, greater effort than ever before should be made to maintain and strengthen them. Most provinces have their national schools and colleges. Gujarat alone has a national university maintained at an annual cost of Rs. 1,00,000, and having control of 3 Colleges and 30 Schools with 9,000 pupils. It has acquired its own ground at Ahmedabad and has already spent Rs. 1,00,325, in buildings. Throughout the university, hostel and mess work has been done by the non-cooperating students. There is a great and noble sacrifice. From a worldly stand-point they have perhaps lost the prospect of brilliant careers. I suggest to them however that from the national stand-point they have gained more than they have lost. They left their schools or colleges, because it was thought that the the youth of the nation were misled and brutalised in the Punjab. The first link in the chain of our bondage is forged in these institutions. The corresponding national institutions however inefficiently managed they may be, are the factories where the first instruments of our freedom are forged. After all, the hope of the future centres round the boys and girls studying in these national institutions. I therefore regard the upsurge of these institutions as a first charge on provincial funds. But these institutions to be truly national must be able for promoting real Hindu Muslim unity, they must be also centres for training Hindu boys and girls to regard untouchability as a blot upon Hindutva and a crime against humanity. They should be training schools for expert spinners and weavers. If the Congress retains its belief in the priority of the spinning wheel and Khaddar, one has a right to expect these institutions to supply the source of the spinning wheel. They should be also factories for Khaddar production. This is not to say that the boys and the girls are not to have any literary training. But I do maintain that the training of the hand and the heart must go hand-in-hand with that of the head. The quality and the usefulness of a national school or college will be measured : : by the brilliance of the literary attainments of its scholars but by the strength of the national character, and deftness in handling the spinning bow, the spinning wheel and the loom. While I am most anxious that no national school or college should be closed, I should have not the slightest hesitation in closing down a school or college, that is indifferent to the education of non-Hindu boys or that casts its door against the entry of untouchables or that has not cooking and spinning as an indispensable part of the training. The time is past when we can be satisfied with the word 'national' on the sign board of the school and the knowledge that it is not affiliated to any Government university or is not otherwise controlled by the Government. I must also not omit to point out that the tendency in many national institutions still is to neglect the vernacular and Hindustani. Many workers have not realised the necessity of imparting instruction through the vernacular or Hindustani. I rejoice to observe that Sh. Gangadhar Rao has arranged a meeting of national educationists to exchange experiences on the several points mentioned by me and to evolve, if possible, a general plan of education and action.

### Unemployed Non-cooperators

This is perhaps the proper place to mention those lawyers who have given up practice, and school masters and other Government employees who have given up Government service at the call of the nation. I know that there are many such men who find it hard to make the two ends meet.



They deserve national support. The Khadi Band and the national schools and villages are the two services that can take as almost as unlimited number of honest and industrious men who are willing to learn and labour and are satisfied with a modest allowance. I observe a tendency not to accept any remuneration for national service. The desire to serve without remuneration is praiseworthy, but all can not satisfy it. Every labourer is worthy of his hire. No country can produce thousands of unpaid volunteer workers. We must therefore develop an atmosphere in which a patriot would consider it an honour to serve the country and accept an allowance for such service.

### Intemperance

Another item of national importance is the liquor and the opium traffic. Had the wave of enthusiasm that swept across the country in 1921 in the name of temperance remained non-violent, we would today have witnessed a progressive improvement. But unfortunately our phylacteric degenerated into violence, which when it was not open. Fencing had, therefore, to be abandoned, and the liquor-shops and opium-dens began to flourish as before. But you will be pleased to hear that the temperance work has not died out altogether. Many workers are still continuing their quiet and selfless service in the cause of temperance. We must, however, realise that we would not be able to eradicate the evil till we have Swaraj. It is no matter of pride to us that our children are being educated out of the revenue derived from this immoral source. I would almost forgive the Criminals' Party by Congressmen, if they would boldly sweep out this revenue even though education may have to be started. Nothing of the kind should happen if they will insist on a corresponding reduction in the military expenditure.

### Bengal Repression

You will observe that in the foregoing paragraphs I have confined myself to the material developments.

But the external circumstances, and among them chiefly the acts of our rulers, are affecting our destiny no less surely (though it may be adversely) than the internal development. We may turn them to advantage if we will, or we may succumb to them to our disadvantage. The latest act of the rulers is the repression commenced in Bengal. The All Parties' Conference condemned it in no uncertain terms. The Conference had hesitations in saying that the law was aimed at the Bengal Swaraj Party. But I have none. I have been to Calcutta and had the opportunity of meeting men representing a variety of opinions and I came to the conclusion that the blow was aimed at the Swaraj Party. The opinion is confirmed by the speeches since delivered by Lord Lytton and Reading. The defence they have offered is wholly unconvincing. Such a defence is possible only in a place like India where public opinion counts for little or nothing. Lord Lytton's conditions of release are an insult to our intelligence. These Evolutions beg the question when they tell us that the situation warranted the Ordinances and the action under the Regulation of 1918. The rational conclusion is,

1. That the situation they describe has not been proved to exist;
2. That assuming that the situation does exist, the remedy is worse than the disease;
3. That the ordinary law contains enough powers for dealing with the situation; and lastly
4. That even if extraordinary powers were necessary they should have been taken from the legislature which is of their own creation.

The speeches of these Evolutions make these facts altogether. The action which has had considerable experience of unsupported statements of the Government will not accept them as gospel truth. These Evolutions know that we cannot and will not believe their statements not because they are wilfully untruthful, but because the sources of their information have often been discovered to be tainted. Their assurances are therefore a mockery of the people. The speeches are almost a challenge to us to do our worst. But we must not be provoked or be impatient. Repression, if it does not cure us dead, if it does not deter us from our purpose, can but hasten the advent of Swaraj. Let it put us on our merits and evoke the spirit of self-sacrifice and courage in the face of danger. Repression does for a true man or a nation what fire does for gold. In 1921 we measured riparian with Civil Disobedience and invited the Government to do its worst. But today we are obliged to cut the harmful part. We are not ready for Civil Disobedience. We can but prepare for it. Preparation for Civil Disobedience means discipline, self-control, a non-violent but



winning spirit, cohesion and above all unqualified and willing obedience to the known laws of God and such laws of man as are in furtherance of God's law. But unfortunately, we have neither discipline nor self-restraint enough for our purpose, we are rather timid in our non-violence. In consequence, we have not enough cohesion and the laws that we obey, whether of God or man, we obey compulsorily. As between Hindus and Moslems, we witness a daily defiant break of laws both of God and man. This is no time-place for God. Unchastity—the one weakness and available weapon at the disposal of the oppressed. The alternative is undoubtedly violence. We seem to have the atmosphere for it. Hindu-Muslim fights are now common for it. And those who believe that India's deliverance lies through violence are entitled to glory over the first fights that take place between us. But I say to those who believe in the cult of violence: "You are regarding India's progress. If you have any pity or friendly feeling for the suffering millions, know that your violence will do them no service. Those whom you seek to depose are better armed and infinitely better organized than you are. You may not care for your own lives, but you dare not disregard those of your countrymen who have no desire to die a martyr's death. You know that the Government believes in Jallianwala Bagh measures as a legitimate means of self-defence. Whatever may be true of other countries, there is no chance of the cult of violence flourishing in this country. India is inherently the land of non-violence, and opponent of non-violence. Will you not better devote your lives, if you sacrifice them, in the cause of non-violence?"

I know, however, that my appeal to the violent revolutionaries will be just as fruitless as my such appeal to the violent and autocratic Government is likely to be.

We must therefore find the remedy and demonstrate to both the violent Government and the violent revolutionaries that there is a force that is more effective than their violence.

### Repression a Symptom

I regard this repression as a chromo-genetism of a chronic disease. The European domination and Asiatic subjugation is the formula. Sometimes it is stated still more cryptically as White vs. Black. England unrolled the white man's yoke as the 'white man's burden.' In the Malay peninsula the colour bar that was thought to be temporary has now almost become a permanent institution. The Portuguese planters must get Indian labour without let or hindrance. The Kapsa Europeans successfully lord it over Indians who have a poor right to be there. The Union of South Africa would today drive out every Indian if it safely could, in total disregard of past obligations. In all these cases the Government of India and the Imperial Government are not helpless; they are unwilling or not so resistant as they ought to be in the protection of Indian settlers. The Government of India have not shown even the decency to publish the report of its own Commission on Fiji.

The attempt to crush the indomitable spirit of the Ahis is a symptom of the same disease. They have poured their blood like water for the sake of a cause they hold as dear as life itself. They may have erred. If they have, it is they who have bled in the process. They have left no one else. Mahatma Sahib, Gurmukh-Bagh, and Jaisi will bear witness to their courage and their noble sufferings and martyrdom. But the Governor of the Punjab is reported to have vowed that he will crush the Ahis.

One hears that repression is crushing the Burmese spirit.

Egypt has no better than we do. A mad Egyptian kills a British officer;—certainly a despicable crime. The punishment is not only a despicable crime but it is an outrage upon humanity. Egypt has nearly lost all it got. A whole nation has been mercilessly punished for the crime of one man. It may be that the murder had the sympathy of the Egyptians. Would that sympathy be a power well able to protect its interests without it?

The repression in Bengal is therefore not an extraordinary thing. We must treat its periodic eruptions in some shape or other as in some province or other, as our normal condition all we come to our own.

### Need for Sanction

The Congress, therefore, in its wisdom of its past must derive a sanction to back its demands. Before we can forge the sanction, we Hindus, Moslems, Christians, Sikhs, Parsis etc. must



unite and so should Shrovetts, No-changers, Liberals, Home-Rulers, Muslim Leaguers and others. If we can but speak with a united voice and have our own mind, it would be well. If we can develop the power to keep foreign cloth from our land, it would be better. We are ready then for the action.

### My Faith

Let me state my faith; as a Congressman wishing to keep the Congress intact, I advise suspension of non-cooperation for I see that the nation is not ready for it. But as an individual, I cannot—will not—do so as long as the Government remains what it is. It is not merely a policy with me, it is an article of faith. Non-cooperation and Civil Disobedience are but different branches of the same tree called Satyagraha. It is my *Ishtadeva* — my *Jee-i-Jee* — the Universal Provider. Satyagraha is search for Truth; and God is Truth. Ahimsa or, Non-violence is the light that reveals this Truth to me. *Swami* for me is part of that Truth. This Satyagraha did not fail me in South Africa, Korea, or China, and in a host of other cases I could mention. It excludes all violence or hate. Therefore, I cannot and will not hate Englishmen. Nor will I bear their yoke. I must fight unto death the unwholy attempt to impose British methods and British institutions on India. But I combat the attempt with non-violence. I believe in the capacity of India to offer non-violent battle to the English rulers. The experiment has not failed. It has succeeded, but not to the extent we had hoped and desired. I do not despair. On the contrary I believe that India will come to her own in the near future, and that only through Satyagraha. The proposed suspension is part of the experiment. Non-cooperation need never be resumed if the programme sketched by me can be fulfilled. Non-violent non-cooperation in some form or other, whether through the Congress or without it, will be resumed if the programme fails. I have repeatedly stated that Satyagraha never fails and that one perfect Satyagrahi is enough to vindicate Truth. Let us all strive to be perfect Satyagrahis. The striving does not require any quality unattainable by the lowliest among us. For Satyagraha is an attribute of the spirit within. It is latent in everyone of us. Like *Swami* it is our birthright. Let us know it.



# Young India

26-12-34

## Omniscient and Ahimsan

(By M. K. Gandhi)

On the eve of the closing session of the Congress my thoughts came to me. It is the only eve of my day of silence, just four days before the meeting of the Congress. The eternal dual between Omniscient and Ahimsan—that and before—was ringing in my heart, which is one among the billions of battlefields. I have had two very painful days with the 'No-changers'. 'Furious' Dada says 'No-changer' is a bad word. I have agreed and thrown the burden on her gentle shoulders of getting the public a clearer word. She came to me and said, "All will be well if you will be 'careful' for nothing" but surely do your duty as you find it." Another says, "You are a fool. You must not believe the No-changers, nor must you trust the No-changers. The Congress do not mean what they say. The No-changers will leave you in the lurch at the critical moment. Between the two, your opinion which will be needed to steer. You will therefore do well to listen to me and refuse." I am going to shag the first rule. What though the No-changers are tried to deceive me and the No-changers to deceive me? They will lose, not I. But if I listen to the word of Mr. World-wise, I am lost already. I do not want to become the lazier. I am concerned with taking care of the present. God has given me no wealth over the moment following. I must therefore believe the No-changers, as I would myself be believed by them. I do not require evidence to the No-changers, because I would not like them to think that I was weak. I am not therefore believe in the honour of the No-changers and the strength of the No-changers. It is true that I have often been let down. Many have deceived me and many have been heard warning. But I do not regret of my association with them. For I have here to say—responds, as I have here to respond. The most essential, the most dignified way of going on in the world is to take people at their word, when you have no positive reason to the contrary.

My difficulty therefore is not where to trust or not to trust. My difficulty lies in the fact that there are hardly half a dozen No-changers who are entirely on one side which coincided with the agreement. They have various doubts. I sympathise with them and yet I feel that I am doing the right thing in holding to the agreement. They would have me if they would, but they cannot. The law seems to be inflexible. They want to trust my judgment in spite of themselves. This is a truly embarrassing position. It increases my responsibility a hundredfold. I assure them that I will not consciously betray their trust. I shall do nothing that will damage the strength of the cause or honour. But the greatest consolation I can give them is by pointing out that all would be well, if they will be true to themselves. Everyone of them will have done his or her private duty of his or her private Hindu-Muslim duty, and if he or she devote all his or her spare time to working and speaking and watching the interests of Khadias, and himself or herself more to, well, if a Hindu,

leave up to his comfortable burden on himself or herself. This much every one of us can do without any assistance. Practically the best speech and the best propaganda. And this every one can do without his or her hands from anybody else. Not to worry about others is certainly very Ahimsan. Leads us into the trap by taking us away from ourselves. God is not in Khadi or in Kusti. He is within everyone of us. Therefore (Gandhi) too is to be found by searching inward, not by relying upon others, even our fellow-workers, to assist in the way.

## Notes

### Background

Mr. K. K. Bhanu of Bhopal under the following business-like manner the remarks in Young India that opinion was directed to the west of dwellers of Khadias.

"I am a social worker in Khadias. One hundred and twenty children with Khadias have been working under me. I cannot give them hundred yards of Khadias every week. My experience dates from last August 1933. My method is to purchase cotton locally, have shirts to sponsor, work the yarn of each sponsor separately, and to use the yarn of one hand for the whole of the way of one whole year. The more process is repeated on separate work, the better being of lower cost than the former. That makes the cloth uniform and strong and gives longer durability. I am quite done of constant of my customers whose cloth, shirts and coats generally last for one year.

The durability of Khadias is chiefly affected by using good bought in markets, houses.

- (1) it is not always of good cotton
- (2) mostly under-treated
- (3) under-treated cotton
- (4) locally woven.

If products of Khadias would last more to avoid these things there will be less room for complaints on separate durability."

I publish the note for the guidance of all who are interested in Khadias construction.

### Two Addresses

The Bhopal District Board and the Bhopal Municipality did me the honour of presenting me addresses which recounted my address. I felt that my recall of my address as an all-India matter was inside the point. A Municipal address may be fittingly given only to a person for Municipal affairs, but in the special circumstances in which we are placed, the Municipality which are struggling to be free give expression to their leaders by somewhat identifying themselves with public workers, whether they possess Municipal office or not. It is only for that point of view that the presentation of the Municipal addresses to public workers may be justified. But the presentation of these addresses gives me an opportunity of paying a tribute to a Western effort in the midst of my response to Western collaboration is granted. The one thing which we can and must learn from the West is the nature of Municipal activities. By constant and hard we are used to village life, where the need for or public assistance is not much felt. But in the Western countries is municipal and therefore leads towards the development of the cities to the neglect of villages,



The peoples of the West have received a volume of corporate malfeasance and hypocrisy from which we have much to learn. Our ancient and historic laws, our accepted ill-considered customs, our national neglect of masses of starving under-privileged humanity, Every Mansephity has rendered the greatest service by making the people observing the laws of malfeasance. It is a responsibility to recognize that vast sums of money are required for effecting necessary reforms. We must modify Western methods of malfeasance to suit our requirements. And as my patriotism is inclusive and inclusive of my country as I feel, I do not hesitate in spite of my knowledge of Western malfeasance to take from the West what is beneficial to us. And so I have Englishmen to be successful, I gratefully seek their assistance in such matters. For instance, I am to Purna my knowledge of the strongest and the most effective method of disposal of human excreta. He has done this by his ignorance or prejudice we make the process superior. Excreta are not dirt in their proper place and when they are properly disposed. Dirt, in the English eye, is "matter misplaced."

#### Indians in South Africa

The competition and rivalry the Indian natives of South Africa is daily heightening. Since Natal they are deprived even of the Masephal franchise. The two seek to have been protected. When the attempt was made to take away from them the political franchise, the Natal Government declared that they had no charge upon the enjoyment by Indians of the Masephal franchise. But no protest made by a weak party is heard in the estimation of modern Governments. Such party must be able to defend its rights by its own inherent strength. The Government of India's racialist treatment tells us the wrong amount. I know that the natives look to us for help and protection. But they should know that they are here this help from India for the present. The battle is engaged in a life and death struggle. Two years ago the late President proclaimed that India would be of little help to the Indian natives, so long as she had not acquired the ability to assert herself. The late President Fakhra was even depicted with us for going to South Africa. He thought every Indian native group out of India was as much concerned with it. I think he was then partially misled. Mr. Fakhra's my weakness in South Africa was not an enormous waste of power. For it then not work with malfeasance. Mr. Fakhra's literary helps that to secure India's freedom? We have acquired it, we must want our malfeasance worse the new work content in newspaper and other agencies our own time.

#### Typical

I give below Bala Bhairav Nag's letter:  
—Dear Mahatma,

I am giving an explanation for not attending the Belgaon Congress, particularly the national conference to be held at Belgaon in the 21st. My "honesty for malfeasance" prevents me from attending the conference. I feel that "they have in their present form about malfeasance their malfeasance." I cannot promote myself to have my engagement in the work of malfeasance production, besides though it is, but surely a "heart to heart" talk at Belgaon. I am not attending the

Belgaon Congress for the following reason:

(1) I am not in a mood at present to vote against you and so a matter of fact you attack me in my name at Belgaon.

(2) I understand that the Calcutta post is unreasonable.

(3) I cannot promote myself to be a party to the movement of non-cooperation. I do not believe that non-cooperation requires acceptance, except by killing the malfeasance non-cooperation.

(4) I hold some strong views about Bhairav-Mahatma move which are not in a line with the views of many of the Congress leaders.

(5) They are doing enough to associate with malfeasance for the purpose of accepting it with love, but other non-cooperation by such malfeasance are liable to reflection. I believe I am saving myself from malfeasance as a non-cooperator by not attending the Belgaon Congress.

(6) I have very strong feelings in favour of malfeasance rule and there are many who share these feelings. I understand no such rule will be observed in conducting business at Belgaon.

(7) The last letter to the last passed in that I do not my "money and time" and in order to avoid in helping "malfeasance production" in my own locality then by attending the conference and Congress at Belgaon. The Congress organization at Belgaon being in the hands of the Malfeasance are severely working my help in the planning and working malfeasance. I understand most of the malfeasance, if not all of them of you to the All India Malfeasance Board from Belgaon according to the Malfeasance malfeasance are non-cooperation and their friends and malfeasance.

In conclusion I feel bound to request you for a visit to Belgaon in January next and have a heart to heart talk with the malfeasance non-cooperation in a certain critical place and then that in many localities we are possibly not. That will naturally help their malfeasance work, specially national malfeasance in which is one in a malfeasance condition. I earnestly and sincerely hope you will consider me even if the above grounds do not afford sufficient reason for not going to Belgaon."

Bala Bhairav Nag is a notable non-cooperator. The attitude is typical of that of many Non-cooperators. Holding the views he does, I cannot, but understand his decision to decline from attendance at Belgaon. Indeed I appreciate his consistent attitude with respect to non-cooperation. I wish there was more of it. I am not attending national conference for the love of it. Governmental have compelled me to do so. It is for individuals to make it national agency of necessary by demonstrating via efficacy in their own process and maintaining non-violence in the same time. I would not Bala Bhairav and those who think like him to be most careful about coming opponents of malfeasance. "Judge not but ye be judged" is a golden rule. Those whom we created or worked to a rule means the malfeasance and in their own names as of what we change their work. And here again I quote from the perspective that malfeasance malfeasance is essentially malfeasance.







"Coming to *Adhikara*," the gambler said, "was only at first was expense. Coming to *Adhikara*, was it at first while they down, but they paid at the end."

That is to say, for a time, they were altogether strong and even vigorous, yet all the while, the very root of their temporary greatness is being eaten away, and the loss of their magnificent wealth. There is a very remarkable analogy to this in the Palace of David, where he says

"I have seen the mighty Gilead as a green bay tree. I went by, and lo! he was gone. I looked for him, but his place was nowhere to be found." Japan was too much to be surprised that Japan and there are many today of an entirely different treatment towards China and Korea. But the Japanese younger world of the Watanabe-Matsumoto family really calls it the game, "Gomoku" (Go) game. It is not to be repeated and here the head is Gifu line.

"The life of Kishikawa," who lives in the district of agriculture and garden, is not today in all the Western Chambers, but the passage has not yet gone home. It is not yet understood, that the Law of Karma is as inevitable as Destiny itself.

## A Cry From Orissa

(By C. F. Andrews)

For a long time, the condition of the poor people in Orissa has been on my heart and mind like a hot stone. It has been made clear to me by numerous people that they are suffering more than any other part of India, from chronic destitution. One of the things that had weighed heavily on my own conscience was this, that, in a time of real famine, which undoubtedly Government officials acknowledged to exist, I was too much occupied with other things to go down and find out the truth for myself. It has always been a source of shame to me that I did not go.

When I returned, this year, from Orissa and Baluchistan, one of the last persons who met me was Mr. Gopalakrishna Das. He was himself recovering from leprosy, and he talked mostly of an account, both of his illness and his long confinement in prison. The tears came into his eyes when he told me that even now the two hospitals had failed owing to shortage of men. The state of things was so hopeless that the cattle were being turned into the public fields, because my further hope of a crop had become very almost impossible. If men came immediately, it might save something, but the more crop was raised, more rapidly leprosy recovered. He came with me down to Bhubaneswar, and I wished him to stay a few days longer in order to recover his strength, but they would have away. There were acts of tyranny, in fact, going on and he went in protest. The one man at Bhubaneswar was suffering greatly, and the teachers and students visited him. When Mahatma Gandhi came to Delhi, I had a long talk about Orissa with him. He told me that the people there were always on his heart and he could at any moment send them before his eyes—great, children-like figures, dying slowly of leprosy. How any one could ever dream of oppressing them and further, poison the imagination. He told me to wait until he had made further enquiry into the facts,

especially, God sent a generous man, which for the time being saved something of the crops. When I met Gopalakrishna again, his face was a little brighter, but even then I could see the anxiety for his people that was tearing out his body and keeping him back from full recovery of health.

But Orissa was still in worse shape than in an even more painful tragedy here. Mrs. Campbell, who had worked for nearly forty years in India in the Temperance cause and had never before, even in Gopalakrishna himself had done, came down to see me at Bhubaneswar and also to obtain a little much needed rest. She began to talk to me about Orissa, which she had just visited, and told me concerning the condition of the people there as they made back in their poverty into the still lower depths of taking to drink and drugs in order to destroy their misery. Finally at last, they found the licensed opium shop, which sold the Government monopoly opium, and they became addicted to the drug.

"Did you have any arrangement in your shop?" I asked her.

"That was very good to me," she said simply, "and let me tell the way. The Principal of the Engineering College permitted me my meeting at Cuttack and slightly of his students upon the pledge of total abstinence from drink and drugs and promised me to do their utmost to remove the influence of drink and drugs from their own city. This means very great things. Knowing that the Principal himself was a total abstainer, they elected him unanimously to be President of the new movement, and I have every hope that their work will be thorough and self-sustaining and good."

"What did you find out," I asked, "with your own eyes? Is it first-hand evidence which I must want to hear?"

"One evening," she said, "in company with a friend, I visited one of the leading opium shops in Cuttack. It was chosen one for drinking, and though there was a slight man talking at the time, the people—the poor people were standing there outside the shop in great numbers. They were pushing against one another and saying that they were the shop to get the opium, thinking that you brought them as money so as to be able to buy the opium. I have been two many years since in different parts of India, but I was my first; I have never before seen people more hungry as there is now to secure this poison than on that evening. Many of them stretched out their hands almost violently over the shoulders of those who were in front, in order to get the drug."

"Do the Government officials," I asked, "know what is really happening?"

"The Indian Commissioner," she answered, "himself came along. He had been present, the evening before, at my meeting. As he passed, he smiled and said 'Do you are here, are you?' I said 'Yes, I have come down to see things with my own eyes. Please look right here. Is not this too bad? And the very worst part of it is that much of this opium will be given to the high leaders.' I could see that this troubled him and he said to me thoughtfully: 'It might be well to have a master's speaking in the girls' school and talk to them of the danger of giving their drug to children.'"



I interrupted Miss Campbell and said to her that it was a strange arrangement for her to act as Home Commissioner of opium on the one hand, and to urge for public meetings to be held against the opium wing on the other.

"I feel bad," said Miss Campbell, "as one of the Calcutta papers, that *Eastern Sun* will say harshly from a lot of opium, and that both men and women are rapidly becoming addicts. What I am requesting you. After they are become addicts, there is very little hope for them. Surely, surely, Mr. Andrews," she went on to me in her great gale of heat, "the time has come, when those who have the welfare of India at heart should not only be willing that the products of opium should be greatly decreased, but should themselves take part in a great educational campaign to put an end to the poisoning of little India, which is going on all over the country."

"Can you give me a detailed proof of that?" I asked her, smiling to my point.

"Proof!" she exclaimed, "Why, I have seen it with my own eyes all over the Northern part of India and Central India also, and it is worse still in Bombay and in the great manufacturing centres. Oh how terrible it is, even in that of it!"

This needed no exaggeration, but that night it was difficult for me to sleep. I had seen myself, in other places, just what Miss Campbell had described, made practical, instead of all little tiny houses, where there are workers were actually poisoning in their ignorance. I have also been into the opium dens of Singapore in the Far East, and I have, seen the deadly poison and watched a host of up on address in Hong K. up on Indian parts of China. Then your opium den, which has literally ruined China, and has made beautiful houses so tragically defiled, is now changing steadily lowered into China. The rooms made of poverty and drink and drugs has been completed, and who shall break the spell and set the captive within that deadly circle too? Long into the early hours of the morning, I went on, planning in my mind what could be done. Spicing and seasoning? Too encouragement of home industries? Too obviously that would be a great help to health and independence. But was there to make concrete means of doing these opium den abominations? Could not the whole country men and demand this?

Meanwhile, it is clearly my own duty to go down to Quana and see things for my own eyes, just as Miss Campbell has done.

### The Indemnity

One of the most serious things that needs to be faced in the state of the Andaman Islands and the refusal of the Government of India to accept the recommendations of its own Commission away to 'lack of funds'. While scores of rupees can be spent over 'Miss Dufferin' and numerous cases are indulged for upward pay of civil servants and others, men and women who in any a few days, have been more cruelly against than against us. Many have no pay after pay, in the Andamans, because of the refusal of the comparatively small sum needed to fulfil the demand made for children by every Government official who has investigated the matter, from the Reginald

from Pip, after my first visit, I saw Sir Reginald Craddock. I told him the saddest of things and in the Pip Islands had I given him specially a detailed account of the children's misery I had witnessed. He told me that he had returned from a Government company which he had been carrying through on the Andaman Islands and wanted to see that the same things that those which had become prevalent in Pip were happening today and there. Since the time when I took up the matter in the public press and mentioned it, I have received letters and special statements from my friends and also from those who are still under treatment, which have revealed to me a state of things that is really appalling. My friend, Miss Dufferin, who has investigated these for some years, also confirmed what I had heard elsewhere—though the horror of it was no sleep to her still, that I did not like to mention her named because upon the subject.

Every Government official has also admitted that no information under present conditions is possible. Every divided administration in the world, so far as my information goes, has given up the practice of 'closed' courts system. The British administration of Bombay Bay is nearly a century old. The French have only quite recently given up New Calcutta. The reason, in every case, is the same. Nations are a great settlement stand justice and justice wherever it is established in such an act of the way place that there is no light of public opinion let it from the outside world. The Andamans are of the Indian trait. No one goes there. No one calls there. Therefore, if things go wrong, no one knows about it. The wrong that is done there may go from bad to worse. To there is a dark where as of the press, always present. Nations are in being what it is, more and more, corrections will harder than escape until they become so-called and unmanageable.

This is clearly what has happened at the Andamans. Men are not tried, simply because they are prisoners. But now, who are entrusted with such an enormous power over their life is men without any conscience or sympathy may easily become masters of cruelty if left alone for too many years, just as we have been known to have become mad through being left in solitary confinement.

There are also in India several half-race of men, police-guard, who are known men, who must pay tribute to prison master for a long as one of a group's imprisonment. There are also a few low physical prison men who have will of the spirit force of themselves to the Andamans themselves. How can have been protected from time to time coming from the system and the maintenance that are being daily occurred under the Indian rule. But up to the present no word off to have been made for changing their status. The time has come for a Congress Inquiry Commission to be constituted as a recommendation to be made with regard to all penal institutions, and also to find persons. I wish to be the who put the time being, we follow a step and follow persons, really demands that the justice agencies passed by thousands of political prisoners should not be treated, but should work in prison reform.

C. F. A.

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